

OLD PERSIAN

GRAMMAR

TEXTS

LEXICON

BY

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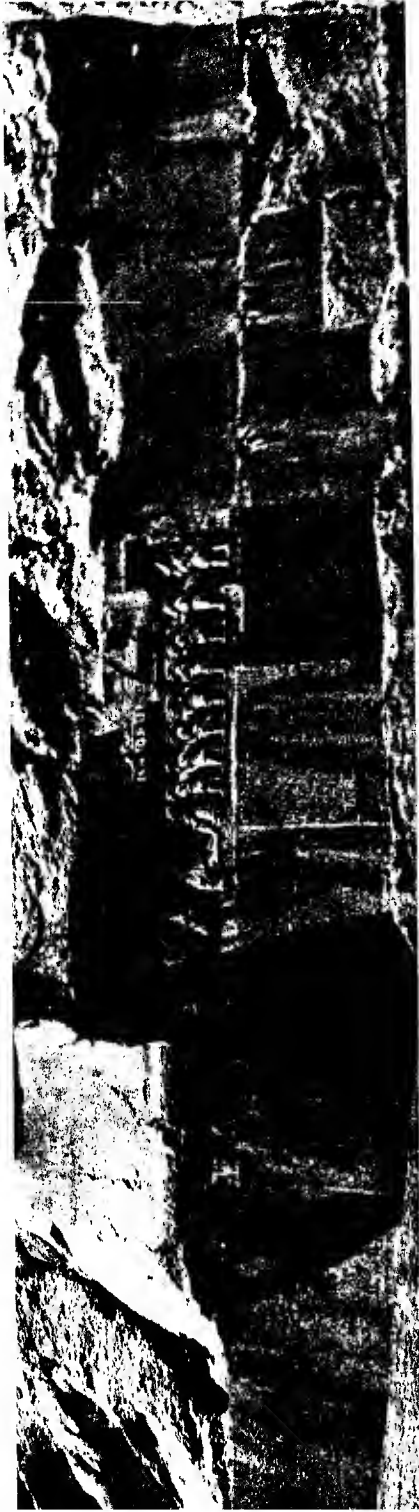
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PLATE 1



THE INSCRIPTION AND SCULPTURES OF DARIUS THE GREAT AT BEHISTAN
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FOREWORD

This volume has been prepared to meet the need for a comprehensive treatment of the Old Persian inscriptions; neither the latest collections of texts, nor the latest lexicon of their vocabulary, nor the latest grammatical treatment represents the evidence of all the material, a considerable portion of which is of very recent publication.

In matters of etymology it has seemed desirable to give a goodly representation to cognates outside the Indo-Iranian; not all those interested in Old Persian are primarily specialists in Avestan and Sanskrit. For greater clarity, stems of nouns and adjectives ending in *-i-* and *-u-* have been cited with *-i-* and *-u-*, rather than with the strong grade *-ay-* and *-aw-* customary among Iranists; but verbs of OP and Avestan are cited in the strong grade, though Sanskrit verbal roots are cited in the form fixed by the Hindu grammarians and customary among Sanskritists. The English translations of words and passages in the Grammar, especially in the Chapter on Syntax, frequently vary from the translations which accompany the texts in Part II; this variation is intentional, to bring out more clearly the point for which the word or passage is being cited.

Published views of my own on any of the problems involved, so far as they are inconsistent with the views presented in this volume, are to be considered as abandoned even though not explicitly renounced; at times I have considered it desirable specifically to condemn such older views of my own. References to my own printed articles are normally by the name of the journal only, unless there might be ambiguity.

To the American Oriental Society I give my hearty thanks for the opportunity of publication in its American Oriental Series, and to the Society's Editor, Dr. Murray B. Emeneau, and its Secretary-Treasurer, Dr. Ferris B. Stephens, for their labors upon the manuscript and the business management of the volume. To Mr. A. Eric Parkinson, of the University Museum in Philadelphia, I am indebted for the skillful drawing of the cuneiform characters which are

reproduced on pages 12 and 215. My grateful appreciation is also expressed to those numerous friends who during the preparation of the volume have shown their interest in it and have urged that it be completed without undue delay. My special thanks are extended to Dr. Erich F. Schmidt, leader of The Persepolis Expedition sponsored jointly by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and the University Museum in Philadelphia, for generous permission to include new texts found by The Expedition and to use the evidence of The Expedition's photographs of inscriptions already known as well as of those newly discovered. This indebtedness is acknowledged in many places, not infrequently being made by the statement that data have been furnished by Dr. Schmidt or by Dr. George G. Cameron, formerly his colleague at the Oriental Institute, and now Chairman of the Department of Near Eastern Studies at the University of Michigan. Dr. Cameron has for years given me in every way the benefit of his direct acquaintance with the inscriptions and of his rich scholarship, and recently has transmitted to me the chief results of his examination in 1948 of the Behistan Inscription, with permission to use them although he had himself as yet not placed them in printed form before the public; to him, for all these favors, my profound gratitude is here expressed, though any such expression must needs fall far short of his deserts.

Finally, my unending thanks are here given to a small group of those who have studied with me, who—when the American Oriental Society found that it did not have at its command funds adequate to publish the volume—undertook to secure the financial support necessary to see it through the press, and carried their plan through to successful completion: Ruth Lilienthal Pearce, Alfred Senn, Maria Wilkins Smith, E. A. Speiser.

I must add that to Dr. Maria W. Smith is due also much of the typographical accuracy of the book; for to her the Editor of the Series, first because of absence in Europe and then because

of press of work, delegated the task of proofreading in his stead. Her repeated skillful readings caught numerous misprints that had escaped me; yet with all our care I dare not think that perfection has been attained, and I shall be grateful to any reader who sends me a list of such misprints and errors as he may discover.

R. G. K.

Wynnewood, Pa.,

March 21, 1950.

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GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bibliography of OP studies is to be found in the following:

- Chr. Bartholomae, *Die altpersischen Inschriften*, in Geiger und Kuhn's *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie* 2.54-75, Strassburg 1896-1904.
- Chr. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Strassburg 1904; with bibliography in the notes attached to the caption words.
- H. C. Tolman, *Ancient Persian Lexicon and Texts* 59-134, Nashville 1908; where references are attached to the words in the lexicon.
- F. H. Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, Leipzig 1911; which lists and evaluates virtually all the previous literature.
- Indogermanisches Jahrbuch, in the appropriate section, beginning with 1912, but lacking some items, notably from 1914 to 1920.
- J. H. Kramers, *A Classified List of the Achæmenian Inscriptions*, pp. 12, reprinted from the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* for 1931 (Leiden 1933), containing bibliography of the separate inscriptions from 1911 to 1932.
- R. G. Kent, *The Present Status of Old Persian Studies*, in *JAOS* 56.208-225 (1936), with bibliography from 1912 to 1936.
- R. G. Kent, *Old Persian Jottings*, in *JAOS* 58.324-30 (1938), with continuation of the preceding bibliography.

There are the following historical grammars of OP:

- E. L. Johnson, *Historical Grammar of the Ancient Persian Language*, New York 1917.
- A. Meillet, *Grammaire du Vieux Perse*, 1915; 2d ed., entirely revised by É. Benveniste, Paris 1931.

The following items might be listed here:

- W. Foy, *KZ* 35.1-78 (1899); a preliminary sketch of the phonology.
- H. C. Tolman, *Cuneiform Supplement*, Nashville 1910; pp. vii-xxv give a summary of the phonology and morphology.
- T. Hudson-Williams, *A Short Grammar of Old Persian*, Cardiff 1936; pp. 1-19 give a brief

and inaccurate account of the phonology and morphology.

- Sukumar Sen, *Old Persian Inscriptions*, Calcutta 1941; pp. 259-88 give an essentially descriptive grammar, inaccurate in many points.

A concordance of the OP vocabulary is found in E. L. Johnson, *Index Verborum* to the *Old Persian Inscriptions*, published with Tolman's *Cuneiform Supplement* (see above).

A glossary of the OP vocabulary is to be found in W. Hinz, *Altpersischer Wortschatz*, Leipzig 1942; including bibliographical references and concordance.

On the names of persons and places, reference may be made to the entries in our lexicon, and to the following:

- F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg 1895.
- G. Hüsing, *Die iranischen Eigennamen in den Achämenideninschriften*, Soltau 1897.
- A. Hoffmann-Kutschke, *Persische Eigennamen*, in *OLZ* 9.439-44, 604-6 (1906); *Iranisches bei den Griechen*, in *Philologus* 66.173-91, 320 (1907).
- F. H. Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden* 136-58, Leipzig 1911.
- A. H. M. Stonecipher, *Graeco-Persian Names*, New York 1918.

The difficult problem of the chronology of the Behistan inscription has evoked a voluminous literature on the OP calendar; it will be adequate here to refer to a recent discussion by A. Poebel, in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 55.130-65, 285-314 (1938); see *Historical Appendix IV*.

There are the following complete collections of the OP inscriptions; I omit those before the reading of the Rock of Behistan by Rawlinson:

- H. C. Rawlinson, *JRAS* 10.187-349 (1847); text, translation, notes.
- Theodor Benfey, *Die persischen Keilinschriften, mit Uebersetzung und Glossar*, Leipzig 1847.
- J. Oppert, *Les Inscriptions des Achéménides*, Paris 1851; text, translation, notes.

- Fr. Spiegel, *Die altpersischen Keilinschriften*, Leipzig 1862; 2d ed., 1881; text, translation, grammar, glossary.
- C. Kossowicz, *Inscriptiones Paleo-persicae Achaemenidarum quot hucusque repertae sunt*, Petropolis 1872; cuneiform and transliterated text, Latin translation, glossary.
- F. H. Weissbach und W. Bang, *Die altpersischen Keilinschriften*, fasc. 1, Leipzig 1893; fasc. 2, 1908; text, translation.
- H. C. Tolman, *Ancient Persian Lexicon and Texts*, Nashville 1908; text, translation, lexicon.
- H. C. Tolman, *Cuneiform Supplement to the preceding*, Nashville 1910; autographed cuneiform texts.
- F. H. Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, Leipzig 1911; OP, Elam., Akk. texts, with translation and glossary of proper names; the bibliography to the separate inscriptions, pages x-xxx, is especially valuable.

More recently discovered inscriptions were for the most part published in the following:

- V. Scheil, *Inscriptions des Achéménides à Suse*, in *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique de Perse*, tome xxi; Paris 1929. The inscriptions, with English translation and partial vocabulary, are repeated by J. M. Unvala, *The Ancient Persian Inscriptions of the Achaemenides found at Susa*, Paris 1929.
- V. Scheil, *Inscriptions des Achéménides*, pp. 105-29, in *Mémoires etc.*, tome xxiv; Paris 1933.
- Ernst Herzfeld, *Altpersische Inschriften*, Berlin 1938.

Collected editions of these inscriptions, so far as already published, are found in the following:

- R. G. Kent, *JAOS* 51.189-240 (1931).
- Wilhelm Brandenstein, *WZKM* 39.7-97 (1932), with F. W. König, *Der Burghau zu Susa*, Leipzig 1930: OP, Elam., Akk.

All OP texts to date are contained in the following:

- Sukumar Sen, *Old Persian Inscriptions of the Achaemenian Emperors*, Calcutta 1941; text, Sanskrit and English translations, notes, glossary, grammar (inaccurate and unreliable).

Two other volumes must be noted here, in the publications of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago:

George G. Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets*, Chicago, 1948 (Or. Inst. Publ. vol. 65); containing all Elamite inscriptions found in the Treasury Halls of Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes I at Persepolis. An important feature is the collection and discussion of the words borrowed from OP, many of them not found in the OP texts themselves.

Erich F. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, shortly to appear; containing reproductions of photographs of all inscriptions attached to reliefs at Persepolis and Naqš-e Rostam.

The literature on the individual inscriptions is given at the beginning of Part II, before the texts; but no references are there given to Unvala's *Ancient Persian Texts*, since it has no value. Nor, in general, are citations made to volumes which appeared before KT's volume. The present location of the inscriptions is given according to available records, but may have been changed by the events of the Second World War.

ABBREVIATIONS

The following periodicals are referred to in abbreviated form:

- AbkSGW = *Abhandlungen der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der königl. sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*.
- Acta Or. = *Acta Orientalia*.
- Acta Sem. Phil. Erlangen = *Acta Seminarii Philologici Erlangensis*.
- AfOF = *Archiv für Orientforschung*.
- AJP = *American Journal of Philology*.
- AJSLL = *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*.
- Arch. Anz. = *Archäologischer Anzeiger*.
- BB = *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen*, herausgegeben von Ad. Bezzenberger.
- BIFAO = *Bulletin de l'Institut français de l'archéologie orientale*.
- BSLP = *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*.
- BSOS = *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London.
- GGA = *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*.
- GN = *Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*.
- IF = *Indogermanische Forschungen*.

- IFA = Indogermanische Forschungen, Anzeiger.
 JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society.
 Jb. DAI = Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts.
 JCOI = Journal of the Cama Oriental Institute.
 JNES = Journal of Near Eastern Studies.
 JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
 KZ = Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung, begründet von A. Kuhn.
 Lg. = Language.
 MSLP = Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris.
 MVAG = Mitteilungen der vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft.
 OLZ = Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.
 PAPA = Proceedings of the American Philological Association.
 Rec. Trav. = Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes.
 Rev. d'Assyr. = Revue d'Assyriologie.
 RHRel. = Revue de l'Histoire et des Religions.
 Riv. Stud. Or. = Rivista degli Studi orientali.
 SbPAW = Sitzungsberichte der königlich. preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
 TAPA = Transactions of the American Philological Association.
 TPS = Transactions of the Philological Society (London).
 Ung. Jrb. = Ungarische Jahrbücher.
 WZKM = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.
 ZDMG = Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
 ZfA = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.
 ZII = Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik.
- The following authors and works are referred to in abbreviated form:
 Bthl. = Chr. Bartholomae.
 Bthl. AF = Bthl., Arische Forschungen; 3 vols., Halle 1882-7.
 Bthl. AiW = Bthl., Altiranisches Wörterbuch; Strassburg 1904.
 Bthl. Stud. = Bthl., Studien zur indogermanischen Sprachgeschichte; Halle 1890-1.
 Bthl. zAiW = Bthl., Zum altiranischen Wörterbuch; Strassburg 1906.
 Brd. = Wilh. Brandenstein.
 Brugmann, Gdr. = Karl Brugmann, Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen, 2d ed.; Strassburg 1897 ff.
 Bv. = É. Benveniste.
 Bv. Gr. = A. Meillet, Grammaire du Vieux-Perse, 2d ed., revised by Bv.; Paris 1931.
 Bv. Origines = Bv., Origines de la Formation des Noms en Indo-européen; Paris 1935.
 Cowley, AP = A. Cowley, Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.; Oxford 1923.
 Gdr. IP = Grundriss der iranischen Philologie, herausgegeben von W. Geiger und A. Kuhn; Strassburg 1895-1906.
 Hinz = W. Hinz, ZDMG 93.364-75.
 HK = A. Hoffmann-Kutschke.
 HK 1 or HK ApKI 1 = HK, Die altpersischen Keilinschriften des Grosskönigs Dārajawausch des Ersten am Berge Bagistān; Stuttgart 1908.
 HK 2 or HK ApKI 2 = HK, Die altpersischen Keilinschriften des Grosskönigs Dārajawausch des Ersten bei Behistun; Stuttgart und Berlin, 1909.
 Hz. = Ernst Herzfeld.
 Hz. AMI = Hz., Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran; Berlin 1929 ff.
 Hz. ApI = Hz., Altpersische Inschriften; Berlin 1938.
 Jn. = A. V. Williams Jackson.
 Jn. Iran. Rel. = Jn., Iranian Religion, in Zoroastrian Studies; New York 1928.
 Johnson, Gram. = E. L. Johnson, Historical Grammar of the Ancient Persian Language; New York 1917.
 Johnson, IV = E. L. Johnson, Index Verborum to the Old Persian Inscriptions; in Tm. CS (q.v.).
 Justi, INB = F. Justi, Iranisches Namenbuch; Marburg 1895.
 Kg. = Fr. Wilh. König.
 König, Burgbau = Kg., Der Burgbau zu Susa nach dem Bauberichte des Königs Dareios I; in MVAG 35.1, Leipzig 1930.
 König, RuID = Relief und Inschrift des Koenigs Dareios I am Felsen von Bagistan; Leiden 1938.
 KT = [L. W. King and R. C. Thompson,] The Sculptures and Inscription of Darius the

- Great on the Rock of Behistûn in Persia; London 1907.
- MB Gr. = Mt. Gr. (q.v.) and Bv. Gr. (q.v.).
- Mt. Gr. = A. Meillet, *Grammaire du Vieux Perse*; Paris 1915.
- Nyberg, Rel. = H. S. Nyberg, *Die Religionen des alten Iran*, deutsch von H. H. Schaeder; Leipzig 1938.
- Oppert, IdA = J. Oppert, *Les Inscriptions des Achéménides*; Paris 1851.
- Oppert, Mèdes = J. Oppert, *Le Peuple et la Langue des Mèdes*; Paris 1879.
- Prašek, GMP = J. V. Prašek, *Geschichte der Meder und Perser*, vol. II; Gotha 1910.
- PW = *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Neue Bearbeitung herausgegeben von Georg Wissowa; Stuttgart 1894 ff.
- Rawlinson = H. C. Rawlinson, *JRAS* vol. 10.
- Reichelt, Aw. Elmb. = Hans Reichelt, *Awestisches Elementarbuch*; Heidelberg 1909.
- RI. = Rawlinson (q.v.).
- RV = *Rigveda*.
- Sachau, AP = E. Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus einer jüdischen Militär-Kolonie zu Elephantine*; Leipzig 1911.
- Scheil 21 = V. Scheil, *Inscriptions des Achéménides à Suse*, in *Mémoires de la Mission archéologique de Perse*, tome XXI, Mission en Susiane; Paris 1929.
- Scheil 24 = V. Scheil, *Inscriptions des Achéménides, supplément et suite*, in *Mémoires etc.*, tome XXIV; Paris 1933.
- Sen = Sen, OPI (q.v.).
- Sen, OPI = Sukumar Sen, *Old Persian Inscriptions of the Achaemenian Emperors*; Calcutta 1941.
- Spiegel = Fr. Spiegel, *Die altpersischen Keilinschriften im Grundtexte, Uebersetzung, Grammatik, und Glossar*; Leipzig 1862, 2d ed. 1881.
- Sturtevant, IH Laryngeals = E. H. Sturtevant, *The Indo-Hittite Laryngeals*; Baltimore 1942.
- Tm. = H. C. Tolman.
- Tm. CS = Tm. Cuneiform Supplement; Nashville 1910.
- Tm. Lex. = Tm. Ancient Persian Lexicon and Texts; Nashville 1908.
- Tm. VS or Vdt. Stud. = Tm. The Behistan Inscription of King Darius, Vanderbilt University Studies vol. I; Nashville 1908.
- Vd. = Vendidad, originally *Vidaēvadāta* (a book of the Avesta).
- Wb. = F. H. Weissbach.
- Wb. Grab = Wb. *Die Keilinschriften am Grabe des Darius Hystaspis*; AbkSGW vol. XXIX, no. 1.
- Wb. KIA = Wb. *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*; Leipzig 1911.
- Wb. Symbolae Koschaker = Wb. in *Symbolae Paulo Koschaker Dedicatae*; Leiden 1939.
- WB = F. H. Weissbach und W. Bang, *Die altpersischen Keilinschriften in Umschrift und Übersetzung*, 1. Lieferung; Leipzig 1893.
- WBn = WB, 2. Lieferung, Nachträge und Berichtigungen; Leipzig 1908.
- Other abbreviations are readily understood; they include those for modern scholars and their works when only slightly shortened, for Greek and Latin authors and their works, for names of languages, for grammatical terms.

SYMBOLS FOR DESIGNATING INSCRIPTIONS AND LOCATING WORDS

The inscriptions are referred to by abbreviations on the following plan:

First symbol	Second Symbol
Am = Ariaramnes	B = Behistan
As = Arsames	P = Persepolis
C = Cyrus the Great	N = Naqš-i-Rustam
D = Darius the Great	S = Susa
X = Xerxes	Z = Suez
A ¹ = Artaxerxes I	E = Elvend
D ² = Darius II	V = Van
A ² = Artaxerxes II	H = Hamadan
A ³ = Artaxerxes III	M = Murghab
W = Weight of Darius	I = incerto loco
S = Seal	Vs = Vase
SD = Seal of Darius	

Further symbols, if any:

An immediately following small letter indicates a particular inscription or part of an inscription already designated.

A second small letter indicates a particular copy of the inscription.

A small v indicates a copy with variant orthography.

A Roman numeral after a gap indicates a special part of the inscription.

Phrases or words are designated after a gap:

By two numerals, indicating column and line.

By one numeral, indicating line.

By 0, indicating a line preceding those previously known and numbered.

By f after the line-number, indicating that the phrase or word runs over into the next line.

Note also the following indications:

The lack of a number where it is expected indicates that the inscription consists of one line only.

° at the end of the reference means that the entire word is restored.

{ } mark the enclosed word or words or part of a word as restored; but in the complete texts of the inscriptions in Part II the restorations are indicated only by italics.

PART I. GRAMMAR

CHAPTER I. THE LINGUISTIC SETTING OF OLD PERSIAN

§1. OLD PERSIAN is the name applied to the Persian language used in the cuneiform inscriptions of the Achaemenian dynasty; it can be localized as the language of southwestern Persia, or Persis in the narrower sense, and was the vernacular speech of the Achaemenian rulers. The OP inscriptions are commonly accompanied also by translations into Elamite and Accadian, engraved in other types of cuneiform writing, and sometimes by an Aramaic version or an Egyptian hieroglyphic version. Linguistically, OP belongs to the Iranian branch of Indo-Iranian or Aryan, which is one of the main divisions of the Indo-European family of languages.

§2. THE IRANIAN LANGUAGES¹ are, like many other sets of languages, divisible on a chronological basis into three periods: Old Iranian, Middle Iranian, and New² Iranian. They were spread in ancient times over the territory bounded by the Persian Gulf on the south, by Mesopotamia and Armenia on the west, and by the Caucasus Mountains; to the east of the Caspian Sea they extended considerably to the north of the present boundary of Iran and Afghanistan, into the Pamir plateau of Turkestan, and thence approximately along the course of the Indus River to the Gulf of Oman. This is even today approximately the area of Iranian-speaking peoples, although at all periods there have been islands of non-Iranian speech within it, and islands of Iranian speech outside it.

§3. OLD IRANIAN includes two languages represented by texts, Old Persian and Avestan, and a number of other dialects which are but very slightly known.

I. Old Persian is known by inscriptional texts found in Persis, at Persepolis and the nearby Naqš-i-Rustam and Murghab (Pasargadae); in

Elam, at Susa; in Media, at Hamadan and the not too distant Behistan and Elvend; in Armenia, at Van; and along the line of the Suez Canal. They are mainly inscriptions of Darius the Great (521-486 B.C.) and Xerxes (486-65); but others, mostly in a corrupted form of the language, carry the line down to Artaxerxes III (359-38).

II. Avestan is the language of the Avesta or sacred writings of the Mazdayasnians, known also as Parsis (i.e. Persians) and as Zoroastrians or followers of Zoroaster, the prophet who proclaimed the religion. It consists linguistically of two parts: an older part containing the Gāthās or metrical sermons of Zoroaster himself, and the Later Avesta, differing in a number of linguistic features from the Gāthās. Zoroaster himself came from the northwest, but his successes in converting to his faith were made in the northeast, in Bactria; it is therefore disputed as to whether Avestan is a northwestern or a northeastern language. It is noticeable that it agrees rather with Median than with OP, but this is not decisive.

III. Among the less known Old Iranian languages the most important was Median, known only from glosses, place and personal names, and its developments in Middle Persian, apart from borrowings in OP, which are of considerable importance for the understanding of OP itself. Others were the language of the Carduchi, presumably the linguistic ancestor of modern Kurdish; Parthian, the language of a great empire which contended against Rome in the time just before and after the beginning of the Christian era; Sogdian in the northeast, the ancestor of the medieval Sogdian; Scythian, the language or languages of the various tribes known in OP as *Sakā*, located to the east of the Caspian and north of Parthia and Sogdiana, but also to the west of the Caspian on the steppes north of the Euxine Sea.

§4. MIDDLE IRANIAN includes the Iranian dialects as they appear from about 300 B.C. to about 900 A.D. They are in general called Pahlavi, which is only the regular development of a deriv-

¹ Cf. Meillet et Cohen, *Les Langues du Monde* 34-42; MB Gr. §5-§6; Kieckers, *Die Sprachstämme der Erde* 6-7; E. W. West, *Gdr. IP* 2.75-81; W. Horn, *Gdr. IP* 1.2412-23. ² New is preferable to Modern, which leads to an abbreviation identical with that for Middle.

ative of the OP word *Parthava* 'Parthian'. It is clearer to discuss the dialects partly by dialects and partly by the extant remains.

I. Arsacid Pahlavi was the official language of the Arsacid dynasty of Parthia, which ruled from 250 B.C. to 226 A.D.; it did not die out with the dynasty. It is represented in some bilingual inscriptions alongside the Sasanian Pahlavi, where it is often called Chaldaeo-Pahlavi or Parthian; by the parchment manuscripts of Auromān; and by certain Manichaean texts from Turfan (IV). It is also called Northwest Pahlavi, and apparently was developed from a dialect which was almost or quite identical with that of Media.

II. The Sasanian or Southwest Pahlavi was the official language of the Sasanian dynasty, which ruled from 226 A.D. until the Mohammedan conquest in 652. It is known from some rock-inscriptions of the kings in the general region of Persepolis, datable in the 3d and 4th centuries, some being accompanied by a translation into Arsacid Pahlavi or even by a second translation into Greek; from some texts on Egyptian papyri, of about the 8th century; from many religious texts preserved by the Zoroastrians (III); and from some of the Manichaean texts found at Turfan. In inscriptional form it can be observed in legends on coins, seals, and gems, until near the end of the 7th century. It appears to have developed from Old Persian or from a very similar dialect.

III. The 'Book-Pahlavi' includes the writings preserved by the Zoroastrians of Persia and India, forming a very considerable body of literature divisible into (1) translations of parts of the Avesta, with commentary, (2) texts on other religious subjects, (3) texts on other than religious topics. They represent both Sasanian and Arsacid Pahlavi. They are written in an alphabet derived from that of Aramaic, and, like all the early Pahlavi writings and inscriptions, contain an extremely high percentage of Semitic words; but many of these were to be read with the Iranian equivalents, even as we write *id est* and say 'that is', *viz.* and say 'namely'.

IV. The manuscripts found at Turfan, in the early years of the 20th century, give us texts that are mostly of the 8th and 9th centuries, though some of them go back almost to the beginning of the Christian era. These texts represent several

dialects, including the Arsacid and the Sasanian types, the Sogdian (known also from a trilingual inscription of Kara-Balgassūn), and a dialect known as 'Eastern Iranian', perhaps a derivative of northeastern Scythian, in which there are texts of the Buddhists of Khotan. The notable peculiarity of these Turfan texts is that they are written in relatively pure Iranian, without the Semitic writings for the words which are to be spoken by the Iranian equivalent.

V. Among the earliest traces of Pahlavi, however, are certain legends in Greek characters on coins of Indo-Scythic rulers of the Turuška dynasty in northwestern India, belonging to the first two Christian centuries.

§5. NEW IRANIAN includes the Iranian languages from about 900 A.D. onward; its greatest monument is the national epic of Persia, the *Shāh Nāmāh* or Book of Kings, composed by Firdausi about the year 1000. The languages of this period are the following:

I. Persian, the national language of Persia to this day, spoken in numerous varying dialects throughout the empire; some of the aberrant dialects may go back to different dialects of antiquity, but the language as a whole seems to come from the general types of the Old Persian and the Avestan. The most highly esteemed literary Persian is the dialect of Shiraz.

II. Pushtu, sometimes called Afghan, the national language of Afghanistan.

III. Baluchi, the language of Baluchistan.

IV. The dialects of the Pamir, in the northeast.

V. The Caspian dialects, to the south and west of the Caspian Sea; probably derived from ancient Scythian.

VI. The Kurdish dialects, apparently derived from the ancient Carduchian; now spoken by various tribes in western Persia and in the neighboring parts of the Turkish Republic.

VII. The Ossetic dialects, in the general region of the Caucasus; derived from the Scythian of Southern Russia.

VIII. The Yagnobi or dialect spoken in the valley of the Yagnob, in the northeast; apparently derived from ancient Sogdian.

All but the last division consist of varying dialects. Throughout the territory of the New Iranian languages there is competition with other languages, such as Arabic, Turkish, Armenian,

Mongol. The Persians in Bombay and its vicinity, usually called Parsees, speak the Indic language known as Gujrati (or Gujerati).

§6. DIALECT MIXTURE IN THE OLD PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS. Like most or perhaps all other series of documents, the OP inscriptions are not in pure OP dialect, free from admixture from outside.¹ They contain the expected borrowings of names of persons and places, and presumably of some cultural materials. Thus *Aθurā* 'Assyria', *Bābiruš* 'Babylon', *Mudrāya* 'Egypt' are from Semitic; *Izalā* (a district in Assyria), *Dubāla* (a district in Babylonia), *Labanāna* 'Mt. Lebanon', *Haldita-* (name of an Armenian) betray their non-Iranian character by the *l*; a few words lack a convincing IE etymology, such as *si^hkabruš* 'carnelian', *θarmiš* 'timber', *yakā* (a kind of wood), *skauβiš* 'weak, lowly', or are obvious borrowings, such as *maškā* 'inflated skin' from Aramaic. But the main outside influence is that of the Median dialect, seen in phonetic and lexical differences, perhaps also in variant grammatical forms. Aramaic also seems to have had a certain influence on the phrasing and the syntax. There is no evidence that OP itself, at the time of the inscriptions, possessed a literature of any kind apart from these inscriptions themselves.

§7. THE MEDIAN DIALECT was the language of the great Median Empire, which at the death of Cyaxares in 594 extended from the Indus to the Aegean Sea; the last Median ruler was Astyages, son of Cyaxares, who in 559 was conquered and deposed by his grandson Cyrus, son of Cambyses King of Persis and of Mandane daughter of Astyages. The new ruler naturally took over the Median chancellery and the Median royal titles, and their influence is still seen in the language of the OP inscriptions of Darius and his followers.

§8. MEDIAN PHONETIC DEVELOPMENTS which can be identified in the language of the OP inscriptions are the following; they are discussed in the phonology, with complete lists of examples:

pIE *k* became Med. *s*, Av. *s*, OP *θ*; §87.

pIE *ǵ* and *ǵh* became Med. *z*, Av. *z*, OP *d*; §88.

pIE *kū* became Med. *sp*, Av. *sp*, OP *s*; §90.

pIE *ǵuE* became Med. *zb*, Av. *zb*, OP *z*; §91.

pAr. *km* became Med. *xm*, Av. *xm*, OP (*h*)*m*; §103.II.

pIE *sq^u* before front vowel became pAr. *šc*, then Med. *šc*, Av. *šč*, OP *s*; §105.

pIE *-s q^u-* and *-d q^u-* in sandhi, before front vowel, became Med. *šc*, Av. *šč*, OP *s* (shown by Pahlavi only) and remade *c*; §105.

pIE *tr* and *tl* became pAr. *tr*, then Med. *θr*, Av. *θr*, OP *ç*; §78.

pAr. *tr* after Iranian spirants or sibilant became Med. *tr*, Av. *tr*, OP *ç* or perhaps *š*; §79.

pIE *tǵ* became Med. *θǵ*, Av. *θy*, OP *šǵ*; §80.

pIE *sy* became Med. *f*, Av. *hw* and *x^h*, OP (*h*)*y*; §118. IV.

§9. OP WORDS SHOWING MEDIAN PECULIARITIES are the following, which are here listed in groups, according to their meanings and uses; fuller discussion will be found in the phonology and in the Lexicon, s.vv.:

I. Place-Names:

Asagarta 'Sagartia', a district of Media, with *s* in *asa-* from *k* if it means 'stone'.

Sikayawatiš, a Median fortress, with *s-* from *k* if, as is probable, the first part is identical with OP *θikā* 'broken stone'.

Two East Iranian names, outside the Median territory, show non-OP phonetics identical with those of Median:

Bāxtriš 'Bactria', with *tr* retained after a spirant.

Zra^hka 'Drangiana', with *z* from *ǵ* or *ǵh*.

II. Personal names:

taxma- 'brave', with *x* retained before *m*, in the names of the Mede *Taxmaspāda* and of the Sagartian *Ciṣataxma*.¹

Xšaθrita, the name assumed by the Mede *Fra-vartiš*, with *θr* from *tr*.

Uvaxštra 'Cyaxares', a king of the Median line, with *tr* retained after a sibilant.

Vištāspa 'Hystaspes', father of Darius, with *sp* from *kū*.²

Aspacanā, one of Darius's helpers, with *sp* from *kū*.

¹ Note that *Ciça-* in this name has the OP form and not the Median **Ciθra-*. ² *Vištāspa*, *Aspacanā*, and *Viḍafarnā*, despite the Median phonetics, are specifically Persians; but personal names often belong to other dialects or languages than that of the locality to which the owner of the name belongs. Cf. also note 1.

¹ MB Gr. §5-§18.

Vi²dafarnā, one of Darius's helpers, with *f* from *sy*.

III. Words in the official titles:

xšāyadhya 'king', with *θ_h* from *t_h*.

vazraka 'great', with *z* from *ḡ*.

vispa-zana- 'having all men', with *sp* from *k_h* and *z* from *ḡ*.

paru-zana- 'having many men', with *z* from *ḡ*.

waspa- 'having good horses', with *sp* from *k_h*.

IV. Technical words of the religion:

zūra 'evil', with *z* from *ḡh*.

Varka-zana- '(month) of the Wolf-Men', with *z* from *ḡ*; but the entire word is merely restored after the Elamite.

V. Names of cultural materials:

asan- 'stone', with *s* from *k̂*.

kāsaka 'semi-precious stone', with *s* from *k̂*.

VI. Miscellaneous:

masc. *kašciy*, nt. *cišciy*, *avašciy*, *aniyašciy*, with *šc* from *-s q²-* and *-d q²-* respectively, in sandhi; no specific reason can be assigned for the borrowing by OP of this type.

Pārša 'Persia', with *s* from *k̂*, cf. *Parθava* with *θ*; the name seems to have been imposed by an outside source.

patiyazbayam 'I proclaimed', with Med. *-zb-*, but *h²zānam* (acc.) 'tongue' with OP *-z-*, both from IE *ḡh₂*; see also §91.

vasiy 'at will, greatly', with *s* from *k̂*; but see §87 for another explanation of the form.

Mitra M²θra, divine name borrowed from Indic; see §78.

§10. DIALECT MIXTURE IN THE OP FORMS may be regarded as uncertain, though in the verbs there are alternative forms used apparently without distinction of meaning: thus impf. 3d pl. *abaraⁿ* *abarahaⁿ* *abaraⁿiā*. Only the peculiar plural

aniyāha bagāha 'the other gods', with double endings (like Vedic Skt. *devāsas* for *devās*) seems to come from the language of religion, for a normal OP *aniyāiy bagā* (pl. *bagā* happens not to occur).

§11. DIALECT MIXTURE IN THE OP VOCABULARY: it is difficult at times to decide what is genuinely OP and what is borrowed. Of the two words for 'good', *naiba-* is a religious term, and *va²u-* is found only in proper names. Of the two for 'earth', *zam-* (which would have Med. *z*) appears only in the form *zm-*, which is phonetically OP as well as Median, and occurs in one proper name and in an official term for execution with torture; *būmi-* occurs chiefly in phrases of official character, but is used also in DSf to denote the earth which was excavated for the palace of Darius. On some other points, the usages of Pahlavi seem to inform us: nom. *haw* 'he', *iyam* 'this', prep. *hadā* 'with' belong to Pahlavi of the Northwest and not to that of the Southwest, and thus are shown to be borrowings from Median.¹

§12. ARAMAIC INFLUENCE. Aramaic, a Semitic language, was the international language of southwestern Asia from the middle of the eighth century B.C.; speakers of Aramaic were in charge of all archives for some centuries thereafter. As OP had no developed literary style at the time of the inscriptions, it is to be expected that the style of the inscriptions should reflect the style of Aramaic; and it does. Notable are the short sentences, with repetition of all essential words (§290); certain of the official titles (§309); and the anacoluthic definition of place and personal names (§312).

¹ P. Tedesco, *Le Monde oriental* 15.248; Bv. Gr. page 4 infra.

CHAPTER II. THE SCRIPT OF OLD PERSIAN

§13. THE SCRIPT OF THE OLD PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS is, as we have said, of the cuneiform type: that is, the characters are made of strokes which can be impressed on soft materials by a stylus having an angled end. The OP inscriptions, being on hard materials, must have been made with engraving tools with which the strokes

impressed on soft materials were imitated. There was no tradition from antiquity as to the significance of the characters, nor was any OP inscription accompanied by a version in a previously known system of writing; modern scholars were therefore obliged to start from the very beginning in the task of decipherment.

§14. EARLY STEPS IN THE DECIPHERMENT. OP inscriptions and writing are mentioned in a number of ancient authors, from Herodotus onward, and are remarked upon and described by certain modern travelers early in the seventeenth century, who published parts of inscriptions from Persepolis in the accounts of their travels. The first inscription to be published in complete form was DPc, given by Chardin in 1711. Better copies of several were given in 1778 by Carsten Niebuhr, who recognized that the inscriptions were composed in three systems of writing, and that the writing ran from left to right: the direction of the writing was shown by two copies of XPe with somewhat differing line-divisions. O. G. Tychsen in 1798 discovered that the three systems of writing represented three different languages, and that a recurring diagonal wedge in the simplest of the three types was a word-divider; but he wrongly assigned the inscriptions to the Parthian period. Friedrich Münter in 1802 independently identified the word-divider, and thought that a frequently recurring series of characters must be the word for 'king'; he assigned the inscriptions to the Achaemenian period.¹

§15. G. F. GROTEFEND of Frankfurt in 1802 applied himself to the problem of the decipherment, and by a comparison of DPa and XPe (in Niebuhr's copies) he made the first real progress. He assumed that the inscriptions were inscriptions of the Achaemenian kings, that they consisted essentially of the names and titles of the kings, and that those in the simplest type of writing were in Persian, closely resembling the language of the Avesta. He was helped by Silvestre de Sacy's recent decipherment of the royal titles in Pahlavi, '... , great king, king of kings, king of Iran and non-Iran, son of ... , great king,' etc., which guided him as to what to expect. To facilitate the exposition, we set the two inscriptions in parallel columns:

DPa	XPe
<i>Dārayavauš :</i>	<i>Xšayāršā :</i>
<i>xšāyabhiya : varaka :</i>	<i>xšāyabhiya : varaka :</i>

¹ A detailed account of these matters and of the further steps of the decipherment is given by Weissbach, *Gdr.* IP 2.64-72; by E. L. Johnson, *Gr.* 1-16; by R. W. Rogers, *History of Assyria and Babylonia*, vol. 1, chapters 1-2.

DPa	XPe
<i>xšāyabhiya :</i>	<i>xšāyabhiya :</i>
<i>xšāyabhiyānām :</i>	<i>xšāyabhiyānām :</i>
<i>xšāyabhiya : dahyūnām :</i>	
<i>Vištāspahyā :</i>	<i>Dārayavahauš :</i>
	<i>xšāyabhiyahyā :</i>
<i>puça : Haxāmanišiya :</i>	<i>puça : Haxāmanišiya :</i>
<i>hya : imam : tacaram :</i>	
<i>akunauš</i>	

Grotefend recognized correctly that the names of two different kings were followed by titles, 'great king, king of kings', and then a third similar title in the one which was lacking in the other; that then followed the name of the king's father, who was the same person in one inscription as the king in the other, and that in the other the father did not bear the title king. He decided upon Darius, whose father Hystaspes had not been king, rather than upon Cyrus, since Cyrus and his father Cambyses had names beginning with the same letter¹ whereas the corresponding two names in the inscriptions began with different characters; he thought the name of Artaxerxes to be too long. Thus he saw in the three names Hystaspes, Darius, Xerxes, in the transliteration of which he used the later Iranian pronunciations:

Grotefend	Correct
<i>g o sch t a s p</i>	<i>vi i ša ta a sa pa</i>
<i>d a r h e u sch</i>	<i>da a ra ya va u ša</i>
<i>kh sch h a r sch a</i>	<i>xa ša ya a ra ša a</i>

Thus he had identified, for all but the inherent *a*, the characters *a*, *u*, *x* (his *kh*), *t*, *d*, *p*, *r*, *s*, *š* (his *sch*), and elsewhere he identified *f*. But his reliance on the later pronunciations misled him sorely, and of the 22 different signs in DPa and XPe he got only 10 correctly, and even for two of these he admitted two values each (*a* and *e*, *p* and *b*). Apart from the three names, 'king' and 'great' were the only words which he identified correctly; later (1815) he identified the name 'Cyrus' in CMA. But the remainder of his read-

¹ As it happens, Cyrus and Cambyses do not begin with the same letter in OP, but with *k** and *k** respectively; but Grotefend could have dismissed the Cyrus line on the ground that Cyrus's father and Cyrus's son were both named Cambyses, but the first and the third of the dynasty in these inscriptions bore different names.

PLATE II



THE GOLD TABLET OF HAMADAN

The Limits of the Empire of Darius the Great
showing the three systems of writing of the three versions
Old Persian (top), Elamite (middle), Akkadian (bottom)

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ings, even in these inscriptions, is sorry stuff, and he could never realize in later years that the foundations which he had laid had been built upon and improved.

§16. THE COMPLETION OF THE DECIPHERMENT.

After a gap of twenty-one years other scholars took up the task, but progress was mainly in identifying individual characters and single words. The notable steps in the decipherment were the following: Lassen in 1836 supplied the vowel *a* after many consonants; that is, he realized that these consonants had an inherent *a*. Lassen in 1839 noted that some characters were used only before *i* and others only before *u*; Rawlinson in 1846, Hincks in 1846, and Oppert in 1847 independently realized that these consonants had inherent *i* and inherent *u*. Oppert at the same time discovered that diphthongs were indicated by *i* or *u* after a consonant with inherent *a*, and that *n* and *m* were omitted before consonants.

§17. SUMMARY OF THE DECIPHERMENT. The detail of the decipherment can best be portrayed in tabular form. For simplicity in composition, I use *c* and *j* rather than *č* and *ǰ*, and as a better representation of the sound I use *ç* rather than *θ*.

The scholars who participated in the decipherment are indicated by the following abbreviations; the dates of their publications are also given:

B Beer 1838	L Lassen 1836 '39 '45
Bf Burnouf 1836	M Münter 1802
Br Brandenstein 1932	Op Oppert 1847 '51 '74
E Evetts 1890	Rk Rask 1823
G Grotefend 1802	Rl Rawlinson 1846
H Hincks 1846	Sc Scheil 1929
Il Holtzmann 1845	SM Saint-Martin '23 '32
Hf Herzfeld 1931	Ty Tychsen 1798
J Jacquet 1838	W Windischmann 1845

Num- ber	Present Orthog.	Progress of Decipherment
1	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i> G 02
2	<i>i</i>	<i>y</i> SM 23, <i>i</i> SM 32
3	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i> G 02
4	<i>k^a</i>	<i>k</i> Bf-L 36
5	<i>k^u</i>	<i>k</i> G 15, <i>k^u</i> L 39, <i>ku</i> Rl-II 46
6	<i>x^a</i>	<i>kh</i> G 02
7	<i>ç^a</i>	<i>y</i> L 36
8	<i>ç^u</i>	<i>yh</i> Bf 36, <i>ç^u</i> L 36, <i>qu</i> Rl-II 46

Num- ber	Present Orthog.	Progress of Decipherment
10	<i>j^a</i>	<i>z</i> J 38, <i>j</i> Hl 45
11	<i>jⁱ</i>	<i>g^u</i> L 36, <i>ji</i> Rl 46
12	<i>l^a</i>	<i>t</i> G 02
13	<i>t^u</i>	<i>t^u</i> L 36, <i>t^u</i> L 39, <i>tu</i> W 45, Rl 46
14	<i>θ^a</i>	<i>ç</i> L 36, <i>th</i> J 38, <i>θ</i> L 39
15	<i>ç^a</i>	<i>t^u</i> L 36, <i>thr</i> L 45, <i>t^u</i> Rl 46
16	<i>d^a</i>	<i>d</i> G 02
17	<i>dⁱ</i>	<i>dⁱ</i> Hl 45, <i>di</i> Rl-H 46
18	<i>d^u</i>	<i>d^u</i> L 36, <i>du</i> Rl-H 46
19	<i>n^a</i>	<i>n</i> Rk 23
20	<i>n^u</i>	<i>nu</i> Rl 46
21	<i>p^a</i>	<i>p</i> G 02
22	<i>f^a</i>	<i>f</i> G 02
23	<i>b^a</i>	<i>b</i> Bf-L 36
24	<i>m^a</i>	<i>m</i> Rk 23
25	<i>mⁱ</i>	<i>'m</i> L 36, <i>mⁱ</i> L 39, <i>mi</i> Rl-H 46
26	<i>m^u</i>	<i>mu</i> Rl 46
27	<i>y^a</i>	<i>y</i> B-J 38
28	<i>r^a</i>	<i>r</i> G 02
29	<i>r^u</i>	<i>sr</i> G 15, <i>r^u</i> J 38, <i>ru</i> Rl 46
30	<i>l^a</i>	<i>l</i> Op 51
31	<i>v^a</i>	<i>w</i> L 36, <i>va</i> Rl-H 46
32	<i>vⁱ</i>	<i>v</i> SM 23, <i>vi</i> Rl-H 46
33	<i>s^a</i>	<i>s</i> G 02
34	<i>š^a</i>	<i>sch</i> G 02
35	<i>z^a</i>	<i>z</i> Bf-L 36
36	<i>h^a</i>	<i>h</i> B-J 38

Ideograms and Ligature

37	<i>XŠ</i>	'König' M-G 02
38	<i>DH</i>	'Land' L 45
39	<i>BU</i>	'Erde' L 45
40	<i>AM</i>	'Ahuramazda' Op 74, E 90
41	<i>BG</i>	<i>baga</i> 'god' Sc 1929
42	<i>AMha</i>	<i>Auramazdā</i> Sc 1929, <i>Auramazdā</i> - <i>ha</i> Br 1932 (cf. Hf 1931)
Word-divider		
43	:	Ty 1798

§18. THE OLD-PERSIAN SYLLABARY. The inscriptions composed in the Old Persian language are inscribed on various hard materials in a syllabary, each character having the value of a vowel or of a consonant plus a vowel. To the 36 characters of this nature must be added 5 ideograms (§42), one ligature of ideogram and case ending (§42), the word-divider (§44), and numerical symbols (§43).

SYLLABARY

𐎠 a	𐎡 j ^a	𐎢 n ^a	𐎣 r ^a
𐎤 i	𐎥 j ⁱ	𐎦 n ⁱ	𐎧 r ⁱ
𐎨 u	𐎩 t ^a	𐎪 p ^a	𐎫 l ^a
𐎬 k ^a	𐎭 t ⁱ	𐎮 f ^a	𐎯 v ^a
𐎱 k ⁱ	𐎲 θ ^a	𐎳 b ^a	𐎴 v ⁱ
𐎶 x ^a	𐎷 s ^a	𐎸 m ^a	𐎹 s ^a
𐎺 g ^a	𐎻 d ^a	𐎼 m ⁱ	𐎽 š ^a
𐎿 g ⁱ	𐏀 d ⁱ	𐏁 m ^u	𐏂 z ^a
𐏃 c ^a	𐏄 d ^u	𐏅 y ^a	𐏆 h ^a

IDEOGRAMS

𐎧𐎺	XŠ = xšāyahiya	𐎧𐎺	BU = būmiš
𐎧𐎺	DH = dahyāuš	𐎧𐎺	AM = Aura-mazdā
𐎧𐎺		𐎧𐎺	
𐎧𐎺	BG = бага	𐎧𐎺	AMmai

WORD DIVIDERS

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the cuneiform syllabary of Akkadian, but its simplicity as compared with its parent syllabary shows that it has been specially drawn up for its present purpose. There is no conclusive evidence how the Akkadian characters were utilized and how the new characters received OP values; though several scholars have advanced theories.¹

It is uncertain also when this Old Persian system of writing was invented. The extant inscriptions are largely those of Darius I and of Xerxes, and it is tempting to ascribe the invention to the orders of Darius when he wished to record the events of his accession, on the Rock of Behistan; but there are three inscriptions of Cyrus, as well as one each purporting to be of Ariaramnes and of Arsames. These last two may have been set up as labels to small monuments or other objects of a later period;² the orthography

¹ For a critique of these theories, see Wb. KIA lv-lx.

² Ariaramnes was great-uncle of Cyrus and great-grandfather of Darius I; Arsames was son of Ariaramnes and grandfather of Darius. Note that the two inscriptions are both on gold tablets and found at or near Ecbatana

points to approximately the time of Artaxerxes II.³ Of the inscriptions of Cyrus, one is very fragmentary, and the other two are brief labels; yet as they were inscribed in the palace which belonged to Cyrus,⁴ at Pasargadae (Murghab), they show that the OP cuneiform syllabary existed and was in use in Cyrus's time.⁵

§19. THE SYLLABIC CHARACTERS OF OP number 36, including the following:

3 vowel-signs: a i u

22 consonant-signs with inherent a:

k^a x^a g^a c^a j^a t^a θ^a s^a d^a n^a p^a f^a b^a m^a y^a r^a l^a v^a
s^a š^a z^a h^a

4 consonant-signs with inherent i:

jⁱ dⁱ mⁱ vⁱ

7 consonant-signs with inherent u:

k^u g^u t^u d^u n^u m^u r^u

A close transcription of the cuneiform, when desirable, will be given by keeping the inherent vowels as raised letters; but for most purposes a normalized transcription (§45) will be satisfactory.

§20. THE ALPHABETIC ORDER OF NORMALIZED OLD PERSIAN, as employed in this volume, is the following: ā ī ū k x g c j t θ s d n p f b m y r l v š z h. The transcription here used differs in

(Hamadan) in Media; though the two kings are spoken of in them only as 'king in Pārsa = Persia', which was quite distinct from Media. They may have been set up in the time of Artaxerxes II as part of an anti-Cyrus propaganda, since Cyrus the Great had dethroned Arsames, and Cyrus the Younger came very near defeating and killing Artaxerxes II at Cunaxa (cf. JAOS 66.206-12). The gold tablet A³Hc may have been a third in the same series; all three are in Old Persian only. ³ Cf. especially Schaefer, SbPAW 1931.636-42.

⁴ They are hardly to be ascribed to Cyrus the Younger, despite Wb. ZDMG 48.653-65 (cf. also KIA lxvii-lxix) on CMA, which alone was known to him; for the opposing view, cf. Hx. Klio 8.1 ff. ⁵ Though perhaps not much used by him. The other three known inscriptions of Cyrus the Great are in Akkadian; but Strabo 15.3.7-8 (page 730), on the authority of Onesicritus, states that the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae bore at least two inscriptions, one being bilingual, Greek and Persian. We need attach no importance to the identification of the languages by Onesicritus, but the account indicates that Cyrus had inscriptions engraved in more than one language; in which case it is unlikely that his own vernacular was omitted. Cf. JAOS 66.206-12; but also Hinz, ZDMG 96.343-9.

some points from that used by certain other scholars in recent years, as follows:

- \bar{a} also \bar{d} (KT, Scheil).
 $i \bar{u}$ i u without mark of length (KT, Wb., Scheil, Mt., Bv.).
 x kh (KT), k (Wb.), h (Kg., Brd.), b (Hinz).
 c or \check{c} \check{k} (Wb.).
 j or \check{j} \check{g} (Wb., Scheil), \check{z} (Hz., Hinz).
 θ or β th (KT), t (Wb., Hinz), t (Scheil).
 ζ tr (KT), θ (Tm., Hz.), \dot{r} (Wb.), \underline{ss} (Bv.),¹
 \dot{s} (Kg., Brd., Hinz).
 f p (Wb.).
 y v j w (Kg., Brd.).

Some scholars also regularly indicate omitted h and n by raised letters or by letters in parenthesis, or the omitted n by a tilde over the preceding vowel. A few other variations are found, but it is hardly worth while to list them.

§21. THE REPRESENTATION OF a IN OP WRITING. The character a at the beginning of a word represents either \bar{a} or \bar{u} , and decision must be made on etymological and morphological grounds. Elsewhere in the word the character a is used only after an a -inherent character, the value being \bar{a} ; thus $n^a m^a = n\bar{a}m\bar{a}$. When the a -character is immediately followed by another consonant, or is final, the a of the consonant either represents \bar{d} or has no value at all; thus $d^a r^a s^a m^a = dar\bar{s}um$. For a or \bar{a} in diphthongs, see §24: for final \bar{a} written \bar{a} , see §36.

§22. THE REPRESENTATION OF i AND u IN OP WRITING. OP i is normally represented by the character i initially, and medially by the character i preceded by an i -consonant, or, if there is no special i -consonant character for the consonant sound, by the a -consonant; thus $im^a = ima$, $jiv^a = jiva$, $pit^a = pi\bar{u}$.

OP u is similarly represented; $ut^a = u\bar{t}$, $k^u r^u u\bar{s}^u = K\bar{u}r\bar{u}\bar{s}$, $pu\bar{c}^a = pu\bar{c}$.

Thus the difference of short and long in i and u is not represented in the script, except in the way indicated later (§23), of rare occurrence; and where there is no special i -consonant character or u -consonant character, there was no means of indicating the difference between i and the diphthong ai , and between \bar{u} and au (§24).

The i is occasionally omitted after an i -inherent consonant, and the u after a u -inherent consonant; there are the following examples, in the normalization of which we indicate the omission by printing the inherent vowel as a raised character:

$v\bar{i}bi\bar{s}$ DB 1.65 and other forms of the same word; so always in DB, but $v\bar{i}\theta$ in other inscriptions. $V\bar{i}\bar{s}l\bar{a}s\text{-}pa\text{-}pam\text{-}pahy\bar{a}$, always in DB, in some DS inscriptions, and in those of Artaxerxes II and III; but $V\bar{i}\bar{s}l\bar{a}s\bar{p}$ etc. elsewhere. $Arm\bar{i}niy\bar{a}iy$ four times in DB; also $-min\text{-}$. $j\bar{i}va\text{-}diy$ A²Sd 3; but $j\bar{i}va$, $j\bar{i}vahy\bar{a}$, $\bar{a}j\bar{w}al\bar{a}m$, $j\bar{i}va$ twice each, in inscriptions of Darius and Xerxes. $M\bar{i}^a\bar{r}a$, $M\bar{i}^a\bar{r}$, and also $M\bar{i}l[ra]$, in late inscriptions.

[$Uv\bar{a}ra$] $zm\bar{i}ya$ A²P 8; $Vahyav\bar{i}\bar{s}d\bar{a}paya$ Sd.

$Nabuk\bar{u}dracara$ DB 1.78f, 84, 93; but more often $Nabukudracara$.

$Kud\bar{u}ru\bar{s}$ DB 2.65.

$Sug\bar{u}da$ DPe 16; but $Suguda$ DB 1.16, DNa 23, $Sugud\bar{a}$ DSf 38, and $Sugda$ XPh 21, $Sugd\bar{a}m$ DPh 6, DH 5. With $s\bar{u}g\bar{u}d^a$ alongside $s\bar{u}g\bar{u}d^u$, cf. $fr^a h^a r^a w^a m^a = fra\text{-}harawam$ DB 1.17, alongside the usual $h^a r^a w^a = harawa$ (DB 1.40, etc.).

The i is omitted after an a -inherent consonant, three times in inscriptions of Darius, and four times in those of Artaxerxes II; we may indicate this by a raised a :

$B\bar{a}b\bar{r}aw$ DBi 11; elsewhere $B\bar{a}biraw$.

$bar\bar{a}t^y$ DB 5.22f; but $barat\bar{i}y$ DNa 42.

$Haz\bar{a}mani\bar{s}ya$ DNa 2f, A²Sd 2 (copies a and c); $Hazam\bar{a}n\bar{i}\bar{s}iya$ A²Sa 3; for the common $Haz\bar{a}mani\bar{s}iya$.

$ab\bar{r}iyapara$ A²Sa 4, for $*abiyaparam$.

$apan\bar{y}\bar{a}kama$ A²Sa 3, and presumably $[n^a y\bar{a}]kama$ A²Sa 4.

§23. WRITTEN INDICATION OF LENGTH OF i AND u WAS AT MOST SPORADIC, and is not absolutely certain even where it seems to be meant. Since final i and u were written $-iy^a$ and $-uw^a$, whether long or short (§§37-8), it is only in other positions that indication of length can be sought.

I. Apparently $-iya-$ in the interior of words contracted to $-i-$; there are the following examples:

$niya\bar{s}\bar{a}dayam$ DNa 36, and $n\bar{i}\bar{s}\bar{a}dayam$ XPh 34f.

$niya\bar{s}l\bar{a}ya$ DSn 1, XPh 50, XV 21, and $n\bar{i}\bar{s}l\bar{a}ya$ XPh 52f.

¹ Bv. Gr. §105 uses this transcription to indicate a strong sibilant; not a long sibilant, since Iranian shortened all long consonants (§130).

abiyajāvayam XPg 9, and *abijāvayam* XPf 40.
nīyasaya DNb 5, 46, 49, probably for **nīyasasaya*.
 [a]līya[s]līya DB 4.91, perhaps for **atīyasasiya*.
marika- DNb 50, 55, 59°, cf. Phl. *mērak*, Skt.
maryaka-; see Lex. s.v.

Perhaps in the verbs the longer writings should be normalized *nīyāvayam*, etc., with *-iy-* = *-īy-* graphic for *-i-*; but this cannot be definitely proved, for the uncontracted forms of these verbs may have survived alongside the contracted forms, by the analogy of the uncompounded forms **ajāvayam*, etc., where contraction was impossible.

II. For *u* = *ū*, there is better evidence; cf. the following:

ūnarā DNb 45, 51, *ūnaraibīš* DNb 48, cf. Skt. *sūndara*.

u^u*u*^u *u*^u*u*^u = *Ūva Ūvīya* many times, alongside *u*^u *u*^u = *Ūja Ūjaiy*; cf. later *Huž*.

dahyūnām DPh 2, DH 1f, alongside many occurrences of *dahyūnām*.

parūnām DNa 6, 7, DSe 6, 7, A²Pa 6, 7, alongside many occurrences of *parūnām*.

The last word gives the clue to the origin of this usage: asn. *paruw* for **parū* was the source of the orthography in the wrongly divided *paruw* : *zanānām* (§44; five occurrences), as well as in the undivided *paruzanānām* (XPb 15f, XPd 11), alongside the correct *paruzanānām* (DE 15f, XE 15f), with *ū*; thence this script passed into the gen. pl. *parūnām*, where the *ū* was long, giving *parūnām*; whence also the gen. pl. *dahyūnām* became *dahyūnām*. But initially, in *Ūva* and *ūnarā*, the usage must rest on an over-pronunciation in the process of analysis for reduction to writing (§46).

§24. THE DIPHTHONGS were indicated initially by the *a*-character + the *i*- or *u*-character; medially and final, by the *a*-consonant + the *i*- or *u*-character (for final diphthongs, see §§37-8): *aiw^m* = *aivam*, *aur^a* = *Aurā*; *aiw^a* = *aiwā*, *i^um^a* = *iaumā*; *i^uy^a* = *aiy*, *h^uw^a* = *haw*.

Long diphthongs could not be indicated initially, as distinct from short diphthongs, but were indicated in non-initial position by the writing of the *a*-character to show length: *aiš^a* = *aiš*, but *fr^aaiš^ay^m* = *frāišayam*, *dh^aiy^auš^a* = *dahyāuš*.

Ambiguities of interpretation are present where there are no special characters for the *i*-inherent or *u*-inherent consonants:

ciš^apⁱš^a = nom. *Cišpiš* and gen. *Cišpaiš*, whence for distinction also a writing *ciš^apⁱaiš^a* = *Cišpaiš* is found for the gen.

ti^uy^a = act. *-tiy*, mid. *-taiy*, personal ending of the third singular.

p^uu^a = *puça*, but would represent also *puça* if such a word had to be written.

§25. POSTCONSONANTAL *y* was written as *-iy-*; thus *anⁱi^a* = *aniya*, Skt. *anayas*; *dušⁱiy^arm^a* = *dušiyāram* 'famine', from **duš-* + *īār-* 'year'. But *hy* was not written *hiy*, since *i* was not normally represented after *h* (§27, where a few variant writings are listed).

An important regular exception is the relative pronoun and article *tya-*, always written *tⁱy^a* = *tya-*, and never *tⁱiy^a* = *tiya-*. The reason for this is that the nom. sg. masc. and fem. were *hya* and *hyā* (Skt. *syās syā*), in which an *i* could not be written (§27); and the other forms, using the stem *tya-*, followed their model in this point: thus nom. masc. *hya*, fem. *hyā*, nt. *tya*; acc. *tyam* *tyām* *tya*; etc.

§26. POSTCONSONANTAL *v* was written *-uw-*: thus *har^uu^a* = *haruwa*, Skt. *sārvas*; *θ^uw^am^a* = *θuvām*, Skt. *tvām*. In *fra^har^uu^am^a* = *fraharavam* (for *fra-haruvam*) there is an exceptional orthography. But as *h* was not written before *u*, the *hw* from *hu* was written merely *w* (§28).

§27. THE COMBINATION *hi* was peculiar, since it could normally be used only for the value *hai*, not for *hi*. In representing *hi*, whether the *i* was an etymological vowel or only a part of *hiy* for *hy* (§25) or for final *-hi* (§37), the *i* was normally omitted in writing: *an^hh^a* = *Anah^ata*, Av. *Anāhitā*; *dh^hiy^auš^a* = *dahyāuš*, Skt. *dāsyu-*; *h^uy^a* = *hya*, Skt. *syās*; *parⁱbar^hy^a* = *pari-barāhy*, Skt. *bhārāsi*; *h^uzān^am^a* = *h^uzānam* DB 2.74, Av. *hizvā*. Before an enclitic, the *-y* of *-hy* for *-hi* disappeared: *pari-barāh^a-diš* DB 4.74, cf. *pari-barāhy* 78; *vikanāh^a-diš* DB 4.77, cf. *vikanāhy* 73. Rarely, the *h^u* is omitted and the *i* is kept: *aišⁱ-tⁱa* = *aištatā* DB 1.85, cf. Av. pres. *hištaile*. Both types of writing are exemplified in *maniyāhay* DPe 20, *maniyāiy* XPh 47, for *maniyāhay*.

By exception, *hi* is written in the value *hi* normally in the place name *h^uid^auš^a* = *Hi^uduš*

and its forms, and in its ethnic *h'id'uy^a* = *Hi'd'uya*; and once in *an'h'it^a* = *Anahita* AŠd 3f. Occasionally there are writings with *h'iy^a* for *-hiy-* in words which are normally written *h'iy^a*: such are:

ab'h'iy^a = *abahiya* XPh 18; elsewhere *abahiya*.

dr'iy'h'iy^a = *drayahiyā* XPh 23; elsewhere *drayahiyā*.

ah'iy'ay^a = *ahiyāyā* XPb 17, XPd 12, XE 17, and in some copies of XPj; elsewhere *ahiyāyā*.

XŠy'h'iy^a = *XŠyahiyā* apparently in some copies of XPj; elsewhere *XŠyahiyā*.

§28. THE COMBINATION *h^au* also was peculiar, since it could be used only in the value *hau*, as in *h'uw^a* = *haww*. In indicating *hu*, the *h^a* was always omitted, and only the *u* written: *ub'w'w^a* = *ubartam*; *pr'h'iy'w^a* = *paliyapaya'wā*, cf. Skt. *-yasva*; *an'iy'aw^a* = *aniyā'wā*, cf. Skt. *anyāsu + ā*; *dr'ary'w^a* = nom. *Dārayava'uš*, *dr'ary'w^a* = gen. *Dārayavahauš*.

§29. THE PERSISTENCE OF VOWEL *r* into OP¹ makes difficulties in the normalization. The normalized form of some words containing *r^a* is certain: thus *g'r'm^a* in the month-name *Garma-pada-* might theoretically be *grama-* or *garama-* or *grma-*, but is actually *garma-*, a form assured by etymological cognates. The name *ar's'am^a* is *ršāma*, though the characters might equally well stand for *Aršāma*; and those who would normalize with *r* as a vowel, write *r'sāma*, using the sign for the glottal stop to represent the character which elsewhere has the vowel value *a*. But in *θ'r'm'iš^a* we have no clue to the vowel of the first syllable; it may be *θarmiš* or *θaramiš* or *θrmiš* (though hardly *θramiš*, since *θr* became *ç*). To avoid the necessity of making decisions in cases where there is no evidence, the normalization here employed is *ar* alike for phonetic *ar* and for phonetic *r*, and for those instances where we do not have proof of the value, which may also be *ara* or *ra*.

The problem confronts us wherever we find three successive consonants of which the first has inherent *a* and the second is *r^a*; wherever we find initial *a + r^a + a* consonant; and wherever we find at the end of a word the *r^a* preceded by an *a*-inherent consonant. The evidence which

may determine the phonetic value consists of the following kinds:

I. The evidence of etymological comparison: since OP *r* comes only from older *r*, it is testified to by correspondence with *r* or its products in other languages; notably (1) with Skt. *r*, (2) with Av. *ərə* (Av. *arə* normally represents earlier *ar* from PIE *er* or *ar*, *el ol al*).

II. The evidence of later Iranian: the development of the sounds into Pahlavi and into Modern Persian and its dialects may show the distinction between older *ar* and *r*. Thus *r* appears as NPers. *ir* after dental and guttural sounds, and as *ur* after labials, but *ar* regularly keeps the *a*-quality, and does not become *ir* or *ur*.

III. The evidence of borrowed words: OP words appear in Elamite with *ir* or *ur* for *r*, and with *ar* for *ar*; but there are occasional inconsistencies. There are also some borrowed words in Armenian, and a few in Arabic (from Pahlavi), which have differences reflecting the distinction in OP between *r* and *ar*.

IV. But sometimes the various items of evidence contradict one another, and then a decision must be made as to which line of evidence is stronger.²

§30. OLD PERSIAN *r* seems to be established in the following words; in many instances, fuller listing of evidential forms will be found in the Lexicon:

artācā = *rtācā*, Elam. *ir-ta-ha-ci*; so also in *artāvā*, *Artaxšaça*, *Artavardiya*, by the Elamite transcriptions.

Aršāma = *ršāma*, Elam. *ir-ša-ma* and *ir-ša-um-ma*; so also in *Aršaka*, *Aršādā*.

arštām = *rštām* by etymology, see Lex. s.v.

arštiš = *rštiš*, Skt. *rṣṣt-*, Av. *aršti-* (*r* > Av. *ar* before *št*), NP *hišt* (*h-* is a later accretion); so also *arštibara*.

avahar[da] = *avahṛda*, Skt. *ava-sṛja-*.

wāmaršiyuš = *-mršiyuš*, Av. *mərəthyu-*, Skt. *mṛtyū-*.

¹ On this subject, MB Gr. §93; on the development of *r* into Avestan, see Reichelt, Aw. Elmb. §109.2.

² Greek *ep* is not conclusive evidence for *r*, despite *ἐπορα* = *karša-* and *ἐμπόρις* = *Bardiya*, both with *r* (§30); cf. *Ἰνραφέρνης* = *Vīdāfarnā*, with *-ar-*, and *Ἀραάμης* = *Aršāma* and *Ἀραξένης* = *Artaxšaça*, both with *r* by the Elam. testimony, despite Gr. *ap-*. Several Greek transliterations of place-names have *ap* for Persian *ar*: *Παρθία* = *Parθava*, *Σαγαρία* = *Asagartā*, etc.

karta- = *kṛta-*, Skt. *kṛtā-*, Av. *karata-*; NPers. *kārd* has *-ār-* by analogy to other forms of the verb *kar-*.

karnuwakā = *kṛnuwakā*, cf. Av. present stem *kərnw-*.

karša- = *kṛša-*, Elam. *kur-ša-um*.

agarbāyam, *āgarbīla* = *-grb-*, Skt. *agrbhāyat*, Av. *gəurvayaŋ*.

Θāigarcaiš = *-grc-*, Elam. *sa-a-kur-ri-ši-iš*.

Dādaršiš = *-dṛš-*, Skt. *dādṛṣi-*, Elam. *da-tur-ši-iš* (once *da-tar-ši-iš*).

adaršnavuš = *-dṛš-*, Skt. *ādṛṣṇot*.

parsāmiy = *pr̥sāmiy*, Skt. *pr̥cchāmi*, Av. 3d sg. inf. *parasaŋ*; and other forms of the same verb.

Bardiya = *Br̥d-*, Elam. *bir-ti-ja*.

Parga = *Pr̥ga*, NPers. *Purg*, Arab. *Furf*; despite Elam. *par-rak-qa*.

marla- and *-bartā-*, ptcc. to roots *mar-* and *bar-*, = *mṛta-* and *-bṛta-*, Skt. *mṛtā-* and *bṛtā-*, Av. *mərata-* and *borata-*.

vi-mardatiy, Skt. *mṛdātī*.

varnavatām and other forms, = *vṛn-*, Skt. *vṛṇo-*, Av. *vərnəw-*.

Varkāna = *Vṛkāna*, Elam. *Mi-ir-qa-nu-ja-ip* 'Hyrcanians', Phl. MPers. *Gurgān*, Gk. *Ῥρκᾱνῖα*.

vardanam = *vṛj-*, GAv. *vərəzəna*, LAv. *varəzāna-*, Skt. *vṛjāna-*; see Lex. s.v.

ardata- 'silver', Av. *ərəzata-*; Yezdi *ālī* 'silver', from earlier *ard-*, is not necessarily evidence for OP, since Yezdi is a Kurdish dialect; Skt. *rajatā-* also has a different initial.

partara- 'battle', Av. *pašana-*, Skt. *pṛtana-*.

§31. OLD PERSIAN *ar* seems to be established in the following:

By the Elam. writings: *Arza* (or *Araza*), *Arbairā-*, *Armina*, *Asagarta*, *Parbava*, *Fravartīš* (also Phl. *fravarītkān*), *Marguš*, *Marduniya*, *-vard-* in *Artavardiya*, *Vidafarnā* (also Av. *xʾarmō*), *Vidarna*, *Sparāda*, *haumavargā*: many of these confirmed also by Greek forms, etc.

By the Avestan and Skt. cognates: *atar*, Skt. *antar*; *garma-* in *Garnapadahya*, Skt. *gharmā-*; *bard-*, Av. *sarəd-*; *darga-*, Av. *darəga-*, Skt. *darṅhā-*; *baršnā*, Av. instr. *barəšna*; *martiya*, Skt. *mārtiya-*.

ardastāna- 'window-frame', Elam. *har-da-iš-da-na*.

tarsatiy with Iran. *tars-* because of NPers. *tārsāš*, despite Av. *tərasaitī*, from *tṛs-*, both with IE suffix *-ske-*; but Skt. *trāsati* from **treseti*.

cartaniy: the *c* shows that a front vowel formerly stood immediately after it; therefore *car-* from **cer-* from **ker-*.

Karkā, Gk. *Kāpes*, *Kāpuol*; Elam. *kur-qa-ap* seems to have no evidential value.

[*valrtaiyaiy*, if identical with Skt. *varlaye*; see Lex. s.v. *vart-* for refl.

§32. OLD PERSIAN *ara* seems to be established in the following:

By cognates in Skt. and Avestan: *apatarām*, *aparam*, *para*, *hamarana-*, *partaram*, and the verbal nouns *-kara-* and *-bara-* as second elements of compounds.

By Elamite and other transcriptions: *Arakadriš* (or *Ark-?*), *Arabāya*, the final of *Nabukudra-cara*.

arasam impf. of pres. stem *rasa-* (*-sa-* from **-ske-*), NPers. *rāsām*; despite Skt. *rechātī* from **ṛsketi*.

arašaniš, Skt. *aratnī-*; see also Lexicon.

daraniya-, Av. *zaranya-*, Skt. *hṛanya-*.

§33. OLD PERSIAN *ra* AFTER CONSONANTS seems to be established in the following:

After *f θ z*, since *p t k* in Iranian became the corresponding voiceless spirants before another consonant (*θr* became OP *ç* but remained in Median, §78): *fra-* as prefix, Skt. *pra*, and all words beginning with *fra-*; *Mitra*; *xraθum*.

By transliterations: *Patigrabanā*; *-dra-* in *Nabukudracara*; *Zraka*, Gk. *Δραγγιᾱνῆ*.

frašlam in *u-frašlam u-fraslam*, etc. to root seen in Lt. *precor*, keeping strong-grade vowel.

brazmaniya, Elam. *pir-ra-iš-man-ni-ja*.

vazraka, a disputed word; see refl. in Lexicon.

§34. OLD PERSIAN GRAPHIC *ar* OF UNCERTAIN VALUE. OP graphic *ar* cannot be evaluated with certainty in the following:

Ablaut grades uncertain: *Arđumaniš*, for which the Elam. transcription is lacking; *duwardim*; [*daŋrtanam*, in which the restoration and formation are both uncertain.

Adequate cognates lacking: *arjanam*, *θarmiš*.

§35. OLD PERSIAN *ar* BEFORE *y* AND *v*. In this position OP *r* cannot be demonstrated with certainty. In all instances, graphic *ar* is followed by

iy or *uw*, precisely as though the *r* were a consonant. In some words there is testimony to the value *ar*.

I. The sequence *-ariy-* is found in *Ariya* (and compounds), where Elam. has *har-ri-ia*, proving phonetic *ar* and not *r*: and in the middle *amariyatā* to root *mar-* 'die', the passive *abariya* to root *bar-* 'bear', and the passives *akariya akariyatā kariyaiš* to root *kar-* 'do, make'. The corresponding Skt. forms, in the 3d sg. impf., are *amriyate*, *abkriyate*, *akriyate*; but the OP forms from root *kar-* cannot have this vocalism, since the product would be **axriya-*. In this verb then there was in these forms a vowel between the *k* and the *r*: either a full vowel or the reduced vowel (shwa secundum or *ə*), which assumed the full value of a short vowel in Indo-Iranian. It is likely that the other two verbs had the same formation. Thus there is no sure support for the sequence *rĭ* in OP.

II. For OP *-arw-* we find the following examples:

harwa-, once written *fra-haravam*; Skt. *sārva-* shows that this has a full vowel, as does also Gk. *ἄλος*.

paruwam (and derivatives), corresponding to Skt. *pūrva-*, which had *r̥*; this became *ar* in Avestan, so that here there is Iran. *arv*.

arwāyā and *arwastam* probably have *arv-*, since the Elam. transcribes *arwastam* with *har-va-as-tam*.

Gaubarwa = *barv-*, on the evidence of Elam. *kam-bar-ma*, or *-barw-* on the added evidence of Akk. *gu-ba-ru-*, Gk. *Γωβρόνης*.

§36. OLD PERSIAN FINAL *ā*.

I. OP final *ā* was written with the sign of length; that is, with addition of the separate character for *a*: *utā* = *ulā*, Skt. *ulā*; *-cā* = *-cā*, Skt. *ca*; *m^rariyahyā* = *martiyahyā*, Skt. *-asya*.

II. But graphic final *ā* represents regularly also any absolutely final *ā* or any *ā* followed by an unwritten minimal final consonant (§40): *p^riā* = *pitā*, Skt. *pitā*; *napā* = *napā*, Skt. *nāpāt*; abl. *Pārsā* = *Pārsā*, Skt. abl. *-ād*; npf. *tyā* = *tyā*, Skt. *tās*.

III. Any graphic final *ā* represents the *ā* with an unwritten minimal final consonant: *ab^rā* = *abara* for *abara*, Skt. *ābharat*, or *abara*, Skt. *ābharan*; *h^ryā* = *hya* for *hya*, Skt. *syās*; *t^ryā* =

tya for *tyā*, Skt. *tyād*; *p^riā* = *piça* for *piçā*, Gk. *παρπός*.

IV. Occasionally a graphic final *ā* represents final *ā* without a following consonant, especially if there is close syntactic connection with the next word; this is almost confined to the genitive ending *-ahyā* = Skt. *-asya*:

- Regularly in the *-ahyā* genitive of the month name, before *māhyā*: *Viyaznahyā māhyā* DB 1.37; other examples 1.42, 96; 2.26, 36, 41, 56, 61, 69, 98; 3.7f, 18, 39, 46, 63, 68; and restored in 1.89, 3.88.
- Sometimes in other genitives standing before the nouns on which they depend: *Uvaxštrahyā taumāyā* DB 4.19, 4.22, e.7, g.9f (but *-hyā* DB 2.15f, 2.81); *Nabunātahyā puça* DB 3.81, 4.14, 4.30, d.5f, i.7f (but *-hyā* DB 1.79); *Halditahyā puça* DB 3.79; or with which they agree: *Aurahyā Mazdāha* XPc 10 (cf. §44); *haruwahyāyā būmīyā* DSB 8f (but probably *-yāyā* DSI 16, 18).
- Four times before an initial vowel, all in one short passage (DB 3.38-51): *Vahyazdātahyā aja* DB 3.38f, 3.46; *āhatā agarbāya* DB 3.49, *āhatā Uvādaicaya* DB 3.51 (*āhatā* often); in none of which the syntactic connection is close.

§37. OLD PERSIAN FINAL *i* was always written with added *y* (§46): *am^riya* = *amīy*, Skt. *āsmi*; *as^rtiya* = *astīy*, Skt. *āsti*; this includes the diphthong *-ai*: *v^rin^rtiya* = *vainatīy*.

But final *-hi*, which would be expected to give *-h^riya* = *-hiy*, must be written *-h^ryā* = *-hiy*, since *h^ri* is almost never written for *hi* (§27): *am^rh^rya* = *amahy*, for **as-masi*; *v^rin^rah^rya* = *vaināhy*.

§38. OLD PERSIAN FINAL *u* was always written with added *v* (§46): *p^rur^ru* = *paruv*, Skt. *pūrū*; *an^rur^ru* = *anuv*, Skt. *ānu*; *b^rur^ru* = *baratuv*, Skt. *bhāratu*; *h^rur^ru* = *hauv*.

§39. OLD PERSIAN NASALS BEFORE CONSONANTS were omitted in the writing, except before *y* and *v*; such omitted sounds may be represented by raised letters in the normalized transcription, when desirable: *h^rtiya* = *h^rūtiy*, Skt. *sānti*; *k^rb^rūjiya* = *Ka^mbūjiya* 'Cambyse', see Elam., Akk., Gk. transcriptions in Lexicon; *b^dka* = *ba^ddaka*, Phl. *bandak*; *k^rp^da* = *Ka^mpa^da*, Elam. *qa-um-pan-taš*.

Before enclitics, a final nasal which would otherwise be written, is retained: *gʷiθamʷa* = *gaiθām-cā*; *xšačam-šim*, *parwam-ciγ*, *adam-šim*.

For *-ny-* and *-nw-*, *-niγ-* and *-nuw-* are written (§§25-6): *anʷiyʷ* = *aniya*, Skt. *anyās*; *tʷunʷmʷ* = *tunwaʷlam*, for **tunwantam*.

§40. OLD PERSIAN REDUCED FINAL CONSONANTS were omitted in writing: these were *s* (after *ā*), *t*, *d*, *n*, *nt*; *s* had become *h* and *nt* had been reduced to *n* in pAryan. That they were still pronounced, though with a minimal value, at least after short *ā*, is shown by the fact that they prevented the representation of a preceding *ā* by a long vowel (§36.III): thus voc. *martiyā* for *-yā*, Skt. *-ya*; but nom. *martiya* for *-yāʰ*, Skt. *-yaḥ*. The unwritten consonants may be represented by raised letters in normalized transcription, when desirable: thus *hyaʰ*, *tyaʰ*, *abaraʰ*, *abaraʷ* (for *-nt*), *nāmaʷ*; nom. pl. *martiyāʰ*, abl. sg. *Pārsāʰ*. There is one example of such a reduced consonant after *i*:¹ enclitic *-ciγ*, = Av. *-cīt*, Skt. *cid*, Lt. *quid*. There is no example of the reduced final consonants after *u*.²

§41. REPETITION OF THE SAME CONSONANT-SIGN is permitted only when the inherent vowel of the prior character is a pronounced vowel: *adʰdʰa* = *adadā*, *imʷmʷ* = *imam*. Any long consonants which had developed by assimilation had been shortened in Iranian; even the doubles that came from enclisis were graphically reduced to singles: *āpišim* DB 1.95f = *āpiš-šim*, *taumanišaiy* DNb 25f = *taumaniš-šaiy*, [*nʷā*]kama AʷSa 4 = *niyākam-maiy* (§52.I). An error in cutting the characters, or in the drafting of the model copy, has given a repeated *mʷ* in *cʷiyakʷmʷmʷcʷiyʷ*, twice in DNb 51-2, for *-mʷcʷmʷcʷiyʷ*, = *cʷiyākaramcamaiy*.

§42. THE IDEOGRAMS are five in number, standing respectively for *xšāyabiya* 'king', *dahyāuš* 'province', *būmiš* 'earth', *Auramazdā* 'Ahuramazda', and *baga* 'god'; they are transcribed by *XŠ*, *DH*, *BU*, *AM*, *BG*. In DSk 4 there is what seems to be a ligature for *AM-ha*.

The ideograms, without addition of syllabic characters, stand for the nominative singular;

other forms are indicated by writing after the ideogram the last character or characters of the full word. Thus acc. *xšāyabiya* is written *XŠmʷ* or *XŠ-yʷmʷ* = *XŠm* or *XŠyam*; gen. *xšāyabiya* is written *XŠ-yʷa* *XŠ-hʷya* *XŠ-yʷhʷya* = *XŠyā* *XŠhyā* *XŠahyā*; but *XŠ-ahʷya* AʷSd 2 is a misspelling, since this should mean *XŠahyā* rather than the intended *XŠhyā*.

The use of ideograms had its limitations in time and place, to judge by the extant inscriptions. Darius I used no ideograms at Behistan, Naqš-i-Rustam, Elvend, and on the weights; Xerxes used none at Elvend and Van. Darius I used only *XŠ* at Suez, and varied between *XŠ* and none at Persepolis; Xerxes also varies between *XŠ* and none at Persepolis, but in XPj has *XŠ* and *DH*, but not *BU*. At Susa, Darius I varied from the use of none to the use of *XŠ* only, and that of *XŠ DH BU AM*, so far as they occur (on DSe DSf DSM DSt, see below); Xerxes in his two short inscriptions gives no proof of using any ideogram, but Darius II seems to have used all five, including *BG* which appears only in DʷSa; Artaxerxes II certainly used four ideograms, but may also have entirely avoided their use in another inscription. At Hamadan, Ariaramnes has no ideogram; Darius I has only *XŠ*; Xerxes has only *XŠ*, but happens not to use the other words; Artaxerxes II has four (but see below on AʷHe), but writes *baga* in full in AʷHe. The other texts are too brief or defective to warrant special remark.

In general, then, more ideograms appear in later texts, and they were more used at Susa than elsewhere. Further, *XŠ* was the ideogram of most widespread use, and the order of introduction into texts was *DH*, *BU*, *AM*, *BG*. Few texts have any irregularity in this respect, and few use both ideogram and full writing for the same word; there are the following exceptions: DSe contains all five words, with a regular use of *XŠ*, and the rest in full, except that after four occurrences of *Auramazdā* and its forms *AM* is found in line 50 (restored but certain). DSf has both *būmim* and *BU BUyā*; otherwise *XŠ* and *DH*, but *Auramazdā* and *baga* in full. DSM, as restored by Brandenstein, WZKM 39.55-8, has *XŠ* and *xšāyabiya*, *DHnām* and *dahyāva*, *būmiyā*, *AMhā* and *AMmaiγ*; it is probable that all the words should be written

¹ Final *s* after *i* and *ā* became *š* in pAryan, and this final *š* is written in OP. ² The final *t* was analogically replaced by *š* in such forms of 3d sg. *akunauš* (= Skt. *ākṛnāt*); §228.III.

in full, but in presenting the text it seemed hardly worth while to make the alterations, since only a few slight fragments are preserved.

DSt, as restored, has *XŠ* and *xšāyabiya* (both entirely restored), and *būmim Auramazdā bagāibiš*; this should not be, but I fail to see any alternative.

A³Sc seems to have *XŠ* and *xšāyabiya*; but this is a much mutilated text, and also the inscriptions of Artaxerxes II are not accurately written.

A³He agrees with DSf; it has *būmim* and *BUyā*, otherwise *XŠ* and *DH*, but *Auramazdā* and *bagā*.

A³Pa has *xšāyabiya*, *DH*, *būmām* (sic) and *BUyā*, *Auramazdā*, *bagā*; a state of variation which is attributable to the inaccuracy of OP writing at this period.

§43. NUMERALS: The cardinals are not written in full (except *aiva-* 'one' in a formulaic phrase), but are indicated by signs: 1, a single long vertical wedge; 2, two short vertical wedges, one above the other; 3, two short verticals with a long vertical to the right, and so on; 10, an angle with point to the left; 20, two small angles, one above the other; 100, two short horizontal wedges meeting at their points, above a single vertical wedge. Smaller units are placed to the right of larger units. But the ordinals are written in full, with the regular characters.

The cuneiform characters for the numerals are given at the end of the Lexicon, where their occurrences also are listed.

§44. THE SEPARATION OF WORDS is made in OP by a word-divider, which in the Behistan text has the form of an angle with the point to the left, and in other texts is a single slanting wedge running from upper left to lower right. The divider stands at the beginning of each column and of each section and each smaller inscription at Behistan, and at the end of Behistan a-g, i-j; elsewhere it does not stand at the beginning, but it stands at the end of DPd, of some copies of XPd, of A³Pa, and of some of the items in A²P. It is frequently lacking between words in Scheil's texts from Susa, notably in DSa, DSe, DSd, DSG, DSi, DSj, DSy, A³Sd; these texts have been published not in mechanical reproductions, but only in hand-drawn copies, but the

reliability of the copyist is confirmed by similar omissions in DSy, our text of which has been read from a carbon rubbing of the original.¹ In other inscriptions omission of the divider is extremely rare: examples are *yadīmanīyāy* XPh 47 = *yadi(y) : maniyā(ha)iy*, and *upā Artaxša- [čām]* Sf. The gen. *Auramazdāha* is replaced in XPe 10 by *Aurahyā Mazdāha*, with declension of both parts of the compound, but no divider.²

The emphatic adverb *apiy* is sometimes attached to the preceding as an enclitic, and sometimes separated from it by a divider. The enclitic pronoun *diš* is preceded by a divider in DB 4.34, 35, 36. At DB 5.11, *utā : daiy : marda* is probably to be emended to *utā : viyamarda*, with wrongly inserted divider;³ other peculiarities in connection with enclitics are given in §133.

Two compound words are sometimes cut by the divider; these are *Ariya : cičā* and *Ariyacičā*, *parw : zanānām* and *paruzanānām paruzanānām*. There is also variation between the phrasal adverb *paradraya* and the prepositional phrase *para : draya*. But in Fragment Theta of DSf, the . . . *ly^a :-k^a {-}* . . . supposed to belong to *dāramiyakarā* 49 should be read . . . *ly^a :-s^a {-}* . . . as part of *avaiy : Spardiya* 51-2.

§45. THE NORMALIZATION OF OP TEXTS.¹ The first step is to make a close transcription of the text, representing the inherent vowels of the consonantal characters by raised letters. Then in normalizing:²

¹ Cf. JAOS 67.32-3. ² For possible haplography of the divider with the angle-sign of the adjacent character, see notes on DB 4.71 and 4.83. ³ So Wb. ZfA 46.55, for KT's reading; cf. Lex. s.vv. *-di-* and *mard-*.

§45. The normalized text is not necessarily a phonetic text, but only an approximation to such a text. Especially note the normal writings

(a) final *-ā -īy -ūv* for phonetic *-ā -ī -ū*.

(b) *iy* and *uv* for postconsonantal *y* and *v*.

(c) *h^a* or rarely *i* for *hi*, and especially *hy* for (phonetic) *hy* or *hiy* or final *hi*.

(d) *u* for *hu*, and especially *uv* for (phonetic) *hu* or *huv* or final *-hu*.

² This system of normalization for Old Persian texts has become standard among scholars; it is the outcome of a long series of attempts to reach sound conclusions, made by the earlier workers in the field (§16; §14.n1, citing Weissbach's article in which earlier literature may be traced). The proof of its correctness lies in the fact that it works, enabling us to make cogent comparisons with cognates in other IE languages and with

- A. The vowel character *a* initial becomes (normalized) *ā* or *ā*, or the prior part of a diphthong *āi* or *āu*: medial, *ā* or the prior part of *āi āu*: final, *ā*.
- B. The vowel characters *i* and *u* become *ī* or *ū*, *ī* or *ū*; or the second part of a diphthong.
- C. The consonantal characters with inherent *i* and *u*, if standing before *i* or *u*, lose the inherent vowel.
- D. The consonant characters with inherent *a*
- keep the *a* to show the vowel sound before a medial consonant, or as part of the diphthongs *ai* and *au*, or final before an unwritten minimal consonant (*t d n h*);
 - lose the *a* when the consonant sound is immediately followed by another consonant, or by the character *a* (= *ā*), or when the consonant is final in the word (*-š -m -r -y -v*), or when the *a*-inherent character functions for an *i*- or *u*-inherent character before the characters *i* or *u*.
- E. Raised *i u a* are used in the normalized text to show:
- i* and *u*, to show *i*- and *u*-inherent characters after which the *i* and *u* failed to be written.
 - a*, to show *a*-inherent characters functioning for *i*-inherent characters after which *i* failed to be written.
- F. Raised *n* and *h* medial, *t d n h* final, may optionally be supplied to mark sounds not indicated in the writing:
- medial *n*, before a consonant not *y* nor *v*.

borrowed words in non-IE languages. Although some scholars use other symbols to represent certain OP syllabic characters (§20), there is no important disagreement in method, and there is no gain in using those other characters. A goodly amount of ambiguity still remains in connection with initial *a* and with *a*-inherent characters (§21, §22), and with the value of (normalized) *ar*, which is phonetic *ar* or *r* (§29-§35); such problems must be settled by etymological comparison or by comparison with borrowings in other languages; but these are only problems relating to individual words or forms, not affecting the general method of normalization. On these, one should consult the Lexicon, where divergent views are cited under the words concerned. Some scholars, it is true, normalize or rather 'interpret' OP *ai* and *au* as *e* and *o*, but the only result is to obscure the relation between the word and its cuneiform representation; it is quite simple, if one so desires, to regard *ai* and *au* as symbols for the sounds *e* and *o*.

- medial *h*, before *u* and rarely before *i* and *m*.
- final *t d n h*, after *ā* and *ā*.

§46. THE REDUCTION OF OP TO WRITING. The scribes, in analyzing the OP words into sounds, must have spoken the words slowly, prolonging them until the sound-units could be clearly distinguished and receive each a symbol. This procedure was, apparently, responsible for the most conspicuous of the peculiarities of the syllabary, notably the following: every consonant which stood before a consonant or final was equipped with the common vowel *a*; postconsonantal *y* and *v* became *iy* or *uw* (§25, §26); final *ā* was prolonged to *ā* (§36), though the reduced final consonants, even though they were never written, checked the prolongation and caused the keeping of *ā* (§40): final *i* and *u* were prolonged to *īy* and *ūw* (§37, §38; after *i* and *u* the reduced final consonants seem to have been entirely lost, §40); anteconsonantal *ī* and *ū* were occasionally prolonged to *īy* and *ūw* (§23); medial *ay* and *aw* occasionally became *aiy* and *aww* (§48).

This procedure, however, does not explain the peculiarities in the writing of *h* before *i* and *u* (§27, §28), nor the omission of the anteconsonantal nasal and of certain reduced final consonants (§39, §40); the most that we can say is that they were disregarded in writing because they were weak sounds, yet most of them survived into later periods of Persian.

§47. IRREGULARITIES AND ERRORS IN OP WRITING are, of course, to be found; in the preceding sections we have listed the examples of the following irregular phenomena:

- Lack of *i* or *u* after a consonant with inherent *i* or *u*, to denote *i* or *u*; §22.
- Lack of *i* after a consonant with inherent *a*, to denote *i*; §22.
- Lack of *a* final, to mark absolutely final *ā* as *ā*; §36.
- Writing of *hi* by *h^a* or by *i* or by *hⁱi*; §27.
- Writing of *tja-* and its forms by *t^aya-* instead of by *tⁱiy^a-*; §25.
- Occasional writing of *iy^a* and *uw^a* to denote *ī* and *ū*; §23.
- Variation between ideograms and full writing in the same inscription; §42.

Irregularities in word division and in the use of the word-irregular; §44.

Other irregularities and errors will be discussed in §48-§57.

§48. MEDIAL *ay* AND *aw* were occasionally prolonged in the analysis for reduction to writing, so that they became *aiy* and *aw* (cf. JAOS 62.271-2); the examples are the following:
adāraya DB 1.85, 2.9, 3.23, DNā 41; *adāraiya* DNā 22.

amānaya DB 2.48, 2.63; *amānaiya* DB 2.28.

parādraya DNā 28f; *parādraiya* A?P 24 (cf. *draya*, *drayahyā*, *drayahiya*).

Perhaps [va]rtaiyaiy DB 4.44, for *vartaiyaiy*.

Cf. also the sandhi phenomena of *dūraiapiy* DNā 12, *dūrayapiy* DNā 46, and the same as two words, *dūrai yapiy*.

bavaiy DNb 14, *bavaiy* DNbv 14.

gūthavā DB 1.62f, etc.; *dahyauwā* DB 1.34.

tauwiyā DSe 39, cf. Skt. *sthaviyas*.

yauwiyā DZc 8f, 10; cf. Skt. *yavyā*.

hawam DB 1.29, for **hav-am*, from *haw* + enclitic *-am*.

§49. VARIATIONS IN CONSONANTS sometimes appear in the writing, though this can usually be explained as the product of special causes: lateness, dialect, borrowing from other languages.

(a) *t/d*, in the late *Ardaxšaça* AVsa, for *Artaxšaça*.

in borrowed *tacaram* DPa 6, XPj, and *dacaram* DSd 3.

(b) *c/š*, in late inscriptions:

haša A?Sdc 4, for the usual *haçā*.

Xšayārcahyā A?Sa 2 bis, for *Xšayāršā* etc.

[usta]canām A?Sc 5f, for *ustašanām* A?Pa 22.

Ardaxšaça AVsa for *Artaxšaça*.

(c) *ç* and variants: in late *Ardaxšaça* AVsa, for *Artaxšaça*.

in late *Mit[ra]*, *M'ira*, *M'ira* (see Lexicon), and the Persian personal name *Vau-misa* DB 2.49 etc.

Other variants are explained in the phonology as being due to admixture of Median forms; cf. §8.

§50. THE ERRORS OF WRITING can be divided into the following heads:

1. Metathesis of characters; §51.

2. Omission of characters and of groups of characters; §52.

3. Addition of characters or of groups of characters; §53.

4. Alteration of characters by omission or addition of a stroke; §54.

5. Miswritings less easily classified; §55.

6. Syntactical misuse of forms; §56.

7. Creation of new incorrect forms; §57.

Some examples might be classified under more than one of these headings, but will be arbitrarily assigned to the places which are most appropriate. As will be seen, most of these errors belong to late inscriptions, that is, after those of Xerxes. For by this time the development to Middle Persian was under way; sounds were undergoing changes, new words and meanings were coming in, the final syllables were being lost. OP had ceased to be a vernacular, and the scribes who composed the inscriptions had no experience of the language as it had been. They were thrown back upon the use of words and forms found in the older records, the use of which they often failed to understand. The result was inevitably an inaccurate orthography, most notably in the final syllables.

§51. METATHESIS OF CHARACTERS. The examples are the following:

ciyākaramm^cciy^a DNb 51, 51f, for *-c^mciy^a*, = *ciyākaram-ca-maiy*.

im^a A?P 22, for *iy^am^a*, = *iyam*.

Dārayavahauš nom. XPf 25, *Dārayavauš* gen.

XPf 28: the original copy had *-u^aš* in both places, and the corrector, finding the error in 28, made the insertion in the word where it stood in 25.

Skudrā XPh 27, *Kūšiya* XPh 28: a similar error; the lacking *a* should have been added to *k^au^ašiya^a*, but was actually added to *s^ku^ad^ara^a*, which stood just above it.

šarastibara Dnc 2, written *š^ar^as^atⁱb^ar^a*: the original copy had *ar^as^atⁱb^ar^a* = *arstibara*, and in endeavoring to change to *ar^aš^atⁱb^ar^a* = *aršti-bara*, the scribe altered the first character instead of the third.

Haṣamān^ašiya A?Sa 3, with *-x^am^an^a* for *-x^aam^an^a*. *dawadānam* XPhb 37f for the correct *-dānam* in copy a; the *r^a* for *n^a* stands at the end of line 37, and is copied from line 36, where the last character is *r^a*.

§52. OMISSIONS OF CHARACTERS: The omissions fall into several classes.

I. The characters *iy*^a at the end of a word are sometimes omitted after an *a*-inherent consonant:

tya^a = *tya(iy)* XPh 23; *an^aiy^ašc^a* = *an^aiyāšc(iy)* XPh 41f; *par^aiyail^a* = *par^aiyail(iy)* XPh 52.

apan^aiyākama^a = *apan^aiyākama(iy)* A²Sa 3;

[n^aya]kama^a = *[n^aya]kama(iy)* A²Sa 4.

pāra^a = (loc.) *Pārsa(iy)* AsH 3.

a[vā]m^a = *a[vā]mc(iy)* DB 5.2f (probable restoration).

II. The *-i-* may be omitted in final *-aiy*:

Auramazdā-tay DB 4.58, for *-taiy*.

maniyāhay DPe 20, for *-haiy*.

uta-may A²Sdc 4, for *uta-maiy* (which is in db).

Cf. forms of *dūrai*, with enclitic *apiy* (§136).

III. The character *a* was sometimes omitted where it marked length:

Xšyānām DPh 1, DH 1, *xšyayāyānām* A²Sc 2f, A¹Pa 10, for *-yānām*.

avaθā XPh 30, for the common *avaθā*.

Auramazdāhā XPh 34, 43, XPh 14, 33, 37, 44, A¹Pa 18f, for *-āhā*.

ahāniy XPh 47, 48 (1st sg. subj.) = Skt. *āsāni*; unless the *ā* is analogical to the *ā* in other forms, such as 3d sg. *ahatiy*.

stūnāyā D²Sa 1, A²Hb, perhaps 1sf. for *-āyā*.

framātāram A²Pa 8, for the common *framātāram*.

Anāhiitā, *Anāhetā*, in A²Sa, A²Sd, A²Ha, for (Av.) *Anāhiitā*.

hyā waspā AmH 6, for *hyā*.

tyā ukārām waspām AsH 9f, for *tyām ukārām waspām* (cf. §56. V).

IV. The character *a*, representing the augment, seems to be lacking in *avāhar[da]* DB 2.94. On an apparently unaugmented *marda* DB 5.11, cf. §44 and Lex. s.v. *mard-*.

V. Final *m* is lacking in *iya* DB 4.90; *tuva* XPh 46; *Xšyānā* A²Sb; *apadāna* A²Sa 3, A²Ha 5; *abryapara* A²Sa 4. For all but the last, the forms with *-m* are found in other passages. Cf. also *tya* AsH 9, 13^a, for *tyām* (§52. III, §56. V).

VI. Miscellaneous characters are lacking as follows; for brevity we put the omitted value in the word, in parenthesis:

Auramaz(d)ām DB 1.54f; *u(l)ā* DB 3.77; perhaps *ava(θ)ā* DB 4.51; *i(ya)m* DB 4.91; in *U]lā[na : n]āma* DB 4.83, according to KT, the gap is inadequate for *n^a : n^a*; *im^a* DB 4.89 (Cameron), for *i(mā)m*; *Nabuku(d)racara* DBi 5f.

Auramazdā(ma)iy DN^a 50; *ayāu(ma)iniš* DNb 59.

y^ad^aim^an^aiy^aiy^a XPh 47, for *yad(iy :) maniyā-(ha)iy*.

ahyā(yā) A²Sdc 1 = *ahyāyā* A²Sdb 1.

utamaiy : kartam A²Sdb 4 (-may de), for *ut(ā :) tyā)mai* : *kartam*.

Dārayava(u)šahyā A²Ha 2, 2^a, 4, 4^a.

mar(i)ya)hyā A²Pa 4f; *aθaga(i)nām* A²Pa 22.

VII. A serious haplography occurs, according to Bv. MSLP 23.182-3, in DB 1.66, where he would read *ašinā : adam : (patiyābaram : adam :) karam*; but his assumption is not necessary for an interpretation.

§53. ADDITION OF CHARACTERS: in almost all examples the addition is of the character *a*:

awājanīyā DB 1.51, 52, perhaps for *awajanīyā*; cf. JAOS 62.274.

patiyābaram DB 1.68, perhaps for *patiyabaram*; cf. JAOS 62.275.

Hāzāmanišiya XPa 10f, for *Hazāmanišiya*.

āhām XPh 15f, for *āham*.

akunauuš XSab 2, for *akunauš*, as in XSaa 2.

Artaxšaahyā A²Sa 2 bis, for *Artaxšaahyā* (or as in §172).

Xšah^aya = *Xšāhyā* A²Sd 2, for *Xšh^aya* = *Xšhyā* or *Xšy^ah^aya* = *Xšyahyā*.

akunawām A²Sdb 3, for *akunawam*.

gustā A²Sda 4, db 4, for *gastā* (as in A²Sdc, and elsewhere).

puçā A²Hb, for *puça* (after *napā*, acc. to Brd. WZKM 39.92).

Pārsā AmH 5, for *Pārsa*.

asmānām A²Pa 3, for *asmānam*.

Doublet forms, one with and the other without the character *a*, sometimes occur, where doubt may exist as to whether two pronunciations actually existed, or one of the two writings is erroneous:

wāipašiyām DB 1.47, but *wāipašiyahyā* DNb 15. *ciyākaram* DNb 50, 51, 51f, but *ciyākaram* DN^a 39.

gen. *Cišpāiš* DB 1.5f, but *Cišpāiš* DBa 8, AmH 3; cf. §179. IV, Lg. 19.222.

acc. *dahyāum* DPd 15, 18, DN^a 53; but *-y^aum^a* = *-yaum* or *-yum*, in *visadahy^aum^a* XPa 12, *DHy^aum^a* A²Pa 26.

In A²Sb an extra XŠ is inscribed after *Xšyānā*; unless indeed the engraver has omitted the word

DHyinām immediately after the apparently extra *XŠ*.

§54. ALTERATION OF CHARACTERS BY OMISSION OR ADDITION OF A STROKE sometimes occurs, altering the value; the error may be either in original engraving, or in the reading by the modern observer:

I. The stroke is lacking; the corrected form is given first:

[A]*lamaita* DB 5.5, formerly read *l^mmⁱt^a*; see Lexicon.

ṭadayātaiy D⁵sa 5, formerly read *mⁱiy^a* = *miy*; cf. Hz. ApI 156-8.

utava DB 4.71f, for KT's *d^av^a*.

abaraha XPh 17, inscribed *ab^rr^a*.

ṭatagudaya, perhaps to be read for *ṭataguiya* A?P 11; see Lexicon.

II. The stroke is in excess:

agaṇatā DB 3.55, inscribed *ag^rur^a*, acc. to KT.

abara DB 3.67, inscribed *ab^rr^a*, acc. to KT.

akariyatā DB 3.92, inscribed *as^rr^a*, acc. to KT.

vikāṇahy DB 4.71, 73, inscribed *vⁱsⁱ*, acc. to KT.

vikāṇahⁱdiš DB 4.77, inscribed *vⁱsⁱ*, acc. to KT.

pasāva : *hadā* : *kārā* DB 5.21, correction from KT's *hadā* : *kārā* : *Sa[kām]*.

fr^ašm^a = *frašam* D⁵sa 5, rather than *fr^aš^a* = *frašta*; cf. Hz. ApI 156-8.

§55. MISCELLANEOUS ERRORS OF WRITING are in the following:

I. The word is recognizable, but is considerably changed from the writing known in other passages:

š^kurⁱm^a = *š^kaurim* DB 4.65, for *š^kurⁱm^a* = *š^kaurim*.

y^di^yi^š = *yadaiyaiša* XPh 39, for *y^di^yi^š* = *yadiyaiša*.

y^dai^ya = *yadāyā* XPh 39, apparently for *yadāyā*.

vⁱas^pa = *vⁱaspā* A³Sdb 4, for *vⁱis^pa* = *vispā* (so A²Sda, dc 4).

b^um^am^a = *būmām* A²Pa 2, for *b^umⁱm^a* = *būmim*.

š^auf^am^a = *šāyatām* A³Pa 4, for *š^aiy^am^a* = *šāyatim*.

ak^uun^am^a = *akunām* XSc 3 and A²Ha 5f (only *ām* visible), A²Ša 4 and 5 (restored); *ak^uun^a* = *akunā* A²Ha 7; *ak^uun^aš^a* = *akunanašāša* A²Sdc 3 (and *ak^uun^av^am^a* = *akunavām* A²Sdb 3, see §53); all for *ak^uun^av^am^a* = *akunavam*.

ak^uun^aš^a = *akunaš* A²Ša 3f, D⁵Sbb 3, for *ak^uun^aš^a* = *akunauš*.

II. The word is itself problematic or obscure: *a+^aa+* DB 4.89, as read by KT; see now Cameron's reading.

am^ax^am^aa DB 4.92, as read by KT; perhaps *hamazmatā* (JAOS 62.269).

af^uur^aa DNb 38, perhaps for *arwāyā* (JNES 4. 44, 52).

b^aat^uug^a : *šⁱiy^am^a* = *bātugara* : *šiyamam* A¹I; uncertain words.

jⁱir^di^y : *p^rr^adⁱy^am^a* = *jⁱiradiy* : *paradayadām* A²Sd 3; uncertain words.

All the words on Seals b, c, d, e; uncertain.

§56. ERRORS IN SYNTAX may be either the product of an intentional writing of a form other than that called for by the use of the word in its context, or the product of a fortuitous miswriting which accidentally yields a form not called for by the context. Those occurring in the OP inscriptions may be classified as follows:

I. The nominative form, in a group of two or more words, is used as appositive or as predicate to a noun in another case or to an adverb; see §312, §313, §247E.

II. The nominative is apparently misused for the genitive, or the genitive for the nominative, in genealogies of Artaxerxes I-II-III; these misuses are explainable as examples of anacoluthon; see §313.

III. The labels of the throne-bearers in DN and A?P are sometimes written with the plural of the ethnic, or with the province-name for the ethnic; we give the examples, with a literal translation:

DN xv *iyam* : *Sakā* : *tigraza[udā]* 'this is the Pointed-Cap Scythians'.

DN xxix *iyam* : *Maciyā* 'this is the men of Maka'.

A?P 9 *iyam* : *Zrakā* 'this is the Drangians'.

A?P 14 *iyam* : *Sakā* : *haumavargā* 'this is the Amyrgian Scythians'.

A?P 15 *iyam* : *Sakā* : *tigraza[udā]* (as above).

A?P 23 *iyam* : *Yaunā* 'this is the Ionians'.

A?P 24 *iyam* : *Sakā* : *paradraiya* 'this is the Scythians across the sea'.

A?P 26 *iyam* : *Yauna* : *takabarā* 'this is the Ionian (sg.), petasos-wearers (pl.)'.

DN xvi [*iyam* : *Bā]biruš*, A?P 16 *iyam* : *Bābiruš* 'this is Babylon'.

IV. The use of masculine plural pronouns with

collective antecedents either masculine or feminine, exemplifies the constructio ad sensum rather than syntactical error; examples in §258.III.

V. Miscellaneous errors concerned with cases and genders:

AmH 2 *Pārsā* for loc. (§314.b); 5 *tya* as asf. (= *tyām*); 8f *iyam dahyāuš*, nom. for loc. (§314.b).

AsH 2 *Pārsa*, nsm. for lsf. (§52.I); 9f *tya ukāram waspam*, nt. for fem. *tyām ukārām waspām* (possibly by imitation of the phrasing seen in DSf 11, where the agreement is with nt. *xšaçam*).

XPh 33 *ava* (for *avām*) *dahyāvam*.

A¹I *hya* (nsm. for gsm.) *imam* (asm. for nsm. *iyam*) *bātugara siyamam* (asm. for nsm. -ma).

A²Sc 4f [i]mām (asf. for asn. *ima*) *hadiš*; 6 *tya* (for asf. *tyām*) *aḡagainām*.

A²Sd 3 *imām* (asf. for nsm. *ima*) *hadiš*.

A²Ha 7 *imam* (asm. for asn. *ima*) *tya*; so also A²Sa 5 (restored).

A²Pa 22f *imam ustašanām aḡaganam* (for nom. *iyam ustašanā aḡagainā*) *mām* (perhaps for *manā*) *upā mām kartā*.

A²Pa 26 *tya mām kartā* (perhaps for *manā kartam*).

§57. NEOLOGISMS IN THE LATER INSCRIPTIONS, that is, after Xerxes, may perhaps be counted as errors, though susceptible of explanation. There are the following, all new formations for the genitive—presumably after the gen. *xšāyathiyahyā*, with which the genitives of the royal name were constantly associated, and gen. *Artaxšaçaḡahyā*: *Haxāmanišahyā* AmH 3f.

Dārayavaušahyā in A¹I, A²Sa, A²Hc, and restored in A²Sc; *Dārayavašahyā* in A²Ha. *Xšayāršahyā* in A²Pa, A¹I, A²Ha; *Xšayārcahyā* (§49b) in A²Sa; *Xšayāršahyā* (§187) in A²Hc.

CHAPTER III. PHONOLOGY

§58. THE PIE SOUNDS, whose history will be traced down into OP, were the following:

I. Vowels:	pure		semi-consonantal	
short:	<i>e o a</i>		<i>i u r l m n</i>	
reduced:	<i>ɛ ɔ ə</i>			
long:	<i>ē ō ā</i>		<i>ī ū ṛ ṝ ṇ̄ ṇ̄̄</i>	
II. Diphthongs:				
short:	<i>ei oi ai aī eu ou au əu</i>			
long:	<i>ēi ōi āī ēu ōu āu</i>			
III. Consonants:				
	voiceless		voiced	
	non-asp.	aspi-rate	non-asp.	asp.
Stops				Nasals
labial	<i>p</i>	<i>ph</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>bh m</i>
dental	<i>t</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>dh n</i>
palatal	<i>k̑</i>	<i>k̑h</i>	<i>ġ</i>	<i>ġh ñ</i>
pure velar	<i>q</i>	<i>qh</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>gh</i> } <i>ṇ</i>
labiovelar	<i>qʷ</i>	<i>qʷh</i>	<i>gʷ</i>	<i>gʷh</i>
Clusters				
dental	<i>tst</i>	<i>tsth</i>	<i>dzd</i>	<i>dzdḡ</i>

Continuants (voiced, except *s*)

sibilants	<i>s</i>	<i>z</i>
liquids		<i>l r</i>
semivowels		<i>ī ṽ</i>

Remarks on the list of PIE sounds:

A. I have omitted from this list (a) Brugmann's *ḃ ḣ ḥ*,¹ sounds of problematic nature which are posited to explain the occurrence of dental stops in Greek corresponding to sibilants in other IE languages; (b) Sturtevant's *z* and preaspirated continuants,² which also explain only certain peculiarities of development in Greek; (c) Brugmann's *sh* and *zh*,³ from *s* after voiceless and voiced aspirated stops, no distinctive product of which appears in any IE language; (d) short and long vocalic *ñ* and *ṇ*, since they were non-phonemic, and so rare that they seem not to occur in the extant words of OP.

B. Not all the sounds in the list were phonemic: *ñ* and *ṇ* developed only from a nasal standing before palatal and velar stops respectively; *z* developed only from *s* before voiced stops and after voiced aspirated stops, and in the voiced dental clusters.

C. There is no need for a special symbol to denote velar *g*, since the Aryan developments (§73.I-III) distinguish velar *g* from palatal *ġ*.

D. The dental clusters were clusters consisting

¹ Brugmann, Gdr.² 1.790-3; cf. §102. ² Sturtevant, IH Laryngeals §80b, §73-§77. ³ Brugmann, Gdr.² 1.721, 724.

of three phonemes each, but of such peculiarity in their developments in the separate languages as to deserve places in the list; they originated in pre-Indo-Hittite from the following combinations:

tst < *t-t d-t*

tsth < *th-t th-th t-th d-th*

dzd < *t-d d-d*

dzdth < *(th-t dh-th dh-d dh-dh th-d t-dh th-dh d-dh)*

The most important of these are the combinations of *t d dh* with *t* of a suffix.

E. Of the 'reduced vowels', *ə* is a reduction of *e*; *ɐ* is a reduction of *o*; *ə* is a reduction of *ē ō ā*.

§59. THE OLD PERSIAN SOUNDS are represented, in the normalized orthography, by the following equipment of graphic signs:

Vowels: *a i u ā ī ū*

Diphthongs: *ai au āi āu*

Stops and corresponding Spirants and Nasals:

Labial *p b f m*

Dental *t d θ n*

Palatal *c j*

Velar *k g x*

Sibilants *s š ç z*

Other Continuants *r l y v h*

The sounds represented by these symbols cannot be defined with entire precision; but in general they may be said to be those usually represented by these symbols, with the following limitations:

(a) *b d g* were probably voiced spirants when intervocalic, rather than voiced stops.¹

(b) *c j* were not stops, but the affricates *č* and *ǰ* (as in Eng. *church* and *judge*); but *j* represented also *ž* (as in *azure*).

(c) *f θ x* were voiceless spirants.

(d) *ç* appears to have been a voiceless sibilant between dental *s* and alveolar *š*.

(e) *v* was the voiced labial semivowel, as in Eng. *ve*.

(f) The sound *r* was indicated by *r̄* preceded by the character *a* or an *a*-inherent consonantal character, and is indistinguishable graphically from phonetic *ar*; see §29.

(g) For other sounds present in the spoken language and not represented in the writing, see §27, §28, §39, §40, §103.II, §118.II.

(h) Other details will be presented in connection with the history of the sounds concerned.

(i) There is no evidence as to the position and nature of the syllabic accent of OP, except that the presence of enclitic words shows that there was an accent.

§60. THE POSITION OF SOUNDS AND SOUND-CLUSTERS IN OP WORDS.

I. The vowels *ā ī ū* and the diphthongs *āi āi āu āu*, may occur anywhere in the word; there are extant examples initially of *ā ā ī ū r āi āu*, medially of all, final of *ā ā ī ū āi āu*.

II. All the consonants occur initially before vowels, except *f*; all occur medially intervocalic.

III. The following clusters of two consonants occur initially before vowels: *xr xš dr dv fr br sk st sp zr hy*; *ty* only in the stem *tya-* (see Lex. s.v.). The only initial cluster of three is *xšn*.

IV. The following clusters of two consonants occur medially between vowels: *xt xθ* xn xm* xr xš, gcl gn gm gr, jy, tp* tr*, θb* θm θr*, dr dv, ny nw, fr, br, mn my, rk rz ry re rj rt rθ rn rb rm ry rv rs rš, ld*, st sp sm, šk šc št šd* šn šp šm šy šv, zd zb* zm zr, hy*. In the clusters *nk nx* ng nt nd mp mb hm hv*, all of which actually occur, the prior sound is omitted in the writing. Of those marked with *, *θb* occurs by analogical formation; *xθ* only in an uninterpretable word; *zm, θr*, and *zb*, only in Median words; *nx* only in a Scythian name; *tp, tr, ld* only in non-Iranian names of persons and places; *šd* only in apparently corrupt writings.

V. Clusters of three or four sounds occur medially intervocalic, as follows: *xšn*, transferred from the initial position (III); *xtr* and *xštr*, which are Median; *ngm*, written *gm*; *ršt, ršn, ršy*; *rvy*, unless this is phonetically *rviy*.

VI. In final position only single consonants are found, and of these only *m r š* are written; but peculiarities of the script show that final *t, d, n* (from *n* and *nt*), *h* (from *s* after pAr. *ā*) survived in the speech as faintly pronounced (i.e., minimal or reduced) sounds.

§61. PIE *e o a* fell together into one sound *a* in pAr., and this situation remained unchanged in pIr. and OP.¹

¹ Some scholars argue that OP *a* was pronounced *e* and *o* before *y* and *v* respectively, and that the OP diphthongs *ai* and *au* were pronounced *ē* and *ō* respec-

¹ On the phonetic value of *b d g*, see MB Gr. §§127-9.

**bherom*, OP *abaram*, Skt. *ābharam*, Gk. ἔφερον.

**ekyom*, OP *asam*, Skt. *āśvam*, Lt. *equom*.

**pro*, OP *fra-*, Skt. *prā-*, Gk. *πρό*.

**apo*, OP prefix *apa-*, Skt. *āpa-*, Gk. *ἀπό* 'from', Lt. *ab*.

**akmōn-*, OP acc. *asmānam*, Skt. *āsmānam*, Gk. nom. *ἄκμων* 'anvil'.

In many words it is impossible to determine from what pIE vowel the OP *ā* has developed; a cognate outside Aryan, from a language which preserves the distinctions among the original vowels, is necessary, except where a pIE front vowel has palatalized a preceding velar stop and has thus indicated its own original quality (§73. III).

Absolutely final *ā* in OP was written *-ā*; that is, with addition of the character *a*, as though it were lengthened. This does not apply where the *-ā* was protected by a following unwritten minimal consonant. See §36.I, §40.

For *-ay-* becoming *-aiy-* and *-av-* becoming *-aw-*, see §48; for contraction of *ahah* to *āh* after dissimilative loss of the prior *h*, see §131.

§62. PIE *ē* *ō* *ā*, like the corresponding short vowels, fell together in pAr. in the one quality *ā*, and remained in this value in OP:

**e-dhē-t*, OP *adā* 'he made', Skt. *ādhat*, Lt. *fē-cit*.

**mātē[r]*, OP *mātā*, Skt. *mātā*, Gk. (Dor.) *μάτηρ*. root **dō-*, OP *dadātuw* 'let him give', Skt. *dādātu*, cf. Gk. *δίδωμι* 'I give'.

subj. **gnō-skē-ti*, OP *xšnāsātiy* 'he shall know', Lt. (fut.) *nāscet* 'he will learn'.

**bhrātēr*, OP *brātā*, Skt. *bhrātā*, Gk. *φράτηρ* 'clan-brother'.

§63. PIE REDUCED VOWELS.

I. pIE *ə* was the reduction of full-grade *e*, and *ɛ* the reduction of full-grade *o*; in the remains of OP they are convincingly seen only as the vowel remaining before liquid or nasal + vowel, in situations in which the liquid or nasal might be expected to assume merely vocalic value. Examples are given of *ə* in connection with vocalic *l* and *r*, and vocalic *m* and *n* (§66.II, §67.I-II);

tively; cf. MB Gr. §88, Hs. ApI 116, König Burgbau 62. These views are not supported by the OP orthography (cf. §48), and rest on the transliterations into Elamite and Akkadian, which sometimes stand in opposition to each other, and on the developments in Middle Iranian, which are not necessarily to be pushed back to the period of the OP inscriptions.

there are the following probable examples of *ə*, where other languages, notably the Skt. *u*, seem to indicate that the reduction is from *o* rather than from *e*:

**pəros*, OP *para*, Skt. *purās*, Gk. *πάρος*.

**pəlu-*, OP *paru-*, Skt. *purī-*, Gk. *πολύς*.

II. pIE *ə* was the reduction of *ē* or *ō* or *ā*; it became *i* in pAr., but *a* in all other IE branches.¹

**pātē[r]* 'father', OP *pitā*, Skt. *pitā*, Gk. *πατήρ*.

**sedas*, OP *hadiš* 'abode', but **sedos*, Gk. *ἔδος* 'seat'.

**menas*, OP *-maniš* in personal names, but **menas*, Gk. *μένος* 'vigor (of spirit)'.

In *hadiš* and *-maniš* the *ə* varies with a short vowel, which indicates another origin; the problem is too complicated for adequate discussion here.

But before *i* or *y* of the same or the next syllable, pIE *ə* became *a* even in pAryan; see §71.

§64. PIE *i* AND *u* have undergone very few changes in the various languages; they appear unchanged in OP:

**q^{id}*, OP *-ciy*, Skt. *cid*, Gk. *τι* 'what', Lt. *quid*.

**peri*, OP *pariy*, Skt. *pāri*, Gk. *περί* 'around'.

**esisteto*, OP *aⁱštata*, cf. Skt. *atiṣṭhata*.

**su-* 'good, well', OP *u-fraštam*, Skt. *su-*, Gk. *ὑγιής* 'healthy'.

**pullo-*, OP *puša*, Skt. *putrā-*, Osc. *puclo-*.

**susko-*, OP **uška-*, Skt. *śuška-*, Lith. *saūsa-s* 'dry'.

Final *-i* was in OP always followed by the character *y^o*, and final *-u* by the character *v^o*; this was true whether the *i* and *u* were monophthongal or in diphthongs. See §37, §38.

For the method of writing *i* and *u* in OP, and irregularities therein, see §22; for the method of writing *hi* and *hu*, see §27, §28.

§65. PIE *i* AND *ū* survived into most IE languages, including OP, without change; but because of the nature of the OP system of writing they can with rare exceptions be distinguished from *i* and *ū*, only by etymological considerations:

**gⁱīyas* 'living', OP *jīva*, Skt. *jīvās*, Lt. *vīvos*.

**dhi-dhi* (§129), OP inv. *dūdiy* 'see', cf. NPers. *dīdān* 'to see', Skt. root *dhi-* 'think'.

¹ To identify pIE *ə*, it is necessary to have two cognates, one in Aryan and the other outside; or to have a cognate with the long-vowel grade.

*bhūmī-, OP acc. būmim 'earth', Skt. bhūmim.
pAr. *dūra-, OP adv. dūraiṇi 'afar', Skt. dūrā-
'far'.

For the occasional use of *u*^a = *w*, and possibly of *i*^a = *i*, to denote *ū* and *ī*, see §23.

§66. PIE *r* AND *l* fell together in pAr. in the sound *r*, which remained unchanged in Skt., and so apparently in OP, though its written representation is by *r*^a preceded by *a* or by an *a*-inherent consonant: thus *k^ar^al^am^a*, normalized *kartam*, is *krtam*, Skt. *krtām*; *ar^at^a-*, normalized *arta-*, is *ṛta-*, Skt. *ṛtā-*. For details, see §29–§35.

I. Apparently PIE *r* became OP *u* before *n*, though this value is seen only in forms of *kar-* 'make, do'; and this peculiar development is rather to be attributed to the influence of other verbs with *u* in the root before the *-nan-* suffix.¹ pAr. **kṛnauti*, OP *kunauti*, Skt. *kṛnōti*; so also other forms of the present and imperfect, such as 1st sg. imp. *akunavam*, 1st sg. subj. mid. *kunawānai*, etc.; and by extension in the strong aorist: 3d sg. mid. *akulā*, etc.

II. When *r* (of either origin) is expected to stand before a vowel, it must be either as consonant *r*, or as the reduced vowel + consonant *r*. The latter combination² appears in OP as *-ar-*: PIE **ǵh^hl-enjo-*, OP *daraniya-* 'gold', Skt. *hiraṇya-*. PIE **e-k^hri^honto*, OP *akariya^atā*, cf. Skt. *ākriyanta*.³

Before *i* and *y* there seems to have been the same development as before a vowel; it is possible that OP *akariya^atā* is based rather on **ek^hri^honto*.

§67. PIE *m* AND *n* became pAr. *a* before consonants.

**m^hi*, OP *abiy*, Skt. *abhi*, oHG *umbi* (but see Lex. s.v. *abiy*).

**k^hntom* '100', in *ṭala-guś* (uncertain etymology, see Lex. s.v.).

**b^hndh-to*, OP *basta-* (§85), Skt. *baddhā*, cf. Eng. *bound*.

negative prefix **n-* in *a-xšaina-*, *a-xšala-*, etc.

**sn^h-dhe*, OP *hadā*, Skt. *sahā* 'with'.

I. Before a vowel or *i* or *y*, PIE *m* and *n* must,

like *r* (§66.II), appear as *en* and *em*, which became OP *an* and *am*:

**ǵ^hem-īē*, Skt. *gamīyāt*, OP *ā-jamīyā* 'may it come' (with analogical *j*, §101).

neg. prefix **m-* in *An-āhitā* (never so written, see Lexicon) 'The Spotless Goddess'.

In *a-yāu(ma)iniš*, negative of *yāumainiš*, the prefix has been generalized in the anteconsonantal form.

II. When final in the word, PIE *m* and *n* became pAr. *a*, which of course was written *ā* in OP (§36.I):

acc. **nōm^h* 'name', OP *nāmā*, Skt. *nāma*, Lt. *nōmen*.

But if *-m* was the ending of the acc. sg. of a noun or of the 1st sg. of a verb, the value *-am* for *-em* which was proper before an initial vowel of the next word, was generalized: doubtless this *-am* was fixed as normal by the concurrent influence of the *-am* in the acc. sg. of *-ō-* stems and in the 1st sg. of the imperfect of thematic verbs:

acc. *viθ-am*, *asmān-am*; cf. *kāra-m*, *martiya-m*.

**ēs-m* 'I was', OP *āh-am*, Skt. *ās-am*, Gk. (Hom.) *ῆ-α*; cf. OP *abara-m*, Skt. *ābhara-m*, Gk. *ἔφερον*.

§68. PIE *i* *ī* *ṛ* *ṝ* relate to the corresponding PIE short vowels as *i* *ū* to *i* *u*; the first two became OP *ar*, Skt. *īr* or *ūr*, the latter two became *ā* in OP and Skt. alike. A few examples only can be recognized with some probability, on the basis of the Skt. equivalents:

**dlǵho-* 'long', OP *dargam*, Skt. *dirghā*, Gk. *δολιχός*.

**ǵ^hm^h-tu-* 'place', OP *gāu-*, Skt. *gātū-* to the root **ǵ^hem-* 'come'.

**e-ǵ^h-nā-t* 'he knew', OP *adānā*, Skt. *ājānāt*, to root **ǵ^hnō-*; unless this tense-formation really be **ǵ^hnō-nā-*, with pAr. dissimilative loss of the prior *n*.

**p^hrom*, OP *paruam* 'formerly', Skt. *pūrvam*.

§69. THE PIE SHORT DIPHTHONGS in *i*, namely *ei* *oi* *ai*,¹ all became pAr. *ai*, which remained in OP,² but became Av. *aē* or *ōi*, and Skt. *e*; they remained distinct in Greek, with virtually no change, and in Latin, where they became respectively *ī*, *oe* or *ū*, *ae*. The ambiguity of OP

¹ Lg. 18.79–82. ² Phonetically proper when the *r* was preceded by two consonants, or by one consonant which was itself preceded by a long vowel or a diphthong: Edgerton, Lg. 10.257. ³ The OP must not be normalized *akr-* (like the Skt.), since *kr* became *xr* in Iranian; §103.I.

¹ No certain examples of PIE *ai* can be identified in the OP vocabulary; for PIE *ai*, see §71. ² On the theory that OP *ai* was sounded *ē*, see §61.n1.

writing makes considerable difficulty in their identification; but $j^a d^e m^e v + i$ show diphthongs, since there are special characters $j^i d^i m^i v^i$ which are used before the monophthongal i . Further, *kai* and *gai* mark original *oi* or *ai*; for *rai* and *jai* result if the original diphthong was *ei* (§98).

**eitiy* 'he goes', *aitiy*, Skt. *ēti*, Gk. *ἐτι*.

**ne-id* 'not', OP *naiy*, Av. *nōit*, Skt. *nēd*, cf. Lt. *ne-* in *nescio* 'I don't know'.

**oiyos* 'one', OP asm. *aiyam*, Av. nsm. *aēvō*, Gk. (Hom.) *oīos* 'lone'.

**moi* 'to me', OP *mai*y, Skt. *me*, Gk. *μοι*.

Also *vaināhy*, Skt. ind. *vēnati*; *hainā*, Skt. *sēnā*; *aita*, *duvaištam*, *gaibām*, *naibam*, *-taiy*, *-šaiy*, *tyaiy*.

For *ai* graphic for *a* before *y*, see §48: for *-aiy* graphic for final *-ai*, see §37; for *h^ei* = *hai* and not *hi*, §27.

§70. THE PIE SHORT DIPHTHONGS IN *u*, namely *eu* or *au*,¹ all became pAr. *au*, which remained in OP;² but became Av. *ao* or *āu*, and Skt. *o*; they remained essentially unchanged in Greek, and appeared in Latin as *ū* *ū* *au* respectively. These diphthongs are less frequent of occurrence than the *i*-diphthongs, and the distinction of them from one another is more difficult because of the lack of obvious evidence. But in OP, a diphthong is definitely proved by the use of an *a*-inherent consonant before *u*, if there is a corresponding *u*-inherent consonant (*k g t d n m r*); and as *k* and *g* would be palatalized before original *e* (§98), the *au* after *k* or *g* must be from pIE *ou* or *au*.

suffix *-neu-* in OP *kunautiy* 'he makes', Av. *kōronaoti*, Skt. *कर्णाति*.

**leukes-*, OP *rauca* 'day', Av. *raočō*, Skt. *rocas-* 'light'.

**dkroughos*, OP *drauga* 'Lie', Av. *draoγō*, Skt. *drógha-s*.

OP *kaufa* 'mountain', Av. *kaofō*; *gaušā* 'two ears', Av. *gaoša*; *tau^hmā* 'family', Av. *taozman-*; *haw* 'this one', cf. Gk. *ὅς-τος*.

For *au* graphic for *a* before *y*, see §48; for *-au* graphic for final *-au*, see §38; for *h^eu* = *hau* and

not *hu*, §28. An apparent *au* is often for *a^hu*, as in *A^huramazdā*, Av. *Ahurō Mazdā*, Skt. *ásura-s*; nom. *Dārayava^huš*, but gen. *Dārayavahauš*.

§71. THE PIE SHORT DIPHTHONGS *ai* AND *au* always develop like pIE *ai* and *au*, from which they can be distinguished only by etymological considerations; they originated only as zero-grades of long diphthongs. Similarly, pIE *a* became pAr. *a* before *i* or *y* of the next syllable. An almost certain example is seen in the present stem *paya-* (*apayaiy* 'I protected'; *pai-payawā* 'do thou protect thyself') as a variant of *pā-* (*pātuv* 'may he protect', etc.); since *pā-* seems to be the normal grade (on the testimony of Sanskrit also), then *paya-* must be for **pa-je-*. Similarly, if the *xšnav-* of *ā-xšnavtiy* 'he satisfies' (cf. further zero-grade in *xšnuta* 'satisfied') is an extension of root *xšnā-* 'learn' (from **ǵnō-*; see Lex. s.v. *xšnav-*), it must stand for **ǵnau-*.

§72. THE PIE LONG DIPHTHONGS appear in OP as *āi* and *āu*, corresponding to the short diphthongs *ai* and *au*; they are easily identified by their writings, except when they are initial, in which position they are ambiguous with the short diphthongs. There are the following occurrences:

uāipašiyam 'his own', cf. *uāipašiyahyā* with the short diphthong (see Lex. s.v.).

root **ei-* 'go', augmented in *āiš* 'he went', where *āi* is proved by the compound *aitiy-āiš* 'he went past'.

root **eis-* 'hasten', augmented in causative *frāišayam* 'I sent forth', from **fra-āišayam*.

Θāigarcaiš, gen. sg. of month-name, with vridhhi (§§125-6) in the first syllable; etymology uncertain.

nom. *dahyāuš*, acc. *dahyāum* 'province', with lengthening of the diphthong of the stem in these case-forms.

But *āi* in gen. *Cišpāiš* and *Cicirāiš* is only graphic, cf. §179.IV; *aniyāwā*, *maškāwā* are for *-ā^hwā*, = Skt. *-āsu* + enclitic *-ā*; *Paišiyāwādāyā* is probably for *Paišiyā^hwādāyā*.

§73. THE PIE STOPS IN PROTO-ARYAN: The pIE stops underwent certain general changes in the passage into Proto-Aryan, as follows:

I. The pIE palatal stops became pAr. sibilants (*ś šh ž žh*).

¹ For pIE *eu*, see §71. ² For possible pronunciation of OP *au* as *ō*, cf. §61.n1.

II. The pIE labiovelars lost their labialization, and with the pIE velars formed a new series of velars (*q qh g gh*).

III. The new series of velars split into two series, according to the nature of the following sounds: palatal (*č čh ġ ġh*), if standing before pIE *č ħ ĭ*; velars (*k kh g gh*), if standing before other sounds.

IV. In pInd. (and also separately in Proto-Greek), the prior of two aspirated stops standing in the same word and separated by at least one vowel lost its aspiration; this formulation is known as Grassmann's Law. Examples are to be found in §75.III, §76.III, §101. Though this change did not take place in pAr. nor in Iranian, it is cited here to facilitate the proper understanding of Sanskrit words and forms in which it has operated.

V. It is to be remembered that at virtually all times the old general process which worked in pIE continued to operate: that voiced stops and *z* became voiceless if they came to stand before voiceless stops or *s*, and voiceless stops and *s* became voiced if they came to stand before voiced stops or *z*.

VI. From the pIE stops, therefore, pAr. had the following stock of sounds:

Labial Stops	<i>p ph b bh</i>
Dental Stops	<i>t th d dh</i>
Palatal Sibilants	<i>ś śh ź źh</i>
Palatal Stops	<i>č čh ġ ġh</i>
Velar Stops	<i>k kh g gh</i>

§74. THE pIE STOPS IN PROTO-IRANIAN: In the passage from pAr. to pIr., the products of the pIE stops underwent certain additional general changes:

I. The voiceless stops *p t č k*, if standing before a consonant, became voiceless spirants *f θ ś x*, unless an Aryan sibilant preceded.

II. The voiceless aspirates, if standing after a sibilant, lost their aspiration and became *p t č k* respectively; otherwise they became voiceless spirants *f θ ś x*.

III. The voiced aspirates lost their aspiration, and became identical with the voiced non-aspirates: *b d ġ g*.

IV. Details, including the developments of the palatal sibilants and the additions to and exceptions from these general formulations, will

appear in the following paragraphs; it is to be noted that *č* is the only consonant before which the pAr. palatals can develop.

§75. THE pIE LABIAL STOPS IN OP: By the formulations in §73 and §74, pIE *p* will appear as OP *p* usually, *f* before consonants; pIE *ph* will be OP *f*, but *p* after *s*; pIE *b* and *bh* will be OP *b*. The common representations of these sounds in other languages are:

pIE *p*, Skt. *p*, Av. *p* and *f*, Gk. *π*, Lt. *p*, Gmc. *f*, BS *p*.

pIE *ph* (a rare sound), Skt. *ph*, Av. *f* and *p*, Gk. *φ*, BS *p*.

pIE *b*, Skt. *b*, Av. *b*, Gk. *β*, Lt. *b*, Gmc. *p*, BS *b*.

pIE *bh*, Skt. *bh*, Av. *b* and *w*, Gk. *φ*, Lt. *f*- and *-b*, Gmc. *b*, BS *b*.

I. OP *p*:

pIE **peri*, OP *pariy*, Av. *pairi*, Skt. *pári*, Gk. *περί*.

pIE **pōlē* and **pōlē*, OP *pilā*, Skt. *pilā*, Gk. *πατήρ*, Lt. *pater*.

pIE **pūlo-*, OP *puša-*, Av. *pušra-*, Skt. *putrá-*, Osc. *puclo-*.

pIE **apo*, OP *apa-*, Skt. *ápa*, Gk. *ἀπό*.

pIE **nepōt-s*, OP *napā*, Skt. *nápāt*, Lt. *nepōs*.

OP gen. *xšapa* 'by night', Av. *xšap-*, Skt. *kṣap-*.

II. OP *f* from pIE *p* before consonant:

pIE **pro*, OP *fra-* as prefix, Skt. *prá*, Gk. *πρό*.

pIE **prek-* in OP ptc. *u-fraštam* 'well punished', cf. Lt. *precor* 'I ask', and pIE **prk-skē*, OP *parsā-miy*, Skt. *prcchā-mi*, Lt. *poscō*.

There is no identifiable example of OP *f* from pIE *ph*; OP *kaufa-* 'mountain', Av. *kaofa-*, seems to have no cognates outside Iranian.

III. OP *b* is mostly from pIE *bh*; for pIE *b* was an extremely rare sound, and its only probable occurrence in OP is in *ā-big-na-*, second component of *Bagābigna-*, if this is a participle to the root in Skt. *bija-* 'seed' (see Lex. s.v.).

pIE **ebherom* 'I bore', OP *abaram* 'I esteemed', Skt. *ābharam*, Gk. *ἐβερων*.

pIE **bhrālē* and **bhrālēr*, OP *brātā*, Skt. *bhrātā*, Lt. *frāter*.

pAr. **abhi*,¹ OP *abiy*, Skt. *abhi*.

pIE **u-bhō* and *-bhōu* 'both', OP *ubā*, Skt. *ubhā ubhāu*, Gk. *ἄμφω*, Lt. *am-bō*.

¹ Conflux of pIE **mbhi* and pIE **obhi*, see Lex. s.v. *abiy*.

In some words OP *b*, though from pIE *bh*, corresponds to Skt. *b*, because Grassmann's Law (§73.IV) operated in Indic:

pIE **bhendh-* 'bind', in OP *ba'daka-* 'subject', cf. Skt. *bandhā-* 'bond', and the *b-* in Eng. *bind*, *bond*, from pIE *bh-*.

pIE **bherǵh-* 'be high', in *Bardiya-*, *baršan-*, *brazmaniya-*; see Lex. s.vv.

IV. Combinations of the labials with following consonants, other than *r*, chance to be rare in OP; there is however **ap-bhis* > **abbhiš* > OP *abiš* 'with the waters' (JAOS 62.269-70; §73.V, §130). For *p* in *sp* from pIE *k̑y*, §90; for *b* in *zb* from *ǵhy*, §91; for *f* from *sy* in *Vi'da-farnah-*, §118.IV.

V. OP *p b f* are in some instances not traceable to pIE forebears or are definitely borrowings from outside sources; such are *pīru-* 'ivory', *sakabru-* 'carnelian', *naiba-* 'good' (only in Iranian), and many place and personal names, such as *Pirāva* 'Nile', *Pulāya-* 'Libyan', *Bābiruš* 'Babylon', *Arabāya* 'Arabia', *Arbairā-* 'Arbela', *Ufrātu-* 'Euphrates', *Naditabaira* 'Nidintu-Bel', *Nabukudracara* 'Nebuchadrezzar'.

§76. THE PIE DENTAL STOPS IN OP: By the formulations in §73 and §74, pIE *t* appears as OP *t* usually, but as *θ* before consonants; pIE *th* becomes OP *θ*, but *t* after *s*; pIE *d* and *dh* become OP *d*. But *θ* from pIE *t* before consonants underwent additional changes in some combinations, which will therefore be reserved for §77-§82. The usual correspondences of the pIE dentals in other languages are the following:

pIE *t*, Skt. *t*, Av. *t* and *θ*, Gk. *τ*, Lt. *t*, Gmc. *þ*, BS *t*.

pIE *th*, Skt. *th*, Av. *θ* and *t*, Gk. *θ*, Lt. *f* - *d* - *b* -.

pIE *d*, Skt. *d*, Av. *d* and *ð*, Gk. *δ*, Lt. *d*, BS *d*.

pIE *dh*, Skt. *dh*, Av. *d* and *ð*, Gk. *θ*, Lt. *f* - *d* - *b* - , BS *d*.

I. OP *t* from pIE *t*:

pIE **eti*, OP *atiy*, Skt. *āti* 'beyond', Gk. *ἐτι* 'yet', Lt. *et* 'and'.

pIE **ute*, OP *utā*, Skt. *utā*, Gk. Hom. *ἡ-ὄρε* 'like'.

pAr. **tanū-*, OP *tanū-* 'body', Av. *tanū-*, Skt. *tanū-*.

pAr. **tuwam*, OP *tuwam*, Skt. Ved. *tuwám*, cf. Lt. *tū*.

pIE **potē*, OP *pītā*, §75.I; pIE **bhrātē*, OP *brātā*, §75.III.

pIE **grto-*, OP *karta-*, Skt. *kṛtā-*.

II. OP *θ* from pIE *th*:

pIE **p̑n̑thi*, OP acc. *paθim* 'path', Skt. *paṭh-*.

pIE **rotho-*, OP *u-raθa-* 'having good chariots', Av. *raθa-* 'wagon', Skt. *rātha-*, cf. Lt. *rota* 'wheel' (with pIE *t*, not *th*).

pAr. **iathā*, OP *yabā*, Skt. *yāthā*; so also OP *ava-θā*.

OP *mauθ*, *Āviyābaušna-*, *gaibā-*, *fraθara-*, *miθah-*, see Lex. s.vv.

OP *razbatuθ*, an inv. of entirely unknown connections.

OP *t* from pAr. *th* after *s*, in OP *stā-* (see Lex.), Av. *stā-*, Skt. *sthā-*, from pAr. *sthā-* (evidence for the aspirate is lacking outside Indic; cf. Gk. Dor. *τ-στᾶ-με*, Lt. *stā-re*, OCS *sta-ti*).

III. OP *d* from pIE *d*:

pIE **deiyo-* 'deity', OP *daiwa-* '(evil) god', Av. *daēva-*, Skt. *devā-*, Lt. *divos deus*.

pIE **ped-* 'foot', loc. in OP *ni-padiy*, Skt. *padī*, Lt. abl. *pede*, Gk. dat. *ποδί*; pIE **pedo-m*, OP *pati-padam* 'on its base', Skt. *padā-* 'step', Gk. *πίδων* 'ground'; pIE **pōdo-* 'foot', OP inst. dual *pādaibiyā*, Skt. *pāda-*, cf. Gt. *fōtu-*.

pIE **dō-* 'give', OP *dadātuθ* 'let him give', Skt. *dādātu*, cf. Gk. *δᾰδῶτω*.

pIE **sed-* 'sit', OP *had-iš* 'seat, abode', Gk. *ἔδος* 'seat'; causative in OP *niy-ašādayam* 'I established' (on *-š-*, §117), Skt. *āsādayam*.

pIE insep. prefix **dus-* 'ill', OP *duš-*, Av. *duš-*, Skt. *duṣ-*, Gk. *δυσ-*.

pIE **dviθyo-* 'second', OP *dwitiya-m*, Skt. *dvitīya-*.

OP *d* from pAr. *dh* from pIE *dh*:

pIE **dhē-* 'put', OP *adā* 'he created', Skt. *dāhāt*.

pIE **dher-* 'hold', OP *dārayāmiy* 'I hold', Skt. *dhārāyāmi*.

pIE **dhyor-* 'door', in OP loc. *duwarayā*, Av. *dvar-*, Skt. *dhvar-*, cf. Gk. *θύρα*.

OP *ba'daka* 'subject', to pIE **bhendh-*, §75.III.

OP *hadā* 'with', Skt. *sahā*, from pIE **sm-dhe-*; same suffix in *avadā*, *idā*, *ada-kaiy*.

With Skt. *d* from pIE *dh* by Grassmann's Law (§73.IV):

pIE **dhrugh-ǵe-* in OP *adurujīya* 'he lied', Skt. *drūhyati* 'he deceives', Gm. *trügen*; pIE **dhrugho-* in OP *drauga-* 'Lie', Skt. *drōha-drōgha-* 'injury'.

pIE **dhiǵhā*, OP *didā* 'wall', cf. Skt. *dehī-*, Gk. *τεῖχος*.

pIE **dhugh-* in OP *ha-dugā-* 'inscription', see Lex. s.v.

Reduplicated forms of pIE **dhē-*, OP *adadā*, Skt. *ādadhāt*.

Reduplicated personal name, *Dādarši-* = Skt. adj. *dādṛṣi-* 'bold', to pIE **dher-* seen in OP *adaršnauš* 'he dared', Skt. *ādṛṣnot*.

IV. On pIE *t* before a consonant, §77-§82; on other special developments of non-final dental stops, §83; on final dentals, §84; on dental + dental, §85; on OP *θ* and *d* from pIE palatal stops, §§87-8.

V. There are also numerous instances of OP *t θ d* which are not traceable with certainty to IE origins, or are demonstrably borrowings from non-IE sources. Among these are *taka-* 'shield, round hat' in *taka-bara-*, *tacara-* 'palace', *dipi-* 'inscription' (see Lex. s.v.), *spāda-* 'army' (only in Iranian), inv. *razbatw* of uncertain meaning; and personal and place names such as *Atamaita-* (Elamite), *Naditabaira* (Semitic), *Ufratu-* 'Euphrates', *Katpatuka* 'Cappadocia', *Tigrā-* 'Tigris', *Putūya-* 'Libyan', *Dātuwahya-*, *Daha-*, *Dubāla-*, *Mudrāya-*, *Aθurā*, etc.

§77. PIE *t* BEFORE CONSONANTS became the voiceless spirant *θ* in pIr.; but further changes also took place, cf. §78-§82.

§78. PAR. *tr*, from pIE *tr* and *tl*, became (except after a spirant, §79) pIr. *θr*, which persisted in Av. and in Med., but became a sibilant in OP; it is transcribed by *ç*, and apparently was a sound intermediate between pure dental *s* and palatal *š*. Examples:

pIE **pulto-*, OP *puça-* 'son', Av. *puθra-*, Skt. *putrá-*, Osc. *puclo-*.

pIE **potr-os* (not original, but a later remade form), OP *piça*, Av. *piθrō*, Gk. *πατρός*; gen. of OP *pūtā* 'father'.

pAr. **kšatram* 'kingdom', OP *xšaçam*, Av. *xšaθrm*, Skt. *kṣatráṃ*; but Med. *θr* in *Xšaθrita*, the name assumed by the Median rebel Phraortes.

pIE **tritiyo-* 'third', OP *çitiyam*, Av. *θritiya-* (graphic for *θritiya-*), cf. Skt. *trītiya-*, Lt. *tertius*. Av. *ātar- āθr-* 'fire', seen in the OP month-name *Āçiyādiya-* and probably in the personal name *Āçina* (despite the fact that *Āçina* was an Elamite).

Av. *çītra-* 'seed, lineage', OP *çiça-*.

OP *vaça-* 'bow', of uncertain etymology, in *vaça-bara-* 'bowbearer'.

Skt. *mitrá-* 'friend', borrowed into Iranian as epithet of a divinity, and eventually his name; in OP, written *Mitra-* *M'tra-* *M'θra-*, *miça-* in derivative *ha-miçiya-* 'united (in conspiracy)', *misa-* in personal name *Va'u-misa-* (= Skt. **vasu-mitra-*; see below). The variant orthographies represent in part differences of dialect, and in part the variant pronunciations of a foreign word incompletely assimilated to the phonetic pattern of the dialects in which it was being used.

That the product of pIr. *θr* was in OP a sibilant is shown by the orthography of borrowed words. Thus the *ç* of *Çiça'lazma-* is represented by *š* in Elam. *ši-iš-ša-an-tak-ma* (the *tr* of Akk. *ši-it-ra-an-tah-ma* is based on the Median form of the name, since he was a native of Sagartia in Media). Note also the following:

OP **Çiça-farnā*, Gk. *Τισσα-φέρνης*, Lycian *cizza-prūna*.

OP *Arta-xšaça*, Elam. *ir-tak-ša-a-š-ša*, Akk. *ar-tak-ša-as-su* (Vases b and c; *ar-tak-šat-su* in longer inscriptions), Aram. (Elephantine) *rtxššš*, Lydian *artakšassa*.

OP *Vau-misa* for *-miça* (see above), Elam. *ma-u-mi-iš-ša*, Akk. *ú-mi-is-si*; while Akk. *mi-it-ri* corresponds to the non-OP *Mitra-* or *M'θra-*. OP *Āçina*, Elam. *ha-iš-ši-na*, Akk. *a-ši-na*.

OP *Āçiyādiya-*, Elam. *ha-iš-ši-ça-ti-ia-iš*.

OP *Çūšā-*, from Elam. *šu-ša-an*, whence also Akk. *šu-ša-an*.

On *ç* from pIE *kl* in *niy-açārayam* 'I restored', see §94.

§79. PAR. *tr* AFTER SPIRANTS (including the sibilants) appears unchanged in Avestan. This seems to have been the development also in Median, as in the name of the Mede *Uvaxštra-* 'Cyaxares', Elam. *ma-ak-iš-ta-ra*, Akk. *ú-ma-ku-iš-tar*. The name of the northeastern province Bactria, Gk. *Báxτρα*, likewise shows a non-OP form in *Baxtriš*, Elam. *ba-ik-tur-ri-iš*, Akk. *ba-aḫ-tar*; but a pure OP **Bāxšiš* or **Bāxçiš* is attested by the alternative Elam. *ba-ak-iš-iš*. Finally, OP *uša-bāri-* 'camel-borne', by comparison with Av. *uštra-* 'camel', shows that in OP, even after a spirant or a sibilant, *tr* became *θr* and then *ç*, and that after *š* the *ç* was assimilated to that preceding *š*.

§80. PIE *t_k* became regularly (§77) pIr. *θ_k*, which survived in Avestan and in Median, but became *š_k* in OP:

OP *xšāyabiya* 'king', from pAr. **kšāyatīa*-, a word of the Median officialdom.

OP *hašiyam* 'true', Skt. *satyām*.

OP *uwā-maršiyuš* (see Lex.), Skt. *mṛtyū-* 'death'.

OP *uwā-pašiya-* 'belonging to one's self', from pAr. **paṭīa-* (see Lex.).

OP *anašiya-* 'follower', from **anu-tiō-*.

The preposition *atīy* seems to be a sandhi doublet of *atīy*; see Lex. s.v.

For the retention of *t* in *tya-* and its forms, see Lex. s.v.

§81. PIE *t_u* became regularly (§77) pIr. *θ_u*, which remained in OP with the writing *θ^uw* = *θuw*:

PIE **t_uē* + acc. -*m*, OP *θuvēm*, Av. *θuqm*, Skt. *t_um*.

pAr. **gātu- gāby- gālav-*, Skt. *gātā- gātv- gālav-*, Av. *gātu- gābw- gālaw-*, OP (with generalized *θ*) acc. *gāθum*, loc. *gāθavā*.

pAr. *krātu-* etc., Skt. *krātu-* etc., Av. *xrātu- xrabw- xralaw-*, OP (with generalized *θ*) acc. *xraθum*.

§82. PIE *tn* became regularly (§77) pIr. *θn*, which remained in Avestan but became OP *šn*; thus the pAr. **aratn- aratan-* gave Av. dual *arəθnā*, but OP *arašn-* and (with extension of the *š*) *arašan-* 'cubit', in inst. pl. *arašaniš* (see Lex. s.v. *arašan-*). For *vašnū* and *baršnū*, see §96, §120.

§83. OTHER DEVELOPMENTS OF NON-FINAL DENTAL STOPS.

I. PIE *-d-n-* became pIr. *-n-* (shortening of *-un-*, §130), as in PIE **ueid-ne-*, OP *vaināmiy* 'I see', Av. 3d sg. *vaēnaiti*; cf. the same root with nasal infix (instead of nasal suffix) in Skt. *vindāti* 'he finds', and in OP *Vi'da'-farnah-* 'Intaphernes' (see Lex. s.v.; *-n-* proved by Gk., Elam., Akk. transliterations).

II. In two words *θ* is found where *d* is expected: OP *θauwaniya* 'bowman', where Skt. has *dh* in *dhānvan-* 'bow';

OP *spāda-* 'army', in the name of the Mede *Tarmaspāda*, but with *θ* in its apparent derivative *spāθmaida-* 'camp, war'. No likely solution of this variation has as yet been suggested.

III. The province name *Katpatuka* shows an unassimilated *-tp-*, established by the Elam. and Akk. equivalents; the name is non-Iranian and has not been remodeled to the Iranian or Persian pattern of clusters.

§84. FINAL DENTALS were weakened and did not appear in the writing of OP. After *ā* they remained in the pronunciation sufficiently to prevent the writing of the vowel as long (§36.III): OP *abara* 'he bore', Skt. *ābharat*; OP 3d pl. *abara*, Skt. *ābharan*, for **ebheront*. After *ā*, it is likely that they disappeared entirely;¹ for *hyāparam* seems to be abl. **hyād* + *aparam*, and the crasis indicates a previous loss of the *-d*.

Final *-d* disappeared after *i*, as in the encl. OP *-ciy*, Skt. *cid*, PIE *q^uid*; OP *naiy* 'not', Av. *nōit*, from **ne* + *id*. After *a* the final *t* seems to be retained as *š* in OP *akunauš* 'he made', *adaršnauš* 'he dared', Skt. *ākṛnot ādhṛṣnot*; but this *š* is better taken as an extension of the *s* of the aorist, after which *-t* would be lost. The prefix *ud* 'up', which appears unchanged before a vowel in *ud-apatātā* 'he rose up (in rebellion)', suffers complete assimilation of the *d* in *uzma-* 'stake' (from **ud-zma-*), and became *us-* in *us-tašanā-* 'staircase' in the dental cluster (§85).

For the sandhi combination of final *d* with initial *c*, see §105.

§85. THE DENTAL CLUSTERS *tst(h)* AND *dzd(h)* (§58.D) properly lost the prior dental by dissimilation, and in fact do have this development in Iranian and in Greek; but in Indic they in most instances lost the sibilant and in Italic the second dental, through analogies of various kinds.¹ Thus their usual developments are the following: PIE *tst*, Av. OP *st*, Skt. *tt*, Gk. *στ*, Lt. *ss*. PIE *tsth*, Av. OP *st*, Skt. *tt*, Gk. *σθ*, Lt. *ss*. PIE *dzd*, Av. OP *zd*, Skt. *dd*, Gk. *ζ*, Lt. (no certain examples).

PIE *dzd*, Av. OP *zd*, Skt. *ddh*, Gk. *σθ*, Lt. *ss*.

Further changes of analogical nature took place in a number of these combinations, especially that the participle to a root in *dh*, which has *-dzdh-* from *-dh-t-*, often remade this in

¹ Cf. the similar difference in development in Latin, where *-d* was kept after short vowels, as in *ad*, *sed*, *id*; but was lost after long vowels, as in *suprā*, *sē*, *Gnaeō*, Old Latin *suprād*, *sēd*, *Gnaivōd*.

§85.¹ Cf. Kent, Lg. 8.18-26; Emeneau, Lg. 9.232-6.

Iranian and Greek, to the more familiar *-tst-* (from *-t-t-* and *-d-t-*).

There are the following examples in OP:

pasti- 'foot-soldier', from **palsti-* from **ped-ti-*.

ustāšanā- 'staircase', from **utst-* from **ud-tc-*.

aravastam 'activity', in form an abstract **arav-* *-lam* (becoming *-tst-*); but see Lex. s.v.

bastā 'bound', etc. to PIE root **bhendh-*; therefore **bhñdh-to-* > **badzdha-* (Skt. *badhā-*), replaced by **batsta-* in Iranian.

gasta- 'evil', etc. to PIE root in Av. *ganti-* 'stench', Skt. *gandhā-* 'odor', with similar replacement of *-dzdh-* by *-tst-*.

azdā adv. 'known', Skt. *adadhā* 'thus, truly', from pAr. **adzdha-*.

Aura-mazdā 'Ahuramazda', from **ma(n)dzhā-s*, see Lex. s.v.

§86. THE PIE PALATAL STOPS *k̑* *kh* *g̑* *gh* became sibilants in pAr., *s̑* *śh* *ž* *žh*; the voiceless aspirate was very rare and may be omitted from the following discussion. pAr. *s̑* *ž* *žh* appeared in Skt. as *ś* (often transcribed *ç*), *j*, *h*; in Av. as *s*, *z*, *z*, since voiced aspirates lost their aspiration in plr. There was a double representation in OP: *θ* and *d* in pure OP, *s* and *z* in words borrowed from Median (other developments in some clusters, §89–§97). In the *centum* branches of IE, these sounds developed precisely like the pure velars (§98).

§87. PIE *k̑* BEFORE VOWELS, unless preceded by *s*, became OP *θ*, Med. *s*:

PIE **kens-* in OP *abāham* 'I said', Av. root *sah-*, Skt. *śas-*, Lt. pres. *cēnsēō*.

PIE **nek-* 'destruction', in OP *m-nādayatiy* 'he injures', Lt. *nocet*, Skt. *nāśāyati*.

PIE **mak-* in OP *mabīšta* 'greatest', Av. *masīšta-* 'longest', Gk. *μέγιστος*.

PIE **ak-* in OP *aba'ga-* 'stone', Av. *asōga-*; cf. *asan-* 'stone' with Med. *s*, in nom. *asā*, and possibly in *Asa-garta-* (see Lex. s.v.). Cf. also acc. *asmānam* 'sky', Av. *asman-* 'sky, stone', Skt. *ásman-* 'stone', Gk. *ἀσμων* 'anvil' (*sm* from *km* is probably OP as well as Med.; §95).

PIE **uik-*, OP *viθ-* 'house, royal house', Av. *viš-* 'noble's residence', Skt. *viś-* 'dwelling place',

cf. Gk. *oikos* 'house'; OP inst. pl. *viθbiš* keeps *θ* by influence of the stem. Deriv., OP adj. *viθa-* 'belonging to the royal house'.

OP *θikā* 'rubble, broken stone', see Lex. s.v.; probably from the same, with Med. *s*, the name of the Median fortress *Sikaya'ruvatiš*.

Parθava 'Parthia' and *Pārša* 'Persia', where the *θ* and the *s* seem to reverse the local values of *k̑*; both provinces were apparently named by rulers of non-local origin.

vasiy 'at will, greatly', with Med. *s* if loc. to a root-noun, **uek-i*, rather than *rasaiy*, loc. to **uek-sko-* (see Lex. s.v.).

kāsaka 'semiprecious stone', with Med. *s* if correctly referred to the same root as Skt. *kaś-* 'shine'.

Other examples of OP *θ* from PIE *k̑* are to be seen in *θakata-*, *θard-*, *θa'rd-*, *θuxra-*, *θūravāhara-*, and perhaps in *θāgarci-*, *θatagu-*, *θarmi-*; see Lex. s.vv.

§88. PIE *g̑* AND *gh* before vowels and *r* (from PIE *r* and *l*) became OP *d*, Med. *z*:

PIE **g̑reios*, OP *drayū* 'sea', Av. *zrayō*, Skt. *jrāyas* 'expanse'.

PIE **g̑t-* in OP *adīnam* 'I took by force', Av. *zinādi* 'he harms', Skt. *jāyati* 'he overpowers'.

PIE **jag̑elai*, OP *yadalaity* 'he worships', Av. *yazaitē*, Skt. *yājate*.

PIE **ȓg̑nto-*, OP *ardata-* 'silver', Av. *arazata-*, Lt. *argentum*, cf. Skt. *rajatām*.

PIE **geus-* in OP *davīstar-* 'friend', Av. *zaoš-* 'enjoy', Skt. *jug-*.

PIE **ueg̑-* in OP *vazraka-* 'great', in the royal title and as epithet of the Earth, cf. Av. *vazra-* 'club', Skt. *vājra-* 'Indra's thunderbolt'; with Med. *z*.

PIE **g̑ono-*, OP *zana-* 'man' with Med. *z*, Av. *zana-*, Skt. *jāna-*; in OP *rispa-zana-*, *paru-zana-*, and (restored month-name) *Varka-zana-*; OP *d* is seen in **risa-dana-* 'rispazana-', inferred from the Elamite *mi-iš-ša-da-na*.

PIE **eghom*, OP *adam* 'I', Av. *azom*, Skt. *ahām*.

PIE **ghosto-*, OP *dasta-* 'hand', Av. *zasta-*, Skt. *hāsta-*.

PIE **ghul-* in OP *daraniya-* 'gold', Av. *zaranya-*, Skt. *hṛanya-*, cf. Eng. *gold*.

PIE **dhīg̑hā*, OP *didā* 'wall, fortress', cf. Skt. *dhā-*, Gk. *τείχος*.

PIE enclitic particle **ghi*, OP *-diy*, Av. *zī*, Skt. *hi*.

¹ Except before *s*; see §92.

§87.¹ Perhaps lacking the nasal in the OP present-tense stem; see reff. in Lex. s.v. *θah-*.

pIE **ǵhuros*, OP *zūra* 'wrong', Av. *zūrō*, cf. Skt. *hvdras* 'deceit'; the OP has Med. *z*.

OP *Zra'ka* 'Drangiana', name of an eastern province, with non-OP *z* from *ǵ* or *ǵh*; cf. Gk. *Σαράγγα*, and also *Δαργγιάνη*, with OP *d*.

Other examples of OP *d* from pIE *ǵ* are seen in *ardastāna-*, *Ardumaniš*, *avahar[da]*, *uradana-*, *dan-* in *adānū*, *vardana-*; from pIE *ǵh* in *gaud-*, *Bardiya*; from pIE *ǵ* or *ǵh* in *yaud-*. For materials on these words, see Lex. s.vv.

§89. pIE *k̑* became pAr. *š*, and then OP *θ*, and finally *š*, since *θ* before *i* became *š* in OP (§80); the only example is a dubious one, *pašiyā* 'written text', from **peik-* or **poik-* + *iā-*, in nsl. *paš[š]iyā* DB 4.91, and perhaps as the first element of the place-name *Paišiyāwādā-* (see Lex. s.vv.).

§90. pIE *k̑* became pAr. *šy*, and then Av. *sp*, Med. *sp*, OP *s*, Skt. *śv*:

pIE **ekyo-* 'horse', OP *asa-* in acc. *asam* and in *asabāra-*; OP *aspa-* (with Med. *sp*) in *waspa-*, *Aspacanah-*, *Vištāspa-*; Av. *aspa-*, Skt. *āśva-*, Lt. *equos*.

pIE **wikyo-*, OP *visa-* 'all', also in *visadahyu-*; OP *vispa-* (with Med. *sp*) in *vispazana-*; Av. *vispa-*, Skt. *viśva-*.

pIE **k̑yā-* in Av. *spā-* 'throw, set down', OP *sā-* 'erect, build', in *s-aor. pass. frāšah[ya]* Dñf 27 (etymology not certain!).

§91. pIE *ǵhy* became pAr. *žhy*, and then Med. and Av. *zb*,¹ Skt. *hv*, but OP *z*; the OP texts have one example of the Median value and one of the OP value:

pIE *ǵhy-* in OP *patiy-azbayam* 'I proclaimed', Av. root *zbā-*, Skt. pres. *hṛdyati*.

OP *hžānam* for acc. *hizānam* 'tongue', Av. *hizvā-*, Skt. *jihvā-*; see Lex. s.v. for details.

§92. pIE *k̑s* became pAr. *čš* and reverted in Indic (Skt.) to *ks*,¹ but became plr. *šš*, shortened to *š*:

pIE aor. **e-peik-s-m*, OP *niy-apaišum*; cf. other forms in Lex. s.v. *paθ-*.

¹ For the phonetic value of *-b-* in *-zb-*, see discussion by Debrunner, IF 56.176-7.

§92.¹ If pIE *k̑* in *ks* had become the usual pAr. sibilant *š*, it is difficult to see how the *š* could have yielded the stop in Skt. *ks*. Some other development of *k̑* in pAr. before *s* must therefore be assumed.

§93. pIE *k̑t* (from *k̑* or *ǵ* + *t*) became pAr. *št*, and then plr. *št*, OP and Av. *št*, and Skt. *ṣt*; these clusters are seen in derivatives with a *t*-suffix:

pIE **piḱ-to-*, OP *ni-pišta-* 'engraved'; **peik-t-* in inf. *ni-paištaniy*; for cognates, see Lex. s.v. *paθ-*.

pIE **uik-to-* 'entered', OP *višta-* 'ready' in *Vištāspa-*, see Lex. s.v.

pIE **prek-to-*, OP **u-frašta-* 'well punished'; for cognates, see Lex. s.v. *fraθ-*.

pIE **rǵ-ta-tā-* (with haplology) or fem. ptc. **rǵ-tā-*, OP *arštā-* 'rectitude'; from the root **rǵ-* 'direct, hold upright', cf. *rāsta-* below.

Sometimes OP has *st* instead of *št*; this is probably analogical to the *-st-* of dental stems, such as *basta-* to pIE **bhendh-*, *gasta-* 'evil' to pIE **gendh-* (cf. §85), since pIE *k̑* and *ǵ(h)* gave OP *θ* and *d* in other forms of the paradigm.¹ The examples are:

**u-frasta-*, varying with **u-frašta-*, see above.

pIE **rǵǵ-to-*,² OP *rāsta-* 'straight, right', Av. *rāšta-* 'directed', Lt. *rectus* 'directed, ruled, straight'.

pIE **nek-to-*, OP *ni-nasta-* 'damage'; for cognates, see Lex. s.v. *naθ-*.

§94. pIE *k̑l* became pAr. and plr. *sr*, then OP *or*, whence *ç*; the only example is *niy-açūrayam*

¹ This interpretation of the *st* from *k̑t* now seems to me preferable to that which I formerly maintained (as in Lg. 21.58, following a suggestion of Bv. Gr. §125), that *št* was Median and *st* was OP; for the borrowing by OP of the words and forms which contain *št* can hardly be motivated. Todesco, Le Monde Oriental 15.203-4 (referred to by Bv., i.e.), thinks *st* merely a later development from *št* (of any origin, including *št* from *st*, §115, §117), found in many Phl. words but not in all, and more extensively in SW Phl. (derived from OP, §4.11) than in NW Phl. (derived from Median, §4.1). His conclusion is based on the spellings in the Turfan Phl. (§4.1V); but the Turfan documents are of the 3d century A.D., about 700 years after the time of Darius and Xerxes, in whose inscriptions the *-st-* forms of OP are found. With such a gap in time the variation seen in OP can hardly be considered valid testimony to a preliminary stage of the development seen in the Turfan texts. ² The length of the vowel, which is not in point here, is probably due to analogical extension from the *s-aorist* active, where the long ablaut-grade was a regular formation in pIE, but may not have extended to the participle until pIE had split into the separate branches.

'I restored', in which the root is that seen in Lt. *clīnō* 'I lean'; for details, see Lex. s.v. *ṣay-*.

§95. PIE *km* and *ghm* gave respectively in OP *sm* and *zm* (not *θm* and *dm*, so far as we can tell): PIE **akmōn-* in OP acc. *asmānam* 'sky', Skt. *āsmānam* 'stone', cf. OP *adaṅga-* 'stone' and (with Med. *s*) *asan-* 'stone', §87.

PIE **ghem-* in Lith. *žemė* 'earth', Lt. *humus*, but **ghm-* in OP *u-zma-* 'stake' and in the province-name *Uvāra-zmī-*; see Lex. s.vv.

PIE **bhregh-* in OP *braz-man-īya-* 'prayerful'; see Lex. s.v.

§96. PIE *kn* *gn* *ghn* became pAr. *śn* *zn* *zhn*, then all became plr. *śn* since sibilants became voiceless before *n* in Iranian (§120); initial *śn* took a prothetic *x*. This *xśn* remained unchanged initial in Av. and OP, and was sometimes analogically extended to medial positions.

PIE **gnōskēti*, OP 3d sg. subj. *xśnāsatiy* 'he may know', Lt. *gnōscet* 'he will learn', Skt. root *jñā-* 'know'; the *g* is clearly shown in the *z-* of Av. *zixśnāpōmnā*, reduplicated pte. npf. of the desiderative (for reduplication, cf. Skt. perf. *jajñāu*, Gk. pres. *γῑγνώσκω*). See Lex. s.v. *xśnā-*.

PIE **gnu-to-*, OP *xśnuta* 'satisfied', Av. *xśnūtō*; medial *-xśn-* in the compound OP *ā-xśnautiy* 'he satisfies'. See Lex. s.vv. *xśnav-*, *uxśnav-*.

PIE **uek-* 'wish' + suffix *-no-*, OP *vaśna-* 'favor';¹ see Lex. s.v.

PIE *ghn* in medial position is found in the *śn* of *barśnā* 'by height' and probably in *aśnaiy* 'near';¹ see Lex. s.vv.

§97. PIE *sk* became pAr. *sś*, then plr. *śś*, *ss*, shortened to *s*, which is seen in Av. and OP; but pAr. *sś* developed in Indic to Skt. *(c)ch*.¹ This cluster is seen especially in the present-tense suffix of certain verbs:

PIE **prk-ske-*, in OP *parsāmiy* 'I punish', Av. *porasaiti* 'he asks', Skt. *prcchāti*, Lt. *poscit*.

PIE **tj-ske-ti*, OP *tarsatiy* 'he fears', Av. *tərasaiti*. PIE **gnōskēti*, OP *xśnāsatiy* 'he may know', Lt. *gnōscet* 'he will learn'.

PIE **ijm-ske-* in OP *āyasatā* 'he took as his own', Av. pres. *yasaiti*, Skt. *yācchati*.

PIE **r-skēti*, Skt. *rcchāti* 'he moves'; but OP inf. *arasam* 'I went off' from **re-ske-*.

PIE **uek-skōi*, if *v^saiy^a* is to be normalized *vasaiy* rather than *vasiy*; see Lex. s.v. *vasiy*.

§98. THE PIE VELARS AND LABIOVELARS IN PAr. fell together into one set of velar stops (§73.II), which then split into two series by the Aryan Law of Palatalization (§73.III): palatals *č* *ch* *g* *gh*, before PIE *ē ī i*; velars *k* *kh* *g* *gh*, elsewhere. The sounds therefore reached the following stage in pAr. (in Skt. the aspirates were subject to the dissimilation known as Grassmann's Law, §73.IV; and *gh* and *gh*, where not so changed, often became Skt. *h* rather than *gh* and *jh*):

PIE Velars and Labiovelars		pAr. Velars	pAr. Palatals
<i>q</i>	<i>q^h</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>č</i>
<i>gh</i>	<i>q^hh</i>	<i>kh</i>	<i>ch</i>
<i>g</i>	<i>g^h</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>ǵ</i>
<i>gh</i>	<i>g^hh</i>	<i>gh</i>	<i>gh</i>

The voiceless aspirates are so rare that in the main they may be disregarded from now on. In plr., the voiced aspirates lost their aspiration; the voiceless non-aspirate *k* before consonants became the voiceless spirant *x*, and the voiceless non-aspirate *č* before *ǵ* (the only consonant before which it could originate) became *š*.

Examples of these developments will be given in the following sections; but while words containing these sounds are of frequent occurrence in OP, it is often impossible to distinguish between original velars and original labiovelars, because we have no cognate in a non-Aryan language where alone they are distinguished. Not infrequently also the words occur only in Iranian, where we cannot distinguish between original voiced non-aspirates and original voiced aspirates.

§99. PAr. *k* AND *č* are found without further change in OP, in the following:

PIE *q-*, in OP *kāra-* 'people, army', cf. Lith. *kāras* 'war', Gm. *Heer* 'army'.

¹ A somewhat differing view by Nyberg, *Studia Indo-Iranica* W. Geiger 213-6, does not convince me.

§96.¹ On Avestan *-sn-* for expected *-šn-*, as in *vasna* 'by the favor', *asne* 'near', see Bthl. Gdr. IP 1.§33.1.

§97.¹ On the relation of Skt. *ch* with *c* on the one hand and with a sibilant on the other, see J. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik* 1.153-8; A. Thumb, *Handbuch des Sanskrit* 1.113.

pIE *q^{uo}s-q^{uid}, OP *kaš-ci-y*, Skt. *ka-s*, Lt. *quo-*, and Skt. (particle) *cid*, Lt. *quid*.

pIE *q^uq^o- 'wolf' in Skt. *vṛka-s*, OP *Varkāna-* 'Hyrcania', Eng. *wolf*.

pIE *seq^uē, OP *hucā* 'from', Skt. *sacā* 'with', to root in Lt. *sequor* 'I follow'.

pIE *leuq- 'shine' in OP *rauca* 'day', Skt. *rōcas-* 'light', Gk. *leukós* 'white'.

pAr. root *kar-* 'make, do', OP pres. *kunauti-y*, inf. pass. *akariya*, *zūra-kara-* 'evil-doer'; but **ker-* in pres. inf. *carṭanai-y*, **kēr-* in *ucāram* 'well-done, successful', **ke-kr-* in perf. opt. *carriyā*.

OP *Maka*, a province, but ethnic *Maci-ya*, with palatalization because the suffix began with the palatal sound.

OP *Ākaufaci-yā* 'men of **Ākaufaka*', similarly.

pAr. *kāma-*, OP *kāma* 'desire', Skt. *kāma-*.

So also other instances of *k* and *c* in OP, though many of them are in words with very scanty etymological parallels, and others are obvious borrowings from other languages, such as *maškā-* 'inflated skin', *Katpatuka* 'Cappadocia', *Kūša-* 'Ethiopia'.

Where pAr. *k* stood before varying vowels, there may be variation in the products (as in the forms from root *kar-*), or one value may be generalized: OP *rauca* from nom.-acc. pIE **leuqos*, with *c* from oblique cases, where pIE had **leuqes-* (cf. Gk. *γένος γένος*, Lt. *genus generis*).

§100. pAr. *kh* seems to appear in a few words, which have no far-reaching etymological connections:

raudā- 'cap', also in *tigraxauda-* 'wearing the pointed cap', cf. Av. *zaranya-xuōda-* 'wearing a golden helmet'.

mayūra- 'door-knob', Skt. *mayūkha-* 'peg'.

haxā- 'friend' in *Haxā-maniš* 'Achaemenes', Skt. nom. *sākhā*.

Also the place-name *Razā*, personal names *Arza* and *Sku^u.ca*, and the doubtful words *Xarša-dašya* and *Hadaxaya*; see Lex. s.vv.

For OP *x* from *k* before consonants, see §102 and §103. Corresponding to Skt. *khānati* 'he digs' we have OP *akaniya* 'it was dug', Av. *kan-* 'dig', and Av. *xā* 'well', with unexplained variation between aspirate and non-aspirate.

§101. pAr. *g* AND *ǵ*, *gh* AND *ǧh*, appearing in OP as *g* and *j*; there is the same difficulty in

determining precisely the pIE origin, as has been met in the preceding sections.

pIE root **g^{em}-* 'come', Lt. *veniō*, in OP ptc. pl. *parā-gmatā* 'gone forth', *ha^m-gmatā* 'assembled', but with palatalization pres. opt. *ā-jamīyā* 'may it come', Skt. (without palatalization) *gamyāt*.

pIE **g^uiyo-* 'living', OP *jīva*, Skt. *jīvā-s*, Lt. *vīros*; pIE **g^uoi-* in OP acc. *gaidām* 'cattle'.

pIE stem **g^uou-* 'cow' in personal names *Gau-barwa*, *Gau-māta*; see Lex.

pAr. **ghauša-*, OP *gauša-* 'ear', Skt. *ghōša-* 'noise'.

pIE **dǵhos* 'long', OP adv. *dargam*, Skt. *dīrghā-s*, Gk. *δοῦλός*.

pIE **bhago-*, OP *baga* 'god', Skt. *bhāga-* 'dispenser', Gk. *-φάγος* 'eater'; with palatalization, OP *bājim* 'tribute'.

pIE **dhrugho-*, OP *drauga* 'the Lie', and with palatal suffix *-eno-*, *draujana-* 'follower of the Lie'; *adurujjiya* 'he lied', denominative verb to the stem seen in Av. (acc.) *Druj-im* 'Devil'.

pIE **g^hormo-* 'heat', Skt. *gharmā-s*, OP month-name *Garma-pada-*, cf. Lt. *formus* 'hot'.

pIE root **g^hen-* 'strike', OP *ja^utiy*, Skt. *hānti*; OP 3d sg. inf. *ajaⁿ*, Skt. *āhan*; pIE **g^hny-dhī* (inv.), OP *jadiy*, Skt. *jahī* (Skt. *j* by Grassmann's Law, §73.IV).

Other examples of *g* and *j* could be added, but these are adequate.

The pIE roots **g^{em}-* and **g^hen-* have in OP generalized the palatalized value of the velar consonant, except where it stands before a consonant.

On *-j-* in *nijāyām*, see §120.

§102. OP *xš* is of various sources, and should be discussed in association with *š* from similar clusters. The origins which call for discussion, and the correspondences, are the following:¹

pIE *q^h*, Av. OP *xš*, Skt. *kṣ*, Gk. *κτ*.

pIE *qs*, Av. OP *xš*, Skt. *kṣ*, Gk. *ξ*.

pIE *k^h*, Av. OP *š*, Skt. *kṣ*, Gk. *κτ*.

pIE *k^s*, Av. OP *š*, Skt. *kṣ*, Gk. *ξ*.

pIE root **q^het-*, OP *-axšayaiy* 'I ruled', Skt. *kṣāyati* 'he possesses', Gk. *κτῶμαι* 'I acquire'; with derivatives, see Lex. s.v. *xšay-*.

pIE root **q^hen-*, OP *axšata-* 'unhurt', Skt. *kṣanōti* 'he injures', Gk. *κτείνω* 'I kill'.

pIE **aug-*, **ueg-* 'increase', Lt. *augeō* etc.; with

¹ For pIE *q^h*, cf. §58.Aa.

added -s-, **auls-* **ʔeks-*, in Gk. *aῖω*, Gm. *wachsen*, Skt. *vakṣati*, OP *U-varš-tra-* 'Cyaxares'.

pAr. **baug-* 'free', in Av. *buŋjainiti* 'they rescue' (with nasal infix); with added -s-, -*burša-* in *Baya-burša-* (see Lex.); **baug-s-na-*, becoming pIr. **bauxšna-*, and losing the -x- in later OP, in *Āθiyābaušna-* (see Lex.).

Origin uncertain (no sure cognates outside Aryan): OP *xšap-* 'night', Skt. *kṣap-*; OP *axšaina-*, Av. *axšaēna-* 'dark-colored', *xšaēta-* 'shining'.

pIE **teḱp-* 'cut', Av. *tataša* 'he has created', Skt. *tákṣati* 'they fashion'; in OP *us-tašanā-* 'staircase'.

pIE **teḱp-* and **teḱqḱ-*, contaminated in OP *taxš-* 'be active', pres. *ha-taxšataiy* (see Lex., s.v. *taxš-*).

pIE **qeḱs-*, probably in OP *caša-m* 'eye', cf. Av. *cašman-* 'eye', Skt. *cákṣas-* 'eye' (see Lex. s.v. *caša-*).

pIE **peiḱs-* in OP (aor.) *niy-apaišam* 'I engraved', cf. Skt. *piśāti* 'he cuts, adorns'. For OP *xšn-* from pIE *ǵn-*, see §96.

§103. pAR. *k* AND *g* BEFORE CONSONANTS (other than *s*, §102) in OP: there are the following examples:

I. pAr. *kr* became pIr. *xr* (§74, I):

OP *xraθu-* 'wisdom', Av. *xratav-*, Skt. *krātu-* 'power'.

OP *θuxra-* (man's name), Av. *suxra-* 'red', Skt. *śukrá-* 'bright'.

OP perf. opt. *cazriyā*, Skt. *cakriyāt*, to root *kar-* 'make, do'.

II. pAr. *km* became pIr. *xm*, remaining in Av. and Median, but becoming *hm* in OP (the *h* omitted in writing):

OP *tazma-* 'brave', with Med. -*xm-* in the name of the Mede *Taxmaspāda-* and of the Sagar-tian *Ciçatazma-*; Av. *tazma-* 'brave'.

OP *taθmā-* 'family', cf. with different suffix Av. *taoxman-* 'seed', Skt. *tókman-* 'green blade of barley'.

Perhaps in OP *amazmatā* (see Lex. s.v. *amazmatā*), where the relation to other forms from the root *kam-* (if this etymology be correct) prevented the further change of *xm* to *hm*.

III. Other examples of earlier *k* before consonants are found in the province-name *Bāxtri-*

'Bactria', the month-name *Viyaxna-*, and the inv. *razθatw*, of uncertain meaning and connections.

IV. Earlier *g* before consonants, other than *s* and *t*, seems to remain unchanged in the extant examples:

Patigrabanā, a town in Parthia, perhaps to OP *grab-* (pIE **ghrebh-*), which elsewhere appears in OP only as *garb-* (graphic for both *garb-* and *grb-*).

tigra- 'pointed', also in *tigrazanda-*; *Tigra-*, a fortress in Armenia; *Tigrā-* 'Tigris', borrowed from Semitic.

-*gmata-* 'gone', to root *gam-*, in *parāgmatā hagmatā Hagmatāna-*.

Bagābiğna- a man's name, see Lex. s.v.

Sugda- a Persian province, also *Suguda* with anaptyxis (§128).

But pIE -*ǵh-to-*, becoming -*gdho-*, pIr. -*gda-*, was in OP replaced by -*kt-* (analogical to -*gt-* becoming -*kt-*): *duruxtam* 'false', etc. to pres. stem *duruxtiya-*, cf. *drauga-* 'the Lie' (palatalization only in the present stem, where there is the suffix -*ǵo-*).

§104. pAR. *č* became *š* in Av. and OP (graphic -*šiy-* in OP, §25):

pIE **qʷičto-*, OP *šiyāta-* 'happy', GAv. *šyāta-* 'joyous', Lt. *quiēthus*.

pIE **qʷičti-*, OP *šiyāti-* 'happiness', cf. Lt. *quiēs*, gen. *quiēt-is*.

pIE **qʷiey-*, OP *ašiyava* 'he set forth', Skt. *ácyaṇat*, Gk. (Hom.) aor. *έσσευε* 'he put into motion'.

§105. THE CLUSTER -*s-é-* appears in OP with reduction to *s* in *pasā* 'after', from pIE **po-sqʷē-*: cf. Av. *pasča*, Skt. *paścā*. The evidence of Sasanian Pahlavi shows that this value alone is phonetic in OP (Bv. Gr. §114), and that the -*šč-* which is seen in some sandhi combinations, belongs rather to Median: OP *kašciy* 'anyone' from pIE **qʷos-qʷid*; *manaš-c[ā]* DNb 32 from **menos-qʷe*. On *zūra-kara* 'evil-doer' from **zurah-kara-*, see §119.

The sandhi product of -*d c-* has a similar variation: OP *s* (not attested) and remade *c* (§130), Med. *šč*; there are the following examples:

pIE **ed-qʷid*, OP *aciṇ* 'then', Av. *ačēl*.

pIE **iōd-qʷid*, OP *yaciṇ* 'when', Av. *yačēl*.

pIE **qʷid-qʷid*, OP *cišciy* 'anything', with Med.

šc; so also OP *avašciy* from earlier **avad-cid*, OP *aniyašciy* from earlier **aniad-cid*.

§106. PIE *r* remained unchanged in most IE languages, down into the recorded forms of the languages; exceptional combinations in which it suffered change in OP, are mentioned below. PIE **rēkto* 'directed', OP *rāsta* 'straight', Av. *rāšta* 'upright', Lt. *rēcto*. PIE **pro*, OP *fra-* (in epds.), Av. *frā*, Skt. *pra*, Gk. *πρό*.

PIE **enter* 'inside', OP *a^utar*, Av. *antarə*, Skt. *antār*, Lt. *inter*.

PIE **su-prek-to*, OP *u^urašta* 'well punished', cf. Skt. *prachāmi* 'I ask', Lt. *precor* 'I ask'.

PIE **proterom*, OP *frataram*, Skt. *pratardm*, Gk. *πρότερον*.

PIE root **dhreugh-* in OP *drauga-* 'the Lie', Skt. *drūhyati* 'he deceives', Gm. *trügen* 'to deceive'.

PIE **mortijo-*, OP *martiya-* 'man', Skt. *mārtya-*, cf. Lt. *mortalis*.

PIE **ebheront* 'they bore', OP *abara-*, Skt. *ābharan*, cf. Lt. *ferō*.

OP *r* may come also from PIE *r* *r̄* (§66, §68, cf. §§30-35), and from PIE *l* *l̄* (§107, §66, §68); but there are many ambiguities, since PIE *r* and PIE *l* can be distinguished only if we have a cognate outside the Aryan branch of IE. It is also difficult in many instances, to distinguish the original vocalic *r* and *l* from the original consonantal *r* and *l* (§30-§35).

For OP developments of pAr. *tr*, see §§78-9; of pAr. *sr*, see §118.II. In borrowed names of persons and places, *r* is of frequent occurrence; e.g. *Aθurā* 'Assyria', *Arabāya* 'Arabia', *Ufrātu-* 'Euphrates', *Armina* 'Armenia', *Karkā* 'Carians', in which the forms in other languages assure the *r* as original at the time of borrowing.

§107. PIE *l* became pAr. *r*, and therefore was indistinguishable from PIE *r* in the Aryan languages, unless a cognate from another IE branch can be adduced.

PIE **solho-* 'all', OP *haruwa-*, Av. *haurva-*, Skt. *sārva-*, Gk. Ion. *ὅλος*, Att. *ὅλος*.

PIE **palu-*, OP *paru-*, Skt. *purū-*, Gk. *πολυ-*.

PIE **leuqos*, OP *rauca*, Skt. *rōcas*, cf. Gk. *λευκός* 'white'.

PIE **syel-nos*, OP *-farna* in *Vi^uda-farnā*, Av. *x^uarəno* 'royal splendor', cf. Gk. *σέλας* 'brightness' from **syel-ns*.

PIE **q^uel-* in OP *car-* in *abicariš* 'pasture land', cf. Skt. *cāraṭi* 'he goes', Lt. *colit* 'he tills'. Also *l* or *l̄* in OP *Varkāna-*, *Varkazana-* (see Lex.), *l̄* in *darga-* (§68).

In borrowings, an original *l* became OP *r* if the words were really assimilated into the OP: thus *Arbairā-* 'Arbela' = Akk. *ar-ba'-il*; *Tigrā-* 'Tigris' = Akk. *di-iq-lat*; *Nadi^utabaira-* 'Nidintu-Bel' = Akk. *ni-din-tu^u-bēl*; *Bābiru-* 'Babylon' = Akk. *bab-ilu*. In others that received less use, the *l* remained: *Haldāla-* an Armenian, *Labanāna-* 'Mt. Lebanon', *Dubāla-* a district in Babylonia, and *Izālā-* a district in Assyria.

For the development of PIE *l*, see §78; for PIE *l̄*, §94; for PIE *l̄*, §66; for PIE *l̄*, §68.

§108. THE PIE NASALS in general remained unchanged in the various IE languages, except that they changed to agree with the position of a following stop or spirant; but this shift is hardly evidenced in OP, since nasals before homorganic stops or spirants¹ were not written in the OP syllabary (§39).

§109. PIE *m* remained *m*, in general, in all the languages.

PIE **mā* 'not', OP *mā*, Skt. *mā*, Gk. *μή*.

PIE **moi* 'of or to me', OP *mai^u*, Skt. *me*, Gk. *μοι*.

PIE **m^uto-* 'dead', OP *mar^u*, Skt. *mṛtā-*, Lt. *mort-uos*.

PIE **somo-* 'same', OP *hama-*, Skt. *samā-*, Gk. *ὁμός*.

PIE **nōm^u* 'name', OP *nāmā*, Skt. *nāma*, Lt. *nōmen*.

PIE **e^ughom* 'I', OP *adam*, Skt. *ahām*, cf. Gk. *ἐγών*.

OP *m* remains before *n* and final, and before enclitics: *kamnam*, *jiyamnam*, acc. *nāham*, *adam-šim*, *avākaram-ca-mai^u*, *paruam-ci^u*. On [*n^uyā*]-*kama* = [*kam-ma*], see §130. On PIE *n*, see §67; on PIE *m̄*, §68: on failure to write *m* before stops and spirants, §111.

M occurs in non-Iranian proper names and in *maškā-* 'inflated skin', from Aramaic.

¹ In pIr., nasals before spirants were reduced to a mere nasalization of the preceding vowel (so also in Indic, cf. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik* I. §224); the OP writing fails to show whether the nasalization persisted in OP (as it did in Av.) or was entirely lost. Thus OP *ašaha* may agree with Skt. *aśqat* in having a nasalized vowel, or may be from a form of the root lacking the nasal; cf. ref. in Lex. s.v. *aah-*.

§110. pIE *n* remained *n*, in general, in OP, Av., Skt., Gk., Lt.

pIE **nās-* 'nose', OP acc. *nāham*, Skt. *nās-*, Eng. *nose*.

pIE **napōt-s* 'grandson', OP nom. *napā*, Skt. *nāpāt*, Lt. *napōs*.

pIE **nōmṇ* 'name', OP *nāmā*, Skt. *nāma*, Lt. *nōmen*.

pIE **ḡnōskēti* 3d sg. subj., OP *xšnāsātīy*, Lt. fut. (*g*)*nōscet*.

pIE **eg^hen-ṇ*, OP *ajanam* 'I smote', Skt. *āhanam*, cf. Lt. *dē-fen-dō*.

OP *n* was of frequent occurrence in personal and place names, some at least being non-Iranian. For *n* before stop or spirant, see §111; for *n* final, see §112. For pIE *ṇ*, see §67; for pIE *ñ*, §68. For *n̥*, written *nīy*, §25; for *n̥*, written *nw*, §26.

§111. OP UNWRITTEN MEDIAL NASALS. OP nasals were not expressed in writing before stops and spirants (except *m* before enclitics, §39), but the presence of the sounds is indicated by the transliterations into other languages, or by the evidence of etymological comparisons.

Ka^m*pa^ada* a district in Media, Elam. *qa-um-pa-taš*.

Ka^m*būjiya* 'Cambyses', Elam. *kan-bu-ši-ja*, Akk. *kan-bu-zi-ja*.

Vi^a*dafarnā* 'Intaphernes', Elam. *mi-in-da-par-na*. Sku^a*ra* a Scythian rebel, Elam. *iš-ku-in-qa*.

Hi^a*duš* 'Sind', Elam. *hi-in-du-iš*, Av. *Hindu-*, Skt. *śindhu-*.

aša^a*ga-* 'stone', Av. *ašonga-*.

ba^a*daka* 'servant', Phl. *bandak*, NPers. *bāndāh*.

a^a*tar* 'inside', Skt. *antār*, Lt. *inter*.

§112. OP FINAL *n*. OP *n* was not written when final: loc. **nōmen*, OP *nāma* (see Lex. s.v.); 3d pl. imp. **ebheyont*, OP *abava*, Skt. *abHAVan*. On *abaran* miswritten for *abaraha*, see §54.I.

§113. pIE *ḡ* appears unchanged in OP, as well as in Skt., when initial and intervocalic; but in Av. it is subject to many graphic alterations: OP *yabā*, Skt. *yāthā*.

OP *yadataiṇy* 'he worships', Skt. *yājate*, Gk. *ājetai* (pIE *ḡ* > Gk. *h-*).

OP *dārayatiy* 'he holds', Skt. *dhārāyati*.

OP *vayam* 'we', Skt. *vayām*.

OP *draya* 'sea', Av. *zrayō*, Skt. *drāyas-*.

After consonants also, pIE *ḡ* remains unchanged

in OP and in Skt., but it is regularly written *-iy-* (§25):

root *kan-* 'dig' + pass. *-ya-*, in *akanīya* 'was dug'.

**duš-* 'ill' + **yār-* 'year', in *dušiyāram* 'famine'.

wāmaršiyuš nsm. 'by self-death', Skt. *mṛtyū-ś* 'death', cf. *-tiyo-* in OP *martiya* 'man'.

adurujiya 'he lied', cf. *drauga* 'the Lie'.

ašiyava 'he went forth', Skt. (mid.) *ācyavata*.

Note pAr. *kī* > pAr. *čī* > OP *šy*, §104; pAr. *tī* > pIr. *θī* > OP *šy*, §80. OP *Maciya-* to the province-name *Maka* must be for **makiyos*, or a late formation in which **makiyos* did not make the second phonetic change; similarly *Ākarufaciya* to **Ākarufaka*.

But *hy* was normally written *hy* and not *hiy*, §27; on *tya*, with retention of *t* and failure to write final *iya*, see Lex. s.v.

At the end of a word, *y* was added in OP to a final *i*: thus OP *pariy*, Skt. *pāri*, Gk. *περί*; OP *ciy*, Skt. *cid*, Lt. *quid* (§37; §84 for failure to write final *d* in OP); OP encl. *-maiṇy*, Skt. *me*, Gk. *μοι*.

Occasionally medial *-ay-* was written *-aiy-*; see §48. Very rarely *-iy^a-* = *-iy-* was used to indicate length of *i*, see §23.

§114. pIE *y* appears unchanged in OP and in Skt., while in Av. there are numerous changes, essentially only graphic: OP *v* was the semi-vowel as in Eng. *we*, not the spirant as in Eng. *we*:

acc. **yik-ṇ*, OP *viṇam* 'house', Skt. *viśam*, cf. Lt. *vīcus* 'village'.

pl. **yēi* 'we', OP *vayam*, Skt. *vayām*, Gt. *wei-s*.

pIE **deiyō-*, OP *daiva-* 'demon', Skt. *devā-* 'god', Lt. *dēvos*.

pIE **g^hiyō-* 'living', OP *jīva*, Skt. *jīvā-s*, Lt. *vīvos*.

After consonants also, pIE *y* remains unchanged in OP and in Skt., but is regularly written *-uv-* in OP (§26):

OP *haruva-* 'all', Skt. *sārva-*.

OP loc. *duwarayā* 'at the door', Skt. *dhvar-*.

OP acc. *θwām*, Skt. *tām*; but dissyllabic OP *twam*, Skt. *tvām*.

OP *θanwanīya* 'bowman', cf. Skt. *dhānwan-* 'bow'.

But pIE *y* was lost after labial stops:

OP 2d sg. opt. *biyā^a*, 3d sg. *biyā^a*, from **bhy-ijē-*, to root **bheu-*, see Lex. s.v. *bav-*.

Note pAr. *ty* > pIr. *θy* > OP *θv*, §81; pAr. *sy* > pIr. *hy* > OP *hv*, written *uv* for **uw*, and Med. *f* in *farnah-*, §118.IV; pAr. *ry* and *ry*, §35.

At the end of a word, *v* was added in OP to final *u*: OP *paruw* 'much', Skt. *purú*, Gk. *πολύ*; OP loc. *Margaw Hi'daw Bābiraw* (§38). Occasionally medial *-av-* was written *-aw-*, see §48. Very rarely *-u-v-* = *-uv-* was used to indicate length of *ū*, see §23.

§115. PIE *s* remained unchanged in pAr. except as follows: (1) PIE *s* became pAr. *š* if preceded by pAr. *i*-vowel or *u*-vowel (including long and short vowels and diphthongs), or by pAr. *r* or *ṛ* (also from PIE *l* or *ḷ*), or by a pAr. palatal or velar stop; and (2) PIE *s* became a weak *h*-sound, indicated by *h* (called in Skt. *visarga*), when final after pAr. *ā* and immediately followed by a pause between phrases or at the end of a sentence.

pAr. *s* remained in pIr. before pAr. *p t k* (and presumably before pAr. *ph th kh*, but of these there are no certain examples in OP); but in other positions it became pIr. *h*.

Final *s* was subject in Aryan to various sandhi developments other than *-š* and *-h*; these are best seen in Sanskrit. But Iranian generalized *-š* and *-h* and shows only these values and their direct phonetic developments, except for a few combinations with enclitics (the OP examples are in §105). Skt. words and forms will be cited with *-s* and *-h* in order to show clearly their relation to the OP words and forms with which they are compared.

The developments of pIr. *s š h h* in Iranian and in OP will be discussed in the following sections.

§116. pIr. *s* from PIE *s* in pIr. *st sp sk* remained in OP without change: *st* in PIE **esti* 'he is', OP *astiy*, Skt. *āsti*, Lt. *est*; PIE **ghosto-* 'hand', OP *dasta-*, Av. *zasta-*, Skt. *hāsta-*. OP *avāstāyam* 'I restored', cf. Lt. *stāre*; OP *stānam* 'place', Skt. *sthānam* (it is uncertain whether the Iranian as well as the Skt. goes back to PIE *sth-*, but if so the aspiration was regularly lost in Iranian after a sibilant; other languages have the products of the non-aspirate).

sp in *spāda-* 'army', in *Taxmaspāda-* (name of a Mede); in *Vāyaspāra-* (name of a Persian):

but the ultimate origin of these words is not clear.

sk in *skauhi-*, *Sku"ra-*, *Skudra-*: all non-Persian words by origin, and given here only as evidence for the occurrence of the sound cluster.

OP *s* is more commonly of other origins: (Med.) *s* from PIE *k*, §87; from clusters containing PIE *k*, §90, §93, §95; from PIE dental stop + *t*, becoming *tst*, §85; and in words of uncertain etymology or borrowed from other languages: *Saka-*, *Sug(u)da-*, *Nisāya-*, *si"kabru-*, and the dubious *siyamam*.

§117. pIr. *š* from PIE *s* after certain sounds (§115) remained unchanged in OP:

OP *mahišta-* 'greatest', Av. *masišta-*, Gk. *μήκιστος* 'longest'.

OP *frāišayam* 'I sent', Skt. *śayati* 'he brings'.

OP *uška-* 'dry', Av. *huška-*, Lith. *sausas*.

OP *gauša-* 'ear', Skt. *ghōṣa-* 'noise'.

OP *adaršnavuš* 'he dared', Skt. *dhṛṣnóti* 'he dares'.

OP *arša-* 'male' in *Aršāma-* 'Arsames', Skt. *ṛṣa-bhā-* 'bull'.

PIE **sed-as-* in OP *hadiš* 'seat', cf. Gk. *ἔδος* (from PIE **sedos*).

PIE **c-si-ste-to*, OP *a'ištatā* 'he stood', cf. Gk. *ἵσταται* 'he stands' (from **sistatai*).

PIE **ṛsti-*, OP nom. *arštiš*, Skt. *ṛṣṭi-ṣ* (cf. §115).

OP nom. *tanūš* 'body', Skt. *tanū-ṣ*.

For *ks* and other clusters giving *xš*, see §102; for *kn* and *gn* giving initial *xšn* and medial *šn*, §96; for *-šc-* as a sandhi product, §105; for pAr. *čy* giving OP *šy*, §104; for pAr. *tj* giving OP *šy* §80; for pAr. *tn* giving OP *šn*, §82.

The verbal prefix *ni-* affects an initial *s* of the verbal root; thus *ni-štā-* from *ni-* + *stā-* and *ni-šad-* from *ni-* + *sad-* (Iran. *had-*), and the value *š* is extended to positions where the *s* is separated from the *i* by the augment: *niyaštāyam* 'I commanded' (but *avāstāyam* 'I restored'), *niyašādayam* 'I commanded'. So also the enclitic pronoun *-šaiy -šim -šām -šiš* is generalized in the form which developed after a final *i* or *u* of the word to which it was attached; cf. Av. *hōi him hiš*, showing the generalization of initial *h*, which was regular after most finals.

For *št* from PIE *kṭ*, §93. The sound *š* also occurs in borrowed words, such as *maškā-* 'inflated skin' (from Aramaic); and in proper names, the origin of which is not always clear (here

only after *i* and *u*): *Kāpiśakāni*-, *Kūša*-, *Cīṣpi*-, *Paṭiśwari*-, *Adukanaiša*-, *Čūša*-, etc.

§118. pIr. *h* from pIE *s*, §115.

I. pIr. *h* remained in OP.

pIE **soḷyo*- 'all', OP *haruwa*, Skt. *sārva*-.

pIE **snt-jom*, OP *haṣiyam* 'truth', Skt. *satyām*, cf. Eng. *sooth*.

pAr. **sainā*- 'army', OP *hainā*-, Skt. *sēnā*-.

OP *vāhara*- 'spring' in *Θūra-vāhara*-, Skt. *vāsara*- 'bright', Lith. *vāsara* 'summer'.

pIE gen. -*osjo*, OP *martiy-ahyā* 'of a man', Skt. *mārtiy-ahya*.

pIE acc. **nās-m*, OP *nāham*, Skt. *nāsam*.

II. Before *r* and *m* the *h* was not written in OP:

OP *rauta* 'river', Skt. *srōtas*- 'current, river'.

OP *amiy* 'I am', LAv. *ahmi*, Skt. *āsmi*, from pIE **esmi*.

OP *amāzam* 'of us', Av. *ahmākəm*, Skt. *asmākam*.

OP *taumā* 'family', for **tauhmā* from **tauzmā*, §103.II.

III. OP *hai* was written with *h^e*; OP *hi* initial or medial was written by *i* or by *h^e*; OP written *h^eiy^a* = *hiy*, which we expect for non-final *hy* and *hiy* and for final *hi*, is normally written without the *i*; OP final *h^ey^a* = *-hy* (for *-hi*) loses the *y^a* if it is followed by an enclitic. For examples, and a complete list of exceptions, see §27.

IV. The writing *h^eu* was normal for *hau*, as in *hauw*, *hauwam*, *hauwawarga*-, *Vahauka*-, but was not used for *hu*; to express *hu*, with vocalic *u*, the single character *u* was used, and to express *haw* for *h^eu* (from *sy*), *u^a* was written—the *h^e* being omitted in both situations:

Nom. *Dārayava^auš*, gen. *Dārayavahauš*.

Nom. *Hara^auatiš*, Skt. *sārasvatī*.

Loc. pl. *aniyā^au-ā*, Skt. *anyāsu*.

h^ewa- 'own', Av. *x^aa*-, Skt. *sva*-.

h^ewaspa- 'having good horses', Skt. *sv-āśva*-.

In the name *Vi^ada-farnah*- 'Intaphernes', the second element is identical with Av. *x^aarnah*- 'royal splendor', from pIE **syel-nos*-, cf. Skt. *svar*- 'sun', Lt. *sōl*; the *f* instead of OP *h^eu* from *sy* seems to be a Median peculiarity, although Intaphernes was one of the Persians who aided Darius to overthrow the false Smerdis.

V. There are other words with *h*, which are of uncertain etymology or are borrowed from other languages: *Anāhitā*, usually written *Anahata*, the

name of a goddess with apparently an Iranian name based on an unidentifiable root; *Haldita*-, an Armenian; *Hi^aduš*, a province-name from Indic, but with Iranian development of the initial *s*.

VI. For the loss of *h* in the sequence *ahah*, and subsequent contraction of the vowels, see §131.

§119. pAR. *h* developed from pIE *s* after pAR. *ā* when final in the phrase or sentence; it was not written in OP, but its presence as a sound is indicated by the fact that final *ā* remains *ā* in the writing if it is followed by *h*, but is written *ā* if it is absolutely final. When it is desirable to indicate this unwritten *h*, we use a raised *h* or a raised *s*,¹ as may be more convenient.

OP nom. *martiyā^h*, Skt. *mārtiyā^h*, from pIE -*os*.

OP nom. pl. *bagāhā^h* 'gods', cf. Skt. Ved. *devāsā^h* 'gods'.

But OP *abara^atā*, Skt. *ābharanta*; OP *agarbāyātā*, Skt. *agrbhāyala*.

After *ā*, there is no evidence of the survival of *h* as an unwritten sound in OP:

OP gen. *taumāyā* 'family', Skt. gen. *-āyā^h* in *-ā*- stems.

OP npt. *kartā* 'done, made', Skt. *kṛtā^h*.

The inst. pl. *raucabiš*, to *rauca^a* 'day', raises a problem. The corresponding declension of neuter -*os*/*es*- stems is, with partial use of Skt. *mānas*- 'mind' and Av. *manah*- 'mind, sense':

	pIE	Skt.	Av.	OP
Nom. sg.	* <i>menos</i>	<i>māna^h</i>	<i>manō</i>	<i>rauca^a</i>
Ins. pl.	* <i>menez-bhis</i>	<i>mānōbhiṣ</i>	<i>manōbiš</i>	<i>raucabiš</i>
Loc. pl.	* <i>menes-su</i>	<i>mānaḥsu</i>	<i>raočōh-a</i>	

Apparently the suffix -*as*- or -*az*- was in some forms replaced by -*aḥ*- where -*aḥ*- yielded an easier phonetic development. We may assume that *raucabiš* is from *rauca^a-bhiš*, that the *h* became voiced before the voiced stop and was lost in OP, but in Av. and Skt. was lost with an attendant change of the preceding vowel to *ō*. A similar replacement is seen in *zūra^a-kara*- 'evil-doer', where the *h* is lost before the voiceless stop; cf. Skt. *manah-pati*- 'Lord of the Mind'.

§120. pIE *z* developed in pIE only (1) from *s* which in word-formation came to stand before a voiced stop; (2) from *s* which in word-formation

¹ The *s* indicates more clearly the etymological origin; similarly, we quote Sanskrit words with either *-h* or *-s*.

came to stand after a voiced aspirated stop (of this there are no examples in OP); (3) in the voiced clusters *dzd* and *dzdḥ* which developed from certain combinations of dental + dental (§85).¹ There are only a few examples:

Personal name *Vahyaz-dāta*- 'Follower of) the Better Law', with *vahyas*- 'better' (Skt. *vāsyas*-) + *dāta*- 'law'.

azdā and *Aura-mazdāh*-, with *-dzdḥ*-, see §85; for *basta*- and *gasta*-, with participial *-lst*- replacing *-dzdḥ*-, see §85.

The Aryan prefix **niš*-, from pIE **ni* + *s* (§115), became *niž* before voiced stops, as in Av. *niž-borāta*- 'carrying off' (nt. sb.), and is written *nij*- in OP *nij-āyām* 'I went forth'.

Other instances of *z* are largely the product of pIE *ǵ* and *ǵh* in Median (§88, §91), or in OP before consonants (§91, §95); such a *z* became *s* and then *š* before *n*:

pIE *ǵ*: *paruzana*-, *vispazana*-, *Varkazana*-, *vaz-raka*-.

pIE *ǵh*: *brazmaniya*-, *Uvārazmī*-, *uzma*-, *zūra*-, *zū-rakara*-.

pIE *ǵ* or *ǵh*: *Zra*ka*-.

pIE *ǵh*ḡ: *patiyazbayam*-, *h'zānam*-.

Names of non-Iranian places: *Zazāna*-, *Zūzakya*-, *Izalā*-.

It is to be noted that OP *z* remained unchanged before *m*, as in *brazman*-, though it became voiceless (and was further changed) before *n*, as in *baršnā*. But the *zm* which was retained in GAv. became *sm* in LAV.

§121. THE ABLAUT GRADES OF THE VOWELS: The pIE variation of the vowels, known as ablaut gradation, is well represented in OP, though it is obscured by the pAr. changes: pIE *e o a* became pAr. *a*, pIE *ē ō ā* became pAr. *ā*, and the diphthongs similarly were reduced to pAr. *ai āi*, *au āu*. Further, the reduced *ə* before liquid, nasal, or semivowel, became *a* in pAr.; cf. also the development of the long vocalic liquids and nasals, §68. In general, then, the pIE series assumed the following forms in OP:

pIE			OP		
Series I					
<i>e o</i>	nil <i>ə</i>	<i>ē ō</i>	<i>a</i>	nil <i>a</i>	<i>ā</i>
<i>ei oi</i>	<i>i²</i>	<i>ēi ōi</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>i²</i>	<i>āi</i>
<i>eu ou</i>	<i>u²</i>	<i>ēu ōu</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>u²</i>	<i>āu</i>
<i>er¹ or</i>	<i>r²</i> <i>ər ər</i>	<i>ēr ōr</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>r²</i> <i>ar</i>	<i>ār</i>
<i>en³ on</i>	<i>n²</i> <i>ən ən</i>	<i>ēn ōn</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>a,n</i> <i>an</i>	<i>ān</i>
Series II ⁶					
<i>a⁴ o</i>	nil	<i>ā ō</i>	<i>a</i>	nil	<i>ā</i>
Series IV and V					
<i>ē¹ ō</i>	<i>ə</i>		<i>ā</i>	<i>i,a⁵</i>	
<i>ā ō</i>	<i>ə</i>		<i>ā</i>	<i>i,a⁵</i>	

Notes to the Table: (1) Similarly, pIE *el* etc., which became pAr. *ar* etc. (2) Either consonantal or vocalic, according to the nature of the neighboring sounds. (3) Similarly, pIE *em* etc., which gave pAr. *am* etc. (4) There are diphthongal varieties of this series, as of Series I; but few if any examples of this series can be identified in extant OP. (5) Series III, consisting of *o o* nil etc., and Series VI, consisting of *ō ō ə*, may be merely varieties of Series I and IV lacking extant examples of grades *e* and *ē* respectively. (6) The value *a* developed before *i* and *u*, *i* and *y*. (7) There are diphthongal varieties of Series IV and V, with zero-grades *ər* or *i*, *au* or *ū*, etc.

Apart from details, the vowel grades in the first two columns of the pIE belong by origin to accented syllables, those in the first to primarily accented syllables and those in the second to secondarily accented syllables; they are known as normal grades or accented grades. Those in the next three columns of the pIE belong by origin to unaccented syllables; those in the third column are known as zero grades, and those in the fourth and fifth as reduced grades. Those in the last two columns of the pIE have acquired length through special circumstances, such as contraction of the initial vowel of a verb with the vocalic augment, the marking of a derivative noun from a verbal root, the indication of the causative stem of a verb, or the indication of the nominative singular of a noun (sometimes extended to the accusative singular and the nominative plural); they are known as long grades, and originally bore respectively the primary and the secondary accent. But such a schematic distribution of the grades could not be thoroughgoing, since it would result in the alteration of related forms beyond the possibility of recognition, and analogy therefore interfered to preserve a useful similarity in related forms.

¹ As in §58.Ab, I intentionally omit Sturtevant's pIE *z* coming from pIH *s* with a preceding *γ* (the third laryngeal, which was voiced).

In the following lists, an attempt will be made to differentiate *e* and *o* grades; where this is impossible, the pre-form will be given with pAr. vocalism. For the most part, only examples will be given which show two different grades in OP itself.

§122. ABLAUT VARIATION WITHIN THE ROOT: examples from OP:

- **es-* in *as-tiy* 'he is', **s-* in *h-a^a-tiy* 'they are', **ēs-* augmented) in *āh-am* 'I was'.
- **ped-* or *pod-* 'foot' in *ni-padiy pati-padam* *Garma-pada*, (Ar.) **pād-* in *pādaibiya* 'with the two feet'.
- **sed-* 'sit' in *had-iš* 'seat, abode'; (Ar.) **sād-* in *niyaśādayam* 'I established'.
- **nek-* 'perish', in *vi-nas-la-* 'damage', (Ar.) **nāš-* in *viy-anāḥaya* 'he injured'.
- **ei-* 'go' in *aitiy* 'he goes', **i-* in *-idiy* 'go thou' (*para-idiy*, *paridiy* from **pari-idiy*) and *-itā* 'gone' (*para-itā*); **ēi-* (augmented) in *upāyam* (from **upa-āyam*) 'I arrived', *upariy-āyam* 'I behaved', *atiy-āiš* 'he went past'.
- **peik-* 'cut' in *ni-paištanaiy* 'to inscribe'; **pik-* in ptc. *ni-pištam* 'inscribed'.
- **teu-* in *lau mā* 'power', *u-lava* 'having good strength', *lauviyā* 'stronger' (for *lavīyā*, §48); **tu-* in *tuwā* 'powerful'; (Ar.) **tāu-* in *tāvay-atiy* 'he is strong'.
- **drough-* in *drauga* 'Lie', **druḡh-* in *duruxlam* 'false'.
- **g^oou-* in *Gau-māta*, *Gau-baruwa*; **g^u-* in *Ḡa-gu-š* (but see Lex. s.v.); (**g^oou-* in Skt. *gāuṣ* 'cow').
- **bheu-* 'become' in *bavatiy* 'he is'; **bhy-* in *biyā* 'may he be'.
- **bher-* 'bear' in *bara^a-tiy* 'they bear'; **bhor-* in *aršti-bara* 'spear-bearer'; **bhq-* in *u-bar-tam* 'well uplifted'; **bhōr-* in *asa-bāra-* 'horse-borne', *uša-bāri-* 'camel-borne'.
- **qer-* 'make, do' in *cartanaiy* 'to do'; **qor-* in *zūra-kara* 'evil-doer'; **qr-* in *ca-xr-iyā* 'he might make', **qr-* in *kartam* 'made'; **qor-* in *akariya* 'it was done'; *qēr-* in *u-cāram* 'successful'.
- **mer-* 'die' in *marika-* 'menial person' (see Lex. s.v.), **mor-* in *martiya* 'man' (see Lex. s.v.), **mḡ-* in *marla* 'dead', *uā-maršiyuṣ* 'by self-death' (see Lex. s.v.); perhaps **m^ur-* in *amariyatā* 'he died' (cf. Av. *miryēite* 'he dies').
- **bhendh-* or **bhondh-* in *ba^a-daka* 'subject', **bhṇdh-* in *basta* 'bound'.

- **g^uhen-* in *ajanam* 'I smote', **g^uhṇ-* in *jadiy* 'do thou smite', *-jala* 'slain'.
- **dher-* or **dhr-* in *adaršiy* 'I held'; **dhr-* in *duruwa-* 'firm'; (Ar.) **dār-* in *dārayatiy* 'he holds'.
- **g^uem-* 'come' in *ā-jamiyā* 'may it come', **g^um-* in *parāgmatā* 'gone forth' (see §244).
- **ap-* 'water' in inst. pl. *abiš*, **āp-* in nom. *āpiš*, loc. *āpiyā*.
- **bhag-* in *baga* 'god', **bhāg-* in *bāji-* 'tribute'.
- **g^uoi-* in *gaiḥām* 'cattle' (*oi* proved by the lack of palatalization of the *g*), **g^ui-* in *jīva* 'living'.
- **prek-* in *uḡraštam* 'well punished', **prk-* in *aparsam* 'I punished'.
- **reḡ-* 'direct, rule' or **roḡ-* in *uradanām*; **ṛḡ-* in *arštām*, *Ardu-maniš*; **reḡ-* in *rāstam* 'right' (cf. §93.n2).
- **stā-* 'place' in *stānam*, *avāstāyam*, *niyaštāyam*; reduced to **st-* with thematic vowel, instead of **stb-*, in *aⁱštalā*.
- (Ar.) **pā-* 'protect' in *pādiy*, *pātw*, *pāta*; **pā-* in *apayaiy*, *patipayawā* (§214).
- **ḡnō-* in *xšnāsatiy*; **ḡnā-u-* in *ā-xšnautiy*, cf. **ḡn-u-* in *xšnula* (§208).
- **dhē-* 'put', only in this grade: *adā* 'he made', *dātam* 'law'.
- **dō-* 'give', only in this grade: *dadātw* 'let him give'.

§123. FUNCTIONAL ABLAUT VARIATION WITHIN THE VERBAL ROOT: examples are found in the preceding section; they include

- (1) strong grade varying with zero or reduced inside the regular paradigm, with long grade where there is contraction with the augment;
- (2) long grade in causative formations, where other languages show the *-ō-* grade: *vi-nāḥaya*, Lt. *noceō*; *dāraya-*, *mānaya-*, *ṣāraya-*, *-šādaya-*, *tāvaya-*, *jāvaya-*.
- (3) long grade in substantives from the verbal root: *asa-bāra-*, *uša-bāri-*; *u-cāram*, *bāji-*.

§124. FUNCTIONAL ABLAUT VARIATION WITHIN THE LAST STEM-SYLLABLE OF NOUNS:

- (1) In *-ō-* stems: nom. *-os* as in *martiya*, and *-o-* in several other forms; voc. *-e* in *martiyā*; see §169.
- (2) In *-u-* stems: (Ar.) *-au* in loc. sg. *dahyauw-ā*, *-u-* in loc. pl. *dahyu-šwā*, *-āu-* in nom. sg. *dahyāu-š*; see §180. Nom. sg. *Dārayawā^uš* and acc. *-va^uum* with *-u-*, gen. *-vahuṣ* with (Ar.) *-au-*. Perhaps *Pirāvā* 'Nile' with *-āw-*, to *piruṣ* 'ivory', cf. Lex. s.v.

- (3) In *-i-* stems: *-i-* in nom. *Cišpiš*, (Ar.) *-ai-* in gen. *Cišpaiš*; see §177.
- (4) In *-s-* stems: *-nos* in nom.-acc. nt. *manaš-cā*, *-nes-* in instr. *manahā*, *-nēs* in nom. masc. *Vīda-farnā*, *-nēs* in *Harā-maniš*, *Ardu-maniš*; see §185.
- (5) The long grade as marker of the nom. sg. of consonantal stems: *-t-* stem *napā*, *-r-* stems *pitā* *-mātā* *brātā* *dauštā*, *-n-* stems *asā* *artāvā* *xšaça-pāvā*; see §188, §186, §187. Of the long grade *-tē[r]* in *pitā*, the zero-grade *-tr-* is seen in gen. *piça* from **pa-tr-os*. The *-u-* stem *dahyāuš* (see above, 2) also belongs here.
- (6) The long grade as marker of the acc. sg. of these same classes: *asmānam* *framātāram* *nāham* *hazānam* *dahyāūm* *dahyāūm*, see §184.
- (7) The long grade as marker of the nom. pl. of these same classes: *dahyāva*; see §183.

§125. GUNA AND VRIDDHI: The Hindu grammarians recognized a variation of vowels within the same root or formative element. The vowels which they recognized in their system of roots were taken by them as the fundamental vowels; prefixation of *ā* gave to each the guna-form (Skt. *guna*); lengthening of the guna-form gave the vriddhi-form (Skt. *vriddhi* 'growth'). But 'ā was its own guna'; that is, *ā* unchanged was also the guna of *ā*. Thus they got the following correspondences; note that to the Hindu grammarians the *e* and *o* were diphthongs *ai* and *au* (as they really were!).

Fundamental:	<i>a</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ū</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>l</i>
Guna:	<i>a</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>al</i>		
Vriddhi:	<i>ā</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>āi</i>	<i>āu</i>	<i>ār</i>	<i>āl</i>		

In the main, this scheme represents the development of the PIE ablaut series in Aryan, where PIE *e o a* became *a* and PIE *ē ō ā* became *ā*; and it would be unnecessary to introduce it here, if it were not that in both branches of Aryan, and in no other branch of Indo-European, the alteration to vriddhi-vowels was an important method of word-formation. In this use, *ī* and *ū* sometimes functioned as the vriddhi-vowels corresponding to *i* and *u* (instead of the *āi* and *āu* in the table given above).

§126. VRIDDHI AS A FORMATIVE. Vriddhi or lengthening of the vowel was in Aryan a much-used method of forming derivatives; many adjectives, for example, are in Skt. distinguished

from the nouns from which they come, only by the vriddhi-vowel in the initial syllable. There are a number of certain examples in OP (apart from those in which the long-grade vowel may be considered a direct inheritance from PIE or from a PIE system of formation):

dāraniya-kara- 'goldsmith', to *dāraniya-* 'gold'.
Bāga-yādi- 'God-worship (month)', to *baga-* 'god'.
uwārštika 'good spearsman' (**hvār-*), to *arštīš* 'spear', Skt. *ṛṣṭi-* 'spear'; this leaves it uncertain whether *arštika* 'spearsman' agrees in vocalism with *uwārštika*, as we have taken it, or is *arštika*, with *arštīš*. Cf. the next item.

uwāsabāra 'good horseman' (**hv-āsa-*), to *asa-* 'horse'; *asabāra* with *ā* is rendered probable by the unlengthened vowel in *uśabāri-* 'camel-borne'.

uwāmaršiyuš 'having his own death' (see Lex.), to **hva-* 'own'.

uwāipašiya- 'own', with **hvai-* in relation to *waipašiya-* 'own', unless the writing with *-āi-* is an error.

xšāyathiya 'king', to *-axšayaiy* 'I ruled'.

Θāigarei- a month-name, of uncertain etymology.

yāumainiš 'skilled', derivative of **yau-man-*.

māniya- 'personal property', see Lex. s.v.

ūnarā 'skills', to **hu-nara-* (here *u* is vriddhi to *ū*).

Mārgava 'Margian', to *Marguš* 'Margiana'.

Pārsa 'Persia', to *Parθava* 'Parthia'.

Vriddhi is probable or possible as a formative in the first syllable of the following:

The month-names *Adukanaiša-*, *Anāmaka-*, *Vīaxna-*; for two other month-names certainly have it (see above).

The personal names *Vīyaspāra-*, *Frāda-*.

The ethnic *Pātišvaris* (to *patiy*?).

The place name *Kāpišakāni-*.

abagaina- or *abagaina-* 'of stone', adj. to *abaga-* 'stone'.

Āriya- or *Āriya-*,¹ *aruwastam* or *āruwastam*, *arjanam* or *ārjanam*.

kāsaka-, *kāsakaina-*.

Vriddhi as a factor in the second component of a compound is seen in the following:

¹ Tedesco, ZII 2.46-7, argues for *āriya-* (OP graphic *āriya-*) exclusively, on the ground that Skt. *āriya-* is merely a later form derived from the earlier *ārya-*, which then is alone original.

yād- in *Bāga-yādi-* and *Āci-yādiya-*, month-names.

vāhara- in *Θūra-vāhara-* a month-name, cf. Lith. *vāsara* 'summer' with earlier *ā*.

Perhaps *wā-dā-* (for **hvā-dā-*), in *Paišiyā-wādā-*; see Lex. s.v.

Perhaps *^hU-vāra-zmīy*, *Vi-vāna*, *^hU-tāna*, *Vāya-spāra-*.

-bāra-, *-bāri-*, *-cāra-*, as second elements of compounds.

Possibly nouns and adjectives formed on the root with the long vowel should be listed here: *kāma-*, *pāda-*, *bāji-*, *rāsta-*. See also the long-vowel forms in §143.

§127. EPENTHESIS is the insertion in a syllable, of *i* or *u* or other vowel by the influence of a sound in the following syllable, the result being a modification of the sound of the vowel in the syllable suffering epenthesis. It is frequent in Avestan, as in *paiti* for **pati*, OP *patiy*, or *pouru* for **paru*, OP *paruw*. The only certain example in OP is *yāumainiš* for **yāumaniš* and its compound *ayāu(ma)inīš* DNb 40, 59. It is less likely that *Paišiyāwādā-* is for **pašī-ā-hwādā-*, for **pašī-*, with epenthesis (see Lex. s.v.).

§128. ANAPTYXIS is the development of a vowel between two consonants which the speaker finds it difficult to pronounce without an intervening vowel; cf. the common pronunciation of *athletic* as *athæletic*. OP has anaptyxis in the cluster *dr* when it is followed by *u*: *duruwa* 'firm', Skt. *dhrwā-s*; *duruztam* 'false', Skt. *druḍham*; *adurujiya* 'he lied', cf. Av. acc. *drūjim* 'devil'. The only other cluster which suffered anaptyxis in OP was *gd*, which we find in the name of Sogdiana in its various writings: *s^hug^hud^h* = *Suguda*, *s^hug^hd^h* = *Sug^hda*, but also *s^hug^hd^h* = *Sugda*, so that here the pronunciation was a shifting one.

There is a possibility that there was anaptyxis in the clusters *dr br fr zr* before *a*, but OP writing can give no evidence on this point. NPers. has *durōy* = OP *drauga*, *birādār* = OP *brātā*, *fārmān* = *framānā*; but the anaptyxis may be later than the OP period. For *Zra^hka*, Greek has *Ζαράγγαι* (in Arrian) and *Ζαράγγαι* (in Herodotus) with anaptyxis, but Greek has no initial *sr-* or *zr-*, and there is also the form *Δαργγιάρι* (in Diodorus) without anaptyxis, when the initial cluster is one which is normal in

Greek. To these words we may add *draya* 'sea', and *Nabukudracara*. The assumption that the anaptyxis seen in the NPers. words is later than the OP times, facilitates the derivation of NPers. *buzurg* from *vazraka* (rather than from *vazarka* or *vaz^hka*, see Lex. s.v.).

§129. HAPLOLOGY is the loss of one of two similar sequences of sounds, each containing at least one consonant and one vowel, or one vowel and at least one consonant: thus English *mineralogy* from **mineralology*. OP has one certain example, *hamātā* from **hama-mātā* 'having the same mother', cf. *hama-pitā* 'having the same father', where no haplogy is possible. A second example, probable but less certain, is *dwarθim* from **dwar-varθim* 'door-cover', = 'colonnade'. Possibly also *arštā-* 'rectitude' from **aršta-tā-*, but cf. Lex. s.v.; and *dīdiy* 'see thou', if reduplicated pres. inv. **dhi-dhi-dhi* rather than aor. inv. **dhi-dhi*.

§130. SHORTENING OF LONG CONSONANTS. Long consonants frequently developed in word formation, either by juxtaposition of two identical consonants or by assimilation of one consonant to a contiguous consonant. All long consonants of earlier origin were shortened in pIr., and long consonants of later origin were shortened in pIr. or in OP. There are the following examples in OP:

pIE *s^hk* > pAr. *sš* > pIr. *ss* > *s* in the *-skē-* present-stems, such as OP *parsāmīy*, Skt. *prcchāmi*, Lt. *poscō*; §97.

pIE *kš* > pAr. *čš* (§92) > pIr. *šš* > *š* in OP aor. *niy-apaišam* to pIE root **peik-*; §102.

pIE *str* (after *u*) > pAr. *štr* > pIr. *štr* > OP *štr šč šš šs* as in OP *uša-* 'camel', Av. *uštra-*; §79.

pIE *dn* > pAr. *nn* > pIr. *n* as in OP *vaināmīy* 'I see' to pIE **yeid-*; §83.I.

pIE *phb* > pIE pAr. *bhb* > pIr. *bb* > *b*, as in *abiš* from **ap-bhis* (§75.IV).

This shortening took place in most languages before and after consonants; OP example: *uzma-* 'stake' from **ud-zma-*, §84.

The shortening of the sandhi combination *-d c-* to *-c-* in *aciy yaciy* (§105) is probably by way of assimilation of the weak *-d* (§84) to the following *c-*, whereupon the long consonant was shortened; but the shortening of sandhi combinations may be merely graphic when free enclitics were attached in OP, as in *āpišim* = *āpiš-šim*, *tau-*

manišaiy = *taumaniš-saiy*, [*n*ya*]*kama* = *-kam-maiy*, §138.

§131. CONTRACTION OF VOWELS took place in OP (or in pre-OP) when in word formation or composition two vowels came into immediate contact. There are the following examples:

ā + ā > ā: **ava-arasam* > *avārasam*, **šaya-aršā* > *Xšayāršā*; **upa-āyam* > *upāyam*, **fra-āišayam* > *frāišayam*; **parā-arasam* > *parārasam*; **ā-āya-tā* > *āya-tā*; **pasā-ava* > *pasāva*; **ariya-āramnā* > *Ariyāramnā*.

ā + i > ai: **parā-ilā* > *paraitā*; **parā-idīy* > *paraidīy*.

ā + āi > āi: **fra-āišayam* > *frāišayam*.

ā + u > au: pAr. masc. **sa* and fem. **sā* + **u* + OP masc.-fem. *haw*.

ī + ī > ī: **parī-idīy* > *parīdīy*.

-īya- in the interior of words > -ī-, see §23.I.

The view has been expressed that *h* was lost between two *a*-vowels which then contracted to *ā*; but this is true only if the sequence is *-ahah-*; note *fraharavam*, *avahar[da]*, *Auramazdāha -dāhā -dāhā*, *nāham*, *anīyāha bagāha*, *āvahanam*, *Θūra-vāhara-*, *āham* and other forms of the tense, *abāham* *abāha* etc., *manīyāhaiy*, *frāhaⁿjam*. The examples of *ahah* > *āh* are the following:

**ahahy* > *āhy* 'thou mayst be', cf. *ahatiy* 'he may be'.

**bahāhy* > *bāhy* 'thou mayest say'.

**bahahy* > **bāhy* 'thou sayest', whence by analogy **bahatiy* > *bātiy* 'he says'.

**māhahyā* > *māhyā* 'of the month' (not loc., see Lex. s.v.).

Vivāna is hardly **vi-vah-ana*, with the same prefix and root as Av. *Vī-vah-vant-*, Skt. *Vi-vās-vant-*; *apariyāya* is not **ahap-*, see Lex. s.v. *ay*.

For the sequence *āhā* there are some wrong writings in XPh: *ahⁿamⁿ* = *āhām* for *ahⁿmⁿ* = *āham* 'I was', *ahⁿaiyⁿ* = *ahaniy* for **ahⁿaiyⁿ* = **ahāniy* 'may I be', (gen.) *aurⁿmⁿzⁿāⁿhⁿa* = *Auramazdahā* (4 occurrences; also twice in XPf) for *-āhⁿ* = *-dāha* or *-āhⁿa* = *-dāhā*; but these miswritings, some of them probably explainable (§52, §53, §222.I), do not controvert the views expressed above.

§132. CONSONANTAL VARIATION occurs in OP words as a result of (1) internal sandhi in word formation, (2) pAr. phonetic developments, (3) pIr. phonetic developments, (4) dialect mixture of OP and Median.

(1) Neg. *a-* before consonants, *an-* before vowels, from **n-*; prefix *ha-* and *ham-* similarly (= Skt. *sa-* and *sam-*). Root final before dental suffixes: pIE *gh* and *gh-t* > *gūh*, replaced by the product of *gt* in OP: *adurujiya* and *duruxtam* (§73.III, §242). pIE *dh* and *dh-t* > *dzd*, replaced by the product of *tst* in OP: *baⁿdaka* and *basta* (§85, §242).

(2) pAr. palatalization of velars before palatal vowels, giving an alternation in OP *k/c*, *g/j* (§73.III): *Maka Maciyā*, *kunautiy* *kartam cartanaiy*, *kašciy cišciy*, *drauga draujana adurujiya*, *parā-gmatā haⁿgmatā ā-jamiyā*.

(2-3) pAr. split of pIE *s* into *s* § *h*, and pIr. split of pAr. *s* into *s* and *h* (§115): *stānam avāstāyam niyāstāyam aⁿištātā*; *hadiš niy-āšādayam*; *abāham θastanaiy*; nom. ending in *bagāⁿ* *pasti-š* *piru-š*.

(3) pIr. change of *p t k* to *f θ x* before consonants (§74.I): *parā* but *fra-*, *aparsam* but *-fraštam*, *tuwam* but acc. *θwām*, *akariya* but *caziyā*, *drauga adurujiya* but *duruxtam*.

(4) On the differences between OP and Median consonantism, see §8.

§133. ENCLISIS is a frequent phenomenon in OP. The enclitics are the following:

Pronouns: 1st sg. acc. *-mā*, gen. *-mai*, abl. *-ma*.

2d sg. gen. *-taiy*.

3d sg. acc. *-šim*, gen. *-šaiy*, abl. *-ša*;

pl. acc. *-šiš*, gen. *-šim*.

acc. *-dim*; pl. acc. *-diš*.

pl. acc. *-tū* (dubious; only in *avathāša-tā* DB 4.72).

Coordinating conjunctions: *-cā* 'and', *-vā* 'or'.

Postpositions: *ā*, *patiy*; both also as separate words before or after their nouns.

Adverbs and particles: *-am*, *-kaiy*, *-ciy*, *-diy*, never separately.

-apiy, *-patiy* both also separately.

Miscellaneous: *tya* in *mātya* DB 4.43, 48, 71; *yadātya* XPh 35f (miswritten *yadāyā* XPh 39), cf. *yadā* : *tya* XPh 29.

mām, elsewhere orthotone, in *mātyamām* DB 1.52.

rādiy in *avahya-rādiy* DB 1.6f, etc.; also separately.

Double enclisis: *mā-tya-mām* DB 1.52; *rauca-pati-vā* DB 1.20; *nai-pati-mā* DNb 20; *avā-*

karam-ca-maiy DNb 27f; *ciyākaram-ca-maiy* DNb 51, 51f.

Exceptions: *diš* is written as a separate word (i.e. with a preceding divider) in DB 4.34, 35, 36; so also *taiy* in DNb 58. But *daiy* in DB 5.11 is a wrong reading, cf. §44. Other variations are noted above.

§134. THE PHONETICS OF ENCLISIS has certain effects on the writing of words with enclitics. Thus the addition of an enclitic normally prevents the prolongation of *-ā -ī -ū* to *-āi -īy -ūw* in the reduction to writing; and there are a few examples in which other results take place. These are discussed in the following paragraphs.

§135. THE *-ā* BEFORE ENCLITIC normally reverts to its true value, and the indication of length disappears: thus *manā* but *mana-cā*; *avākaram-ca-maiy*; *avahya-rūdy*; *fra-haravam*.

avadā but *avada-ša*, *avada-šim*, *avada-šiš*; but *avadā-sim* DB 3.74.

udā but *uta-maiy* (often), *uta-šim* XPh 34; but more often the *udā* keeps the *ā*: *utā-maiy*, *utā-taiy*, *utā-šaiy*, *utā-šim*, *utā-šām*, *utā-diš*. The retention of the *ā* is by analogy to the separate word.

§136. THE *-iy* BEFORE ENCLITIC normally reverts to its true value, without the *-y*; but occasionally analogy of the separate word causes its retention:

nai-mā, *nai-maiy*, *nai-šim*, *nai-pati-mā*, *pai-maiy*, *tyai-šaiy*, *imai-vā*, *yadi-patiy*, *yadi-nā*, [uš]p-cā; similarly in phrasal compounds, *pai-padam*, *ni-padiy*. By analogy, *naiy-diš* DB 4.73, 78.

dūrai + *apiy*, which is most often two words, appears as *dūraiapiy*, without the *y*, and also as *dūrayapiy*, showing the development of intervocalic *i* to *y*.

Locatives with postpositive *ā*: *-āi(y)* became *-āy-* before the *ā*, as in *dūrayā* from **dvarai* + *ā*, *Aḍurāy* from **Aḍurāi* + *ā*. But the script does not show whether locatives in *-i* changed the *i* to *y* before *ā*, or kept the vowel by analogy: *drayahyā* (once *-hiyā*) may represent either *-hī-* or *-hiy-*.

Final *-hy* written for *-hiy* (§37) was reduced to *h* before an enclitic: *vikunāhy* and *vikanāh-*

diš DB 4.73, 77; *paribarāhy* and *paribarāh-diš* DB 4.78, 74.

§137. THE *-uw* BEFORE ENCLITIC normally reverts to its true value, without the *-v*; but sometimes analogy of the separate word causes its retention:

haw, but *haw-maiy* *haw-šaiy* *haw-dim* *haw-diš*; also *haw-maiy* *haw-taiy* *haw-ciṭ*.

anuw, but *anu-dim*.

When *-am* is added, *-aw* should become *-av-*, but remains by analogy in *haw-am*; *-ū* became *-ūv-* before *-am*, in *tuwam* from **tū* + *-am*.

When *ā* is added to locatives, *-au(v)* becomes *-av-* as in *gāḍavā*, or remains by analogy as in *dahyavā*; *-u(v)* + *ā* becomes *-wā*, which is ambiguous after consonants, representing either *-uw-* or *-v-*, as in *dahyušwā*, *aniyāwā* (cf. Skt. loc. pl. ending *-ṣu -su*).

§138. CONSONANTS BEFORE ENCLITICS show few changes.

I. Doubled consonants are written single: *āpiš* + *šim* = *āpišim* DB 1.95f; *taumaniš* + *šaiy* = *taumanišaiy* DNb 25f; *-kam* + *maiṭ* in [h^ayā]kama AŠa 4. In DNb 51f *ciyākaram^mciy^a* is twice written for *-m^cm^cciy^a*, = *ciyākaram-ca-maiy*.

II. The reduced final consonants which are not written at the ends of words rarely reappear in sandhi; the examples are of *-s c-*, *-s k-*, *-d c-*, and are given in §105.

§139. CONTRACTION OF VOWELS IN SANDHI is to be expected in combination with enclitics, but the situations which produce it rarely occur in OP; there is one probable instance, *vašnā[pi]y* XPg 7f, for *vašnā* + *apiy*.

§140. SANDHI IN CONNECTION WITH PREFIXES shows the same phenomena as with enclitics.

I. Graphic *-ā -iy -uw* for *-ā -ī -ū* revert to *-ā -ī -ū* before consonants:

Prep. *upā*, but *upa-stām*; prefix *fra-* (not occurring separately in OP) in *fra-māturam*, *fra-haravam*.

Prep. *paiy*, but *pai-padam*; *pariy*, but *pari-barāmiy*; prefix *ni-* (not found separately in OP) in *ni-padiy*, *ni-rasāiy*.

Nt. adj. *paruw*, but *paru-zanānām*; also *paruw-zanānām* and *paruw* : *zanānām*, after separate *paruw*.

II. Final *-ā* contracts with following initial *ā- ī- ū-*; final *-ī* contracts with initial *ī- i-*

of prefix seems to have contracted with verbal augment *a-*, unless prevented by analogy; examples in §131.

III. Final *-i* before initial *ā-* keeps the writing *iy-*; the script does not show whether the *-i* is consonantized before the vowel, since it has no machinery for the distinction; but *pāti-* never becomes **pāšiy-* (= *pāšy-*) in compounds, though *-ty-* becomes OP *-š(i)y-*: *pātiy-āvahyaiy*, *pātiy-āiša*, *pātiy-ajātā*; *pariy-ait(iy)*, *nīy-apaišam*, *nīy-atarayam*.

The sequence *-iya-* seems in some instances to contract to *-i-*; all the examples are in augmented forms of compound verbs, in some of which the uncontracted forms also appear, in which the analogy of the separate uncontracted form is the cause of the failure to contract:

abi-jāwayam, also *abiy-ajāwayam*.

nī-šādayam, also *nīy-ašādayam*.

nī-štāya, also *nīy-aštāya* and *nīy-aštāyam*.

nī-yasaya for **nīy-ayasaya*; perhaps [a]ñya[siya] for **atīy-ayasiya*.

IV. Final *-u* before initial *ā-* is similarly ambiguous in its writing; but probably the prefix Aryan **su-*, pIr. **hu-*, became *hu-* before a vowel, as in *waspa-*, cf. Av. *hwaspō*, Phl. *hwasp*. Other examples of this prefix can be found in the Lexicon, under **u-*.

V. Final *m* of the prior element was of course not written before an initial consonant of the second part:

ham-gmatā, *ham-karta-*, *ham-dugā*, but *ham-aranam*.
ham-taxšataiy, but *ham-ataxšatā*.

VI. The initial *s-* of the second element appears as *š* after a final *-i* or *-u* of the preceding element, according to the Aryan phonetic variation (§115): pAr. **sad-*, pIr. **had-*, but pAr. *nī-šad-*, unchanged in Iranian: generalized in *nīy-ašādayam*, contracted *nī-šādayam*.

**nī-štā-*, pAr. *nī-štā-*, unchanged in Iranian and generalized: *nīy-aštāyam*, *nīy-aštāya*, contracted *nī-štāya*.

Skt. *saṃ-araṇam*, OP *hamaranam*; but with prefix, *uṣhamaranakara*, with double writing of the initial, *š* being the value after *u*, and *h* being the value when initial in the separate word. Perhaps also OP *Pātišwariš* for *Pātišwariš*, see Lex. s.v. Cf. Reichelt, Aw. Elmb. §103, for the same phenomenon in Avestan.

For the initial *š-* of the enclitic pronoun *-šaiy* *-šim* *-šam* *-šiš*, see §117.

VII. Initial *y-* after a final consonant of the prior element must of course appear as *-iy-*, as in *dušiyāram*, from *duš-* + *yāram*.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III

The origins of OP sounds, as expressed in the normalized transcription, may be traced from the following data (some references to Chapter II are included):

a < pIE *e o a* §61, cf. §36; pIE *ə* §63.I, §66.II, §67.I-II; pIE *u* §67; pIE *ə* §71; graphic for *i* §22; see also *ar* below.

i < pIE *i* §64; pIE *ə* §63.II.

u < pIE *u* §64; analogical for *r* §66.I.

ā < pIE *ē ō ā* §62, §36; pIE *ṛ* §68; by contraction of *ā* + *ā* §131, of *āhā* §61, §131; graphic for *-ā* §36.I, §135; by vriddhi §126.

ī < pIE *ī* §65; by contraction of *ī* + *ī* §131, of *ī* + *ā* §131, §140.III; by vriddhi §126.

ū < pIE *ū* §65; by vriddhi §126.

ai < pIE *ei oi ai* §69; pIE *ai* §71; by contraction of *ā* + *i* §131; from *a* with epenthesis §127; graphic for *a* before *y* §48; cf. §136.

au < pIE *eu ou au* §70; pIE *au* §71; by contraction of *ā* + *u* §131; graphic for *a* before *v* §48, and for *ahu* §70.

āi < pIE *ēi ōi āi* §72; by contraction of *ā* + *ai* §131; graphic for *ai* §72, §179.IV; by vriddhi §126; cf. §136.

āu < pIE *ēu ōu āu* §72; graphic for *āhu* §72; by vriddhi §126.

ar §29-§35.

= *r* < pIE *r* §66, §29, §30.

= *ar* < Iran. *ar* §31-§33; pIr. *vr* *vr* §66.II; pIE *r* §68.

k < pIE *q q** §98, §99; by borrowing §99.

x < pIE *qh q*h* §100; pIE *q* §102; pAr. *k* §103.I-III; pAr. *gh* §103.IV; by borrowing §100.

g < pIE *q gh g** §98, §101, §103.IV.

c < pIE *q q** §98, §99, §105; pIE *d* + *q** §105.

j < pIE *q gh g** §98, §101; pIE *s* §120.

t < pIE *t th* §76, §76.I-II; pIE *dh* §103.IV; pIE *t(h)* in *tst(h)* and *d(h)* in *dzd(h)* §85; by borrowing §76.V, §83.III.

θ < pIE *th* §76, §76.II; pIE *t* §77-§81; pIE *k* §86, §87; for *d(h)* §83.II; by borrowing §76.V.

ç < pIE *tr tl* §78, §79; pIE *kl* §94; by borrowing §78.

d < pIE *d dh* §76, §76.III; pAr. *d* from pIE *dh* §76.III; pIE *d(h)* in *dzd(h)* §85; pIE *ḡ ḡh* §86, §88; by borrowing §76.V.

p < pIE *p ph* §75, §75.I; pIE *ʔ* §75.IV, §90; by borrowing §75.V.

f < pIE *ph p* §75, §75.II; pIE *sʔ* §75.IV, §118.IV; by borrowing §75.V.

b < pIE *b bh* §75.III; pAr. *b* from pIE *bh* §75.III; pIE *ʔ* §75.IV, §91; pIE *p + bh* §75.IV, §130; by borrowing §75.V.

n < pIE *n* §110, cf. §67.I-II; pIE *dn* §83.I, §130; by borrowing §110.

m < pIE *m* §109, cf. §67.I-II; pIE *m + m* §130; by borrowing §109.

y < pIE *i* §113.

r < pIE *r l* §79, §106, §107; part of pIE *r ṛ l ḷ* §66, §68; by borrowing §106.

l < by borrowing only, §107.

v < pIE *ʔ* §114.

s < pIE *s* §115, §116; pIE *ts* of *tst(h)* and *dz* of *dzd(h)* §85; pIE *k* §86, §87, §90, §93, §95; pIE *kʔ* §90; pIE *sk* §97, §130; pAr. *śc* §105; by borrowing §116.

š < pIE *s* §102, §105, §115, §117, §140.VI; pIE *k* §89, §93, §96, §120; pIE *g gh* §93, §96, §120; pIE *ks* §92, §102, §130; pIE *ḡ ḡh* §102; pAr. *c* §104; pIE *t* §80, §82; pIE *str* §79, §130; pIE *d* §105; *š + š* §130; by analogical extension §84; by borrowing §117.

z < pIE *ḡ ḡh* §86, §88, §91, §95; pIE *ḡhʔ* §91;

pIE *s* §120; pIE *d + ḡh* §130; pIE *dz* in *dzd(h)* §85; by borrowing §120.

h < pIE *s* §118, §140.VI; by borrowing §118.V.

There are also certain losses and increments which could not be included in the preceding; these are merely graphic except when specified as phonetic:

Losses:

i after *h* §64, §27, §38; after *a*-consonant §22.

h before *i* §27, §64, §118.III; before *u* §28, §70, §118.IV, §140.IV; before *m r* §103.II, §118.II; (phon.) in *āh* from *āhāh* §131.

y final before enclitics §118.III, §136.

v final before enclitics §137.

t final §40, §84.

d final §40, §84.

n final §40, §84, §112; medial §39, §108, §111; (phon.) by dissimilation §68.

m medial §39, §108, §111, §140.V.

pIE *ʔ* (phon.) after labials §114.

pAr. *t* (phon.) in *-nt* §40, §84.

pAr. *h* (phonetic in some positions) §40, §105, §119.

syllables by haplology (phon.) §129.

Increments:

i after consonants §25, §140.VII.

u after consonants §26, §114; (phon.) by anaptyxis §128.

y after *-i* §37, §64, §113; after *ī* §23.I, §65.

v after *-u* §23.II, §38, §64; after *ū* §23.II, §65, §114.

x (phon.) before *š + consonant* §96.

CHAPTER IV. FORMATION OF NOUN AND ADJECTIVE STEMS

§141. NOUN AND ADJECTIVE STEMS may be either the bare root, nominal or verbal (§142), or the same with a thematic vowel *-a-* (§143), or the same with suffix ending in *-ā-* (§144-§151) or in *-ē-* (§152) or in *-ā-* (§153) or in a consonant (§154-§158). A noun or adjective suffix attached directly to a verbal root is called a primary suffix; one attached to a noun or adjective stem is called a secondary suffix. Many stems have two or more suffixes, or are compounds of two elements, the prior of which is or becomes invariable. A fuller treatment of the stems than that given in the following sections will normally be found in the

Lexicon s.vv. The suffixes and the antecedent stems will here be presented not in pIE form, but in their pAr. or even Iranian or OP values, as convenience may dictate.

The following noun and adjective stems are not dealt with here or are dealt with only in part, because of uncertainty in their formation or because they are loan-words; possible interpretations of their formation will in some instances be found in the Lexicon:

-a- stems: *frašā-*, *spāθmāida-*, *Aināira-*, *Auīyāra-*, *Atamāila-*, *Adukanāiša-*, *Arabāya-*, *Arza-*, *Armina-*, *Ū(v)ja-*, *Uvālaicaya-*, *Katpatuka-*, *Ka^m*

pa-da, *Karka*, *Karmāna*, *Kūša*, *Ga^adāra*, *Ga^adulava*, *Tigra*, *Dātawahya*, *Daha*, *Dubāla*, *Naditabaira*, *Nabukudracara*, *Nabunaita*, *Nisāya*, *Parga*, *Pirāva*, *Frāda*, *Maka*, *Mu-drāya*, *Yauna*, *Labanāna*, *Sug(u)da*, *Sku^aza*, *Skudra*, *Sparda*, *Zazāna*, *Zūzahya*, *Zra^aka*, *Haraiwa*, *Haldita*.

-ā stems: *Aθurā*, *Arbairā*, *Aršādā*, *Izalā*, *Uyamā*, *Kuganakā*, *Tāravā*, *Tigrā*, *Čūšā*, *Yautiyā*, *Yadā*, *Raxā*, *Ragā*.

-i stems: *Arakadri*, *Kāpišakāni*, *Cicizri*, *Čišpi*, *Pātišwāri*, *Višpauzāti*.

-ā stems: *Abirādu*, *Ku^aduru*, *Bābiru*, *Māru*.

§142. ROOT NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES, some of them only in derivatives or in compounds, are found as follows:

āp- 'water', *xšap*- 'night', *xšnau*- in *u-xšnau*- 'well satisfied', *gau*- 'cow' in compounds, *θard*- 'year', *θwar*- 'door' in *θwara*, *nar*- 'man' in *ūw-nara*, *nāw*- 'ship', *nāh*- 'nose', *pad*- 'foot' in *nipadiy* etc., *vas*- 'wish' in adv. *vasiy*, *viθ*- 'house', *stā*- in *upa-stā*- 'aid', *zam*- 'earth' in *u-zma*- etc.; perhaps *napāt*- 'grandson', an old PIE word, probably a compound; possibly *dā*- in *hūwādā*- as element of *Paišiyā-wādā*, and *vaj*- in gen. *āθaha-vaja*.

§143. NOUN AND ADJECTIVE STEMS WITH THE MATIC -a- occur as follows:

I. Attached to a verbal root, the ablaut grade of the root varying: *kara*- in compounds, *u-cāra*, *kāma*-, *karša*-, *gauša*-, *raga*-, adv. *daršam*, *drauga*-, *baga*-, *bara*- and *bāra*- in compounds, *zana*- in compounds; less certain formations in *ā-θaha*- in *āθaha-vaja*, *caša*-, *U-tāna*-, *u-tawa*-, *gara*- in *bātu-gara*-, *Vi-vāna*-, *varga*- in *hauma-varga*-.

II. Extending a non-verbal stem: *ūw-nara*- to *nar*-, *hūwāi-pašiya*- to *pati*-, *pada*- *pāda*- to *pad*-, *Mārgava*- to *Mārgu*-, *duš-iyāra*- to *yār*-, *vazra*- in *vazra-ka*- to **vazr*-, *vāhara*- in *ūra-vāhara*- to **vazr*-, *u-zma*- to *zam*-, *hama*- to *ham*-, perhaps *Gau-barwa*- to *baru*-, *māha*- to *māh*-, *viθa*- to *viθ*-.

III. With no obvious simpler nominal or verbal form: *ama*- in *Aršāma*-, *asa*- *aspa*-, *u-ba*-, poss. *hūwa*-, *kaufa*-, *kāra*-, *daiva*-, *darga*-, *naiba*-, *Pārsa*-, *pisa*-, *Māda*-, *raθa*- in *u-raθa*-, *varka*- in *Varkāna*- and *Varka-zana*-, *Saka*-, *spāda*- in *Taxma-spāda*-, *spāra*- in *Vāya-spāra*-, the restored *hana*- in *hana-tā*-, *mayūza*-, of uncertain etymology; the possible *vāra*- in *hūU-vāra-zmā*-.

IV. Corresponding feminine formations in -ā:

iswā-, *xaudā*-, *θikā*-, *didā*-, *yakā*-, *Sakā*-, *ha^mdugā*-, *h^azā*- in *h^azānam*, the uncertain *paradayadām*, the borrowed *maškā*-, the feminines to adjectives in masc.-neut. -a-.

V. These formations have varying meanings, including the following:

Abstracts: *kāma*- 'desire'.

Agents: *baga*- 'dispenser, god'; *drauga*- 'deceiver, the Lie'; *aršti-bara*- 'spear-bearer'; *zūra-kara*- 'evil-doer'; *dāraniya-kara*- 'gold-worker, gold-smith'.

Passives: *ha^m-dugā*- 'im-pressed' = 'inscription'; *pati-kara*- 'made thereto' = 'sculptured figure'; *asa-bāra*- 'horse-borne'.

Adjectives of relation: *Mārgava*- 'related or belonging to *Mārgu*-, *Mārgian*'; *ūw-nara*- 'good belonging-to-a-man, skillfulness'.

VI. The vocalism of the root varies in these formations, being either -a- (PIE -e- or -o- or -a-), as in *baga*-, *bara*-, *daiva*-, or a zero grade, as in *karša*-, *u-zma*-, *darga*- (see Lex. s.vv.); or a vriddhied or lengthened grade (§126), as in *kāma*-, *asa-bāra*-, *Mārgava*-.

§144. NOUN AND ADJECTIVE STEMS WITH SUFFIX -(i)ja-: these are adjectival formations which may acquire substantival use; before the suffix a stem-final -a- regularly, and -ā- sometimes, disappears. The OP examples are the following:

I. Perhaps primary, in *ariya*-.

II. In words of numerical value: -ja- in *an-iya*-, *-ija*- in *duvit-ija*-, *čit-ija*-, to pAr. **dyita*- **bita*-.

III. Forming ethnics: *Ākaufac-iya*- to **Ākau-faka*-, *Aθur-iya*- to *Aθurā*-, *Armin-iya*- to *Armina*-, *Asagart-iya*- to *Asagarta*-, *Ū(v)j-iya*- to *Ū(v)ja*-, *Uvārazmi-ya*-, *Kūš-iya*- to *Kūša*-, *Ga^adāra-ya*- (possibly error for -iya-) to *Ga^adāra*-, *θatagu-iya*- (error for -wiya- or -ulaya- or -udiya-?) to *θatagu*-, *Pulā-ya*-, *Bābiru-ya*-, *Mac-iya*- to *Maak*-, *Spard-ya*- to *Spardu*-, *Ha^azāmāniš-ya*-, *Harauvati-ya*-, *Hi^adu-ya*- (error for *Hi^aduw-ya* -?).

IV. Other formations, including some personal names: *agr-iya*- to *agra*- (§148.I), *θanwan-iya*-, *daran-iya*-, *brazman-iya*-, *mart-iya*- to *mar^a*-, *haš-ya*- to *hat*- (§240), *ha-miç-ya*- to *miθra*-, *Artavard-ya*-, *Ka^mbūj-ya*-, *Bard-ya*-, *Mardun-ya*-.

V. Corresponding feminine forms as abstracts, which may become concretes: *yaw-iyā*- 'course, canal'; *nāw-iyā*- 'navigability'; perhaps *paiš-iyā*- 'writing, document'.

VI. With suffix *-ḡa-*, becoming Med. *-ḡa-* in *xšāyabṛiya-*, and OP *-ḡa-* in *anuṣiya-*.

§145. NOUN AND ADJECTIVE STEMS WITH SUFFIX *-ta-* found in OP are mostly participles (§242), superlatives (§190.II), and ordinal numerals (§204). The remaining examples are *arwasta-*, a neuter abstract seemingly formed upon an adjective **arṇant-* (see Lex. s.v.); *Xšadrita-*, a hypocoristic to a compound personal name; *ardata-* 'silver', perhaps an *-a-* extension of a participle in *-nt-*, cf. Lat. *arg-ent-um*; *dasta-* 'hand', which cannot be related to any simpler extant root; and three feminine abstracts *arštū-*, *hanatā-*, *avastū-*, the last two of which are dubious and the third is taken as having acquired concrete meaning.

§146. NOUN AND ADJECTIVE STEMS WITH SUFFIX *-ka-* are adjectives which may assume substantival meanings. This *-ka-* may be attached directly to a stem, nominal or verbal; it may appear as *-aka-* or *-ika-*, in which it can often not be determined whether the vowel belongs to the suffix or to the basic stem. Only when *-ika-* is attached to an *-a-* stem is it clear that the *-i-* belongs to the suffix. The OP examples are:

I. Perhaps primary: *uṣ-ka-*, *karnw-aka-*.

II. Secondary: **Ākaufja-ka-* in *Ākaufaciya-*; *Anāma-ka-*; *aṛ-ika-*, to pAr. **asra-*, LAv. *avra-*; *Arša-ka-*, hypocoristic to a compound name; *āršti-ka-*, probably with *vriddhi*; *kapautā-ka-*; *kāsa-ka-*; *baṛda-ka-*; *vazra-ka-*; *Vahau-ka-*, hypocoristic to a compound name.

III. Of somewhat uncertain analysis: *niyāka-*, *apa-niyāka-*, *marī-ka-* (see Lex. s.vv.).

§147. NOUN AND ADJECTIVE STEMS WITH SUFFIX *-na-*, varying with *-ana-*, are not infrequent in OP; there are also extensions of the *-na-* to *-ina-* and *-mna-*.

I. Primary *-na-*, added to the root or to the thematic verbal stem (often not distinguishable from verbal nouns!), making nouns of various meanings:

Expressing place: *apa-dā-na-*, *daiva-dā-na-*, *āyada-na-*, fem. *us-taša-nā-*, *āvaha-na-*, *stā-na-*, *varda-na-*.

Expressing abstracts (actions): fem. *fra-mā-nā-*, loc. adv. *aṣ-naiy*, adj. **u-rada-na-*, *yā-na-*, *vaṣ-na-*, *ham-ara-na-*; possibly fem. *Patī-graba-nā-*, becoming a place-name.

Expressing concretes: *arja-na-*, fem. *stū-nā-*, fem. *hai-nā-*.

Expressing adjectival actor, as personal name: *Vidar-na-*; name of month, *Vi-yax-na-*.

Forming adjectives: *a-xšai-na-*.

Forming passive participles, see §243.

II. Secondary *-na-*, forming adjectives: *para-na-*, perhaps here *kam-na-*; as masc. sb., *drauija-na-*, as nt. abstract *pariy-ana-*; forming hypocoristic personal name, *Āḡi-na-*; perhaps *Marduna-* in *Mardun-iya-*; forming place names, with lengthening of preceding vowel, *Varkāna-* to *varka-*, *Ha^m-gmatāna-* to *ha^m-gmata-*; with *-na-* of uncertain origin, *k^hzāna-* (see Lex. s.v.).

III. Secondary *-ina-*, forming adjectives: *abaⁿ-ga-ina-*, *kāsaka-ina-*, *nauca-ina-*.

IV. *-mna-* in present middle participles, see §241.

V. For the dubious neuter abstract *dar-tana-*, see §238.

§148. NOUN AND ADJECTIVE STEMS WITH SUFFIX *-ra-* occur in OP as follows:

I. The suffix *-ra-*, sometimes primary and sometimes secondary, appears in *agra-* whence *agriya-*, *A^hu-ra-*, *ti^g-ra-*, personal name *θux-ra-*, *θū-ra-* in *θūra-vāhara-*; adj. *dū-ra-*, whence adv. *nū-ram*; the uncertain **u-raḡa-ra-*. Problematic, and perhaps not Iranian, *ṭacara-* *dacara-*. On *vazra-* in *vazra-ka-*, *vāhara-* in *θūra-vahara-*, *partara-*, see §154.I.

II. Comparatives in *-(a)ra-*, *-lara-*, *-ḡara-*, see §190.III.

III. Primary suffix *-tra-* appears in *ci-ḡa-*, *xša-ḡa-*, *pu-ḡa-*, *va-ḡa-* in *vaḡa-bara-*; **U-vāxš-tra-* (with Med. *tr* after *s*); loanword *Mitra-* *Mītra-*, also in *ha-miṣ-iya-* and *Va^hu-misa-*.

§149. NOUN AND ADJECTIVE STEMS WITH SUFFIX *-ma-*.

I. Primary, in the following: *dar-ma-* in personal name *Upa-darma-*, *gar-ma-* in month name *Garma-pada-*, fem. *lau-mā-*, adj. *tax-ma-* in personal names (see Lex.), *hau-ma-* in *hauma-varga-*. On dubious *siyamam*, see Lex.

II. Secondary, in ordinal *nava-ma-* (§204.IV).

§150. NOUN AND ADJECTIVE STEMS WITH SUFFIX *-ya-* are a miscellaneous group. They include *ai-va-* 'one'; adjective *duru-va-*, to verbal root *dar-*; adj. *par-ua-*; ethnic *Parba-va-*, cf. *Pārsa-*; *yā-va-*, to relative *ya-*; *har-wa-*; *visa-* and (Med.) *vispa-*, from *pIE* **yik^h-yo-*; *jī-va-* 'living', unless the *v* is somehow radical (cf. §216). On *Gau-baruwa-*, see Lex. s.v.; on fem. *arwā-* as abstract, see Lex. s.v.

§151. NOUN AND ADJECTIVE STEMS WITH MISCELLANEOUS *-a-* SUFFIXES, not already given, include the following:

-θa- in fem. *gai-θā-*.

-ga- in *abaⁿ-ga-*, cf. *asan-*.

-sa- in *bux-ša-*, in personal name *Baga-buxša-*.

§152. NOUN AND ADJECTIVE STEMS ENDING IN *-t-*, apart from some names of persons and places listed in §141, are the following; stems in *-t-* and those in *-ī-* cannot be distinguished except by correspondences in other languages, which sometimes are lacking (§22):

I. Stems in *-t-*: acc. *paθ-im*, *bāj-im*; *ābi-* in personal name *Āθiy-ābaušna-*; *dip-i-*; *uša-bār-i-*; *Āci-* extended from **ātr-* in hypocoristic personal name *Āci-na-* and in month name *Āci-yādiya-*; personal names *Dādarš-i-*, month names *Θāigarc-i-*, *Bāga-yād-i-*; secondary in adjective *yāuman-i-*; loan-word *skauθ-i-*.

II. Stems in *-ī-*, some of which may have been transferred to *-t-* stem declension (§179.I): *āp-ī-* (see Lex. s.v.); dual *uš-ī-*; fem. adj. to stems in *-vant-*, as place names, *Sikayā^a-wat-ī-*, *Hara^a-wat-ī-*; fem. ptc. *yau[da^atim]*, to masc. *-ant-*; to stem in *-tar-*, *Bux-tr-ī-*; **Uvārazm-ī-*; adj., *aba^again-ī-* in npf. *-iya*, to masc. *aba^againa-*.

III. Suffix *-ti-*: *arš-ti-*, *iš-ti-*, *pa-ti-* in **wāšipa-šiya-*, *šiyā-ti-*, *pas-ti-* to *pad-* 'foot', *mar-ti-* (pIE **m₁-ti-*) 'death' in *wā-maršiyu-*, *Fravar-ti-*, perhaps *nī-piš-ti-*.

IV. Miscellaneous: *-thi-* in *duwar-thi-*; *-mī-* in *bū-mi-*; perhaps *-mi-* in *θar-mi-*.

§153. NOUN AND ADJECTIVE STEMS ENDING IN *-ā-*, apart from some place names listed in §141, are as follows:

I. Stems in *-ū-*: adj. *par-u-*, *ard-u-* in personal name *Ardu-maniš-*, *va^a-u-* in personal names *Dāraya-vau-* *Vau-misa-* *Vahau-ka-*; substantives *baru-* in *Gau-baru-a-*, *maršiy-u-* 'death' in adj. *wā-maršiyu-*, *mard-u-* in *Marduniya-*, *Mag-u-*, *Hi^ad-u-*, *Marg-u-*, *Kūr-u-*, uncertain *bāt-u-* in *bātu-gara-*; loanwords *pir-u-*, *Ufrat-u-*; restored loan-word *agur-u-*; uncertain as to stem, *Ōtag-u-*, *sikabr-u-*.

II. Stem in *-ū-*; *tan-ū-*.

III. With suffix *-ta-*: *gā-θu-*; *xra-θu-* (unless the *-t-* is in this word radical rather than suffixal). For *θ*, see §81.

IV. With suffix *-yu-*: *dah-yu-*, with uncertain root.

§154. NOUN AND ADJECTIVE STEMS ENDING IN *-r-*, as found in OP, consist of two classes of nouns.

I. Neuter nouns with nom.-acc. ending in *-r*, replaced by *-n-* in other case-forms; in OP, only in derivatives: pAr. **yaz-r*, in OP *vazr-a-ka-*; pAr. **yas-r* in OP *Θāra-vāhar-a-*; pAr. **prt-r* in OP *partara-*. An extension of the *-n-* form of the suffix *-tr/-ln-* is probably to be seen in the OP infinitive (§238), perhaps also in [da]rtanayā (§238).

II. Nouns with suffix *-tar-*, including agents *ja^a-tar-*, *fra-mā-tar-*, *dauš-tar-*; words of relationship *pi-tar-*, *mā-tar-*, *brā-tar-*; also *ā-tur-* 'fire', in derivative personal names.

§155. NOUN AND ADJECTIVE STEMS ENDING IN *-n-* are of several kinds in OP:

I. Stems in *-an-*: *as-an-* and its derivative *abaⁿ-ga-*, *arš-an-* varying with *arš-a-*, *barš-an-*.

II. Stems in *-lan-*: *ara-šan-* (for *-š-*, §82).

III. Stems in *-man-*: *as-man-*, *tau-man-*, *nā-man-*, *braz-man-* in adj. *brazman-iya-*, *yāu-man-* in adj. *yāuman-i-*.

IV. Stems in *-van-*: *artā-van-*, *xšaça-pā-van-*, *θan-uan-* in *θanwan-iya-*.

V. Stem in *-vin-*: adj. *mana^a-win-*.

§156. NOUN AND ADJECTIVE STEMS ENDING IN *-s-* are of several kinds in OP:

I. Stem in *-s-*: *Maz-dā-h-*, also in A^aura-mazdāh-.

II. Neuters in *-as-*: *dray-ah-*, *man-ah-*, *miθ-ah-*, *rauc-ah-*, *zūr-ah-*, *har-ah-* in *Hara^a-wati-*; *can-ah-* assuming masc. forms in cpd. personal name *Aspa-canah-*; suffixal *-tas-* in *rau-tah-*; suffixal *-nas-* in *far-nah-* assuming masc. forms in cpd. personal name *Vi^ada^a-farnah-*.

III. Stems in *-ias-*: *sika-yah-* in place name *Sikayā^a-wati-*; comparatives *tawī-yah-*, *vah-yah-* in personal name *Vahyaz-dāta* (§120); zero grade *-is-* in superlative ending *-iš-ta-*, in *maθ-išta-duwa-išta-*, §190.II.

IV. Stems in *-is-*: neuters *abi-curīš*, *had-iš*; becoming masc. in personal names *Ardu-man-iš*, *Harā-man-iš*.

§157. ADJECTIVE STEMS WITH SUFFIX *-vant-* are found in OP only in derivatives; the OP syllabary does not make clear whether these derivatives are formed on *-vant-* (pIE *-yent-*) or on zero grade *-vat-* (pIE *-y₀nt-*); more probably they are made upon *vat-*: *ar-want-* in *arawas-ta-*, *sikayā^a-want-* in *Sikayā^a-wāt-i-*, *hara^a-want-* in *Hara^a-wāt-i-*.

§158. OTHER NOUN AND ADJECTIVE STEMS ENDING IN CONSONANTS are to be found listed among Root Nouns and Adjectives, §142.

§159. NOUN AND ADJECTIVE COMPOUNDS IN OP, apart from phrasal adverbs (§191.IV), may have as prior element an inseparable adverb as in *a-xšata-*, *^hu-cāra-*, *duš-iyāra-*, *ham-arana-* (§268); or a prepositional adverb, as in *apa-dāna-*, *paṭi-kara-* (§268); or a noun or adjective stem.¹ They have as second element a noun or adjective stem, which may receive an additional suffix.

Only compounds of stem + stem will be here discussed. Either stem may itself be a compound; either stem may already have one or more suffixes. The initial syllable of the first element, especially in adjectives, may show *vriddhi* or lengthening of the vowel, as in *dāraniya-kara-* 'gold-worker' to *dāraniya-* 'gold'; less often this appears in the second part, as in *Bāga-yādi-* 'god-worshipping (month)', where it is seen in both parts, and in *asa-bāra-* 'horse-borne', where it indicates passive meaning.

Compound adjectives with second elements of a specific gender assume the genders of their derived meaning and use, with change of form if necessary. Thus the masc. name *Hazā-maniš* 'Having the mind of a friend, Achaemenes' has a neuter stem as its second element, used without change in the masculine adjective as noun; the masc. adjective *tigrazauda-* 'wearing a pointed cap' has as second element the fem. *zaudā-* 'cap'.

Derivative adjectives to compounds may be made by the addition of suffixes: *Hazāmaniš-iya-* 'Achaemenian' to *Hazāmaniš-*, *Asagart-iya-* 'Sagartian' to *Asa-garta-*.

Compounds of stem + stem, so far as they occur in OP, may be divided into (1) Determinative Nouns and Adjectives, dependent and descriptive; (2) Possessive Adjectives, dependent and

descriptive; (3) Participial Adjectives, the prior element governing the second. Adjectives of all these classes may become nouns as names of persons and places.

The following will not be dealt with here, because of uncertainties or difficulties in their interpretations; but some information may be found in the Lex. s.vv.:

Common nouns: *ābahawaja-*, *^hwādā-*.

Personal names: *Ka^ubūjiya-*, *Gaumāta-*, *Cišpi-*.

Place names: *Uvādaicaya-*, *Uvārazmā-*, *Paišiyāwādā-*.

Personal and place names of Elamite, Akkadian, and Armenian origin also cannot be discussed among OP compounds.

§160. DETERMINATIVE NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES, compounded of stem + stem; the prior element determines or limits the second.

I. Dependent determinatives, the prior element standing in some case relation to the second:

a. Accusative:

hamarana-kara- 'battle-making'; *zūra-kara-* 'evil-doing'; *dāraniya-kara-* 'gold-working'; *ciyā-kara-* 'doing how much', *avā-kara-* 'doing that'. *aršti-bara-* 'spear-bearer'; *vaça-bara-* 'bow-bearer'; *taka-bara-* 'petasos-wearing'.

xšāça-pāwan- 'kingdom-protecting, satrap'; *du-varṭi-* (for **duwar-varṭi-*) 'doorway-covering, colonnade'; *hauma-varga-*, *maz-dāh-*, *bātu-gara-*, see Lex. s.vv.

Arta-varṭiya- 'Justice-worker'.

b. Genitive:

arda-slāna- 'place of light'; *daiva-dāna-* 'holder of demons'.

Xšayāršan- (from **xšaya-aršan-*) 'Hero of Kings'; *Gau-baru-a-* 'Lord of cattle'; *Va^u-misa-* 'Friend of the good'.

c. Instrumental:

asa-bāra- 'borne by horses'; *uša-bari-* 'borne by camels'; [*dasta*] *karta-* 'done by hand'.

Baga-buzša- 'Freed by God'; *Bagābigna-* perhaps 'Begotten by God'.

d. Ablative: *Āthiy-ābaušna-* 'Freed from misfortune'.

e. With idea of specification: *Čiça-tazma-* 'Brave in lineage'.

II. Descriptive determinatives,¹ the prior ele-

¹ In *Čiça-tazma-* the prior element is not the bare stem, but the stem with an added nasal, attested in the transliterations into Elam., Akk., and Greek. This nasal can hardly be the acc. case-ending (as tentatively suggested by Bthl. AiW 587); it seems unexplainable except as a transfer from some other cpd. in which a nasal in this position was justified (Schulze, KZ 33.216.n3; Richter, IF 9.203-4; Foy KZ 37.504-5). Cf. Gk. *Ἀρταμ-βάτης* (Hdt. 1.114-6, 9.122; Aesch. Pers. 29, 302, 971) = OP **Artam-bara* 'Arta-upholder', where the prior element seems to be in the accusative (cf. Stonecipher, Graeco-Persian Names 27).

¹ The greatest part of this class consists of those whose first part is an inseparable adverb or a prepositional prefix; under our plan these are not here considered (§159).

ment directly modifying the second as adjective or appositive:

Ahura-mazdāh- 'Ahuramazda', lit. 'Lord Wise'; cf. Lex. s.v.

§161. POSSESSIVE ADJECTIVES, often differing from the preceding only by a shift of accent which can be observed in accented Sanskrit words, but cannot be determined in OP or Avestan.

I. Determinative compounds (cf. §160.I); the OP examples are all names of persons or of places or of months:

a. Accusative: *Aspa-canah*- 'Having love of horses'; *Bāga-yādi*- '(Month) marked by the worship of the *bagas*'.

b. Genitive: *Arta-xšaça*- 'Having a kingdom of justice'; *Aršāma*- (from **arša-ama*-) 'Having the might of a hero'; *Hazā-maniš*- 'Having the mind of a friend'; *Garma-pada*- '(Month) having the place of heat'; *Asa-garta*- '(Land) having caves of stone'.

II. Descriptive compounds (cf. §160.II.):

a. The prior element is an adjectival modifier: *paru-zana*- 'having many men'; *vispa-zana*- 'having all (kinds of) men'; *visa-dahyu*- 'containing all lands'; *hama-pitar*- 'having the same father'; *ha-mātar*- 'having the same mother'; *tigra-xauda*- 'wearing pointed caps'; *uā-maršiyu*- 'having one's own death' (see Lex.).

Ariya-ciça- 'Having Aryan lineage'; *Ardu-maniš*- 'Having an upright mind'; *Taxma-spāda*- 'Having a brave army'; *Vahyaz-dāta*- 'Following the better law'; *Vištāspa*- from **višta-aspa*- (see Lex. s.v.) 'Having ready horses'; *Θala-gu*- '(Land) having hundreds of cattle' (but see Lex. s.v.); *Θūra-vāhara*- '(Month) having vigorous spring-time'.

b. The prior element is appositive to the second:

Varka-zana- '(Month) belonging to the wolf-men'. *uāi-pašiya*- 'having self as lord', with adjectival suffix.

c. The second element is predicate to the prior: *Ariyāramna*- from **ariya-āramna*- 'Having the Aryans pacified'; so to be interpreted because the -*na*- participles are passive.

§162. PARTICIPIAL COMPOUND ADJECTIVES, the participle as prior element of the compound governing the second; all the OP examples are personal names:¹

Dāraya-varu- 'Holding firm the good'.

Vi'da'-farnah- 'Finding the Glory'.

Vāya-spāra- 'Weaving shields', = 'Maker of wicker shields'; unless *vāya*- is not a participle, but a noun of action (-*a*- stem), and the name is a possessive adjective (§161.I.b.), 'Having a shield of weaving, = wicker shield'.

§163. NAMES OF PERSONS in the OP inscriptions must be divided according to nationalities, which in the main show the linguistic nature.

I. Names of Persians are far the most numerous; but some show Median phonetics, indicated by a following M in parenthesis:

a. Names of the Achaemenian dynasty: *Ariyāramna*-, *Artaxšaça*-, *Aršāma*-, *Uvazštra*- (M), *Kabūjiya*-, *Kūru*-, *Xšayāršan*-, *Gaubarwa*-, *Cišpi*-, *Dārayavau*-, *Bardiya*-, *Vištāspa*- (M).

b. Names of other Persians: *Artavardiya*-, *Ardumaniš*-, *Aspacanah*- (M), *Utāna*-, *Θuxra*-, *Dāwahya*-, *Dādarši*-, *Bagābigna*-, *Bagabuxša*-, *Marduniya*-, *Vaumisa*- (with -*s*- which is not Persian nor Median), *Vāyaspāra*-, *Vahauka*-, *Vahyaz-dāta*-, *Viḍafarnah*- (M), *Vidarna*-, *Vivāna*-, *Hazā-maniš*-.

II. Names of Medes: *Xšabrita*-, *Gaumāta*-, *Taxmaspāda*-, *Fravarti*-, and the Sagartian *Čiçatozma*-.

III. Names of other Iranians: the Margian (Bactrian) *Frāda*-; the Scythian *Šku'xa*-; unspecified *Ātiyābaušna*-, *Aršaka*-.

IV. Names of Armenians: *Arxa*-, *Dādarši*-, *Haldita*-.

V. Names of Elamites: *Atamaila*-, *Cicizri*-, and four which have the appearance of IE names: *Āčina*-, *Upadarma*-, *Martiya*- (see Lex. s.vv.), which may have been more or less etymologized when transcribed into OP; and *Imaniš*-, the name assumed by the Persian Martiya as usurping king of Elam, with -*maniš*- reminding of *Haxāmaniš*- and *Ardumaniš*-.

VI. Names of Babylonians: Akkadian *Ainaira*-, *Naditabaira*-, *Nabukudracara*-, *Nabunaila*-.

VII. Uncertain writings, probably corrupt: *Xaršādašyā* (= *Xšayāršā*?), *Ardayašca* (prob-

ing' and *arša*- 'just', and therefore meaning 'Ruling with justice'. But there is no example in which contraction of a short vowel takes place despite the reduced final -*t*; for another objection, and the proper interpretation of the case-endings, see §187 and note 2, and Lex. s.v.

¹ *Xšayāršā* is taken by Bv. Gr. §315 as an -*āh*- stem like *Ardayašca*, based on a contraction of *aršā* and *h*.

ably = *Artaxšaça*), *Vašdāsaka*, *Vahyav¹šdāpaya*, *Hadazaya*.

§164. PERSONAL NAMES OF IRANIANS are of the usual IE types.

I. The typical IE name consisted of a compound of two stems; such names have mostly been interpreted in §160-§162. To these must be added the following, which are of uncertain interpretation: *Ka¹būjiya*, *Gaumāta*- (see Lex. s.vv.).

II. Compounds of which the prior part is an inseparable or a prepositional prefix are the following: **U-vašštra*, *Vi-darna*, *Vi-vāna*, *Fra-varti*, perhaps **U-tāna*. It is possible that some of these are only shortenings of longer compounds of which these were the prior part, and that they belong under III.

III. Hypocoristics or nicknames were formed in pIE by limiting the compound name to approximately its prior part, to which there might or might not be added a suffix. There are the following probable examples in the OP names: *Θuzra*-, *Bard-iya*, *Vahau-ka*, *Arša-ka*, *Xšaθr-ita*, *Frāda*-, *Martiya*-

IV. Still other names are appellatives indicating the qualities of the persons, like the reduplicated *Dā-darši*- 'Bold'. Possibly **U-vašštra*-, *Vi-darna*-, *Vi-vāna*- (given under II) also belong here. Or names may denote occupations, as perhaps in the adjectival derivative, possibly patronymic, *Mardun-iya*- 'Vintner's son'.

V. Uncertain names: *Cišpi*- (or *Ca¹išpi*-); *Kūru*-, *Dātuwahya*-, *Arxa*-, name of an Armenian, of unknown meaning, and probably belonging under III or IV.

§165. NAMES OF MONTHS in OP are adjectives, or substantives as adjectives, modifying the word 'month'; the phrase is always in the genitive.¹ All are compounds of two stems or of prefix + stem, and some end in an adjectival suffix.

With vriddhi in first part: *Θāgarci*- (etymology uncertain); perhaps in *Adu-kanaiša*- (etymology uncertain), *A-nāma-ka*-.

With vriddhi in both parts: *Bāga-yādi*-.

With vriddhi in second part: *Āci-yād-iya*-, *Θūra-vāhara*-.

Perhaps with vriddhi in prefix: *Vi-yax-na*- (radical element uncertain).

Without vriddhi in either part: *Garma-pada*-, and the restored *Varka-zana*- (but see Lex. s.v.).

For further details, see Lex. s.vv. and §161.

§166. NAMES OF PLACES are less likely to be of perspicuous etymology even than names of persons, since names of places often persist even when there has been a change of population and an attendant change of language.¹ The OP place-names include the following types: *dahyāuš* 'administrative province' and also 'district' of a province; 'city', generic word not given in OP; *vardanam* 'town'; *āvahanam* 'village'; *didā* 'fortress'; *kaufa* 'mountain'; *rauda* 'river'. At the first introduction of less-known place names the generic word is regularly given; but it is given with names of provinces only when there is a list of all or several, and is omitted with some larger districts (*Karmāna*, *Varkāna*), with cities (*Pārsa*, if = 'Persepolis'; *Paišiyāwādā* 'Pasargadae'; *Hagmatāna* 'Ecbatana'; *Arbairā* 'Arbela'; *Bābiruš* 'Babylon'), and with well-known rivers (*Ufrātūš* 'Euphrates'; *Tigrā* 'Tigris'). The place names may be geographically, and to a certain extent linguistically, grouped together as follows:²

I. Indo-Iranian provinces:

Pārsa 'Persis, Persia': including districts *Karmāna*, *Yautiyā*; cities *Paišiyāwādā*, perhaps *Pārsa*; towns *Uvādaicaya*, *Kuṇanakā*, *Tārawā*, *Raxā*; mountains *Arakadriš*, *Parga*.

Māda 'Media': including districts *Asargarta* (given as administrative province in DPe 15), *Kapada*, *Nisāya*, *Ragā*; city *Hagmatāna*; towns *Kuduruš*, *Māruš*; fortress, *Sikayawatiš*.

Parθawa 'Parthia': including district *Varkāna* 'Hyrcania' and towns *Patigrabanā*, *Višpauzātiš*.

Harawatiš 'Arachosia': including district *Gadutawa*; fortresses *Aršādā*, *Kāpišakāniš*.

¹ Cf. the names of the states of the United States of America; about half of them are derived from aboriginal American languages, and the rest come directly or ultimately from English, German, Celtic, French, Spanish, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Indo-Iranian. For the OP place-names which can with certainty or with some probability be interpreted etymologically, see Lex. s.vv. ² This section attempts only to list and classify the nouns and ethnic adjectives used as geographical terms in the OP texts; a complete list of the provinces of the Persian Empire, as given in the OP texts, will be found in JNES 2.302-6, with discussion of the variations. The classification of *Yadā* DB 3.26, apparently the OP name for

¹ The form *māhyā* is more probably a contracted gen. **māhahyā*, to stem *māha*-, than a loc. *māhyā* to stem *māh*-,

Bāxtriš 'Bactria': including district *Marguš* 'Margiana'.

Ākaufaciya 'Men of Akaufaka'; *Uvārazmīy* and *-mīš* 'Chorasmiā'; *Gadāra* 'Gandaritis'; *Θataguš* 'Sattagydia'; *Dahā* 'the Daae'; *Maka* or ethnic *Maciya*, *Saka* or fem. *Sakā* 'Scythia' or *Sakā* 'the Scythians'; *Sup(u)da* 'Sogdiana'; *Haraiwa* 'Aria'; *Hiduš* 'Sind'.

II. Elam:

Ū(v)ja 'Elam', including city *Čūšā*, village *Abiraduš*.

III. Semitic provinces:

Bābiruš 'Babylonia': including district *Dubāla*; city *Bābiruš* 'Babylon'; town *Zazāna*; rivers *Ufrātuš*, *Tigrā*.

Aθurā 'Assyria and Syria': including district *Izalā*; city *Arbairā*; mountain *Labanāna*.

Arabāya 'Arabia'.

IV. Armenia:

Armina or *Arminiya* 'Armenia': including district *Autiyāra*; village *Zūzahya*; fortresses *Uyamā*, *Tigra*.

V. Provinces of Asia Minor and Southeastern Europe:

Katpatuka 'Cappadocia'; *Karkā* 'the Carians'; *Yauna* 'Ionia' or *Yaunā* 'the Ionians'; *Špada* 'Sardis, Lydia'; *Skudra* 'Thrace and Macedonia'.

VI. Provinces of Africa:

Mudrāya 'Egypt' or *Mudrāyā* 'the Egyptians', including river *Pirāva* 'Nile'.

Kūša 'Ethiopia' or *Kūšiya* 'the Ethiopians'. *Putāyā* 'the Libyans'.

§167. PROVINCE NAMES AND ETHNICS. In certain instances the province name is merely the masculine ethnic, with ellipsis of a masculine noun for 'country'; once it is the feminine ethnic. But more frequently the ethnic is formed from the province name by the *-ya-* suffix; and the plural of the ethnic thus formed, as well as that of other ethnics, may be used as province name. Once the *-ya-* ethnic in the singular is used for the province as alternative to the suffixless form. In the accompanying table, the occurrence of the province name and the ethnic in identical form is indicated in the second column by x, and ethnics which in the singular are extant in full only in the late text A?P are indicated by a following *.

To these names may be added those of three large districts which were not governmental provinces: *Karmāna*, *Varkāna*, *Marguš* with ethnic *Mārgava*; ethnic *Pātišwariš*, to an unknown place-name; *Haxāmanišiya*, patronymic family-name to *Haxāmaniš*; *Maguš*, denoting a member of the priestly clan of Media.

Of the province names used as ethnics, *Bābiruš* and *Ūva* as ethnics are certainly errors. Of the ethnics in A?P, *Kūšāya* is probably miswritten for *Kūšiya*; *Gadāraya* for *Gadāriya*; *Θataguiya* for *Θataguiya*, or misread for *Θatagudaya*, a miswriting for *Θatagudiya*; *Hiduya* for *Hiduiya*.

Province	Same as Ethnic	Fem. as Province	Derivative Ethnic	Pl. Ethnic as Province	Masc. as Province
<i>Aθurā</i>			<i>Aθuriya</i>		
<i>Arabāya</i>	x*				
<i>Armina</i>			<i>Arminiya</i>		<i>Arminiya</i>
<i>Asagarta</i>			<i>Asagartiya</i>		
<i>Ū(v)ja</i>	x		<i>Ū(v)jiya</i>		
<i>Uvārazmīy -iš</i>			<i>Uvārazmīya*</i>		
<i>Katpatuka</i>	x*				
<i>Kūša</i>			<i>Karka</i>	<i>Karkā</i>	
<i>Gadāra</i>			<i>Kūšāya*</i>	<i>Kūšiya</i>	
<i>Θataguš</i>			<i>Gadāraya*</i>		
			<i>Θataguiya*</i>		
<i>Parθava</i>	x			<i>Dahā</i>	
<i>Pārsa</i>	x				
<i>Bāxtriš</i>			<i>Putāya*</i>	<i>Putāyā</i>	

Province	Same as Ethnic	Fem. as Province	Derivative Ethnic	Pl. Ethnic as Province	Masc. as Province
<i>Bābiruś</i>	x		<i>Bābiruwiya</i>		
<i>Maka</i>			<i>Maciya*</i>	<i>Maciā</i>	
<i>Māda</i>	x				
<i>Mudrāya</i>	x			<i>Mudrāyā</i>	
<i>Yauna</i>	x			<i>Yaunā</i>	
<i>Saka</i>	x	<i>Sakā</i>		<i>Sakā</i>	
<i>Sug(u)da</i>					
<i>Skudra</i>	x*				
<i>Sparda</i>			<i>Spardīya</i>		
<i>Zraka</i>	x*				
<i>Haraiṇa</i>					
<i>Harawatiś</i>			<i>Harawatiya*</i>		
<i>Hiduś</i>			<i>Hiduya*</i>		

CHAPTER V. DECLENSION OF NOUNS, ADJECTIVES, PRONOUNS

§168. DECLENSION IN OP. The OP noun, along with the pronoun and the adjective, shows approximately the expected assortment of forms. There are nouns and adjectives with stems ending in *-a -ā, -i -ī, -u -ū, -āh -ah -iś, -tār -tar-, -an -man- -van -vn- -vant-, -t -d -θ -s*. Some categories are but scantily represented, and in the discussion of each class all extant forms are listed, except where the examples are numerous.

All the cases found in Sanskrit and Avestan are found in OP, except the dative, which has been lost, its functions being assumed by the genitive form. The ablative has no distinctive form, but has been merged in the instrumental and the locative either by phonetic development or by analogy; except for one form, *Bābirauś*, which is identical with the genitive, as in Sanskrit. Similarly the accusative plural has become identical with the nominative, either by phonetic process or by analogy, except in the enclitic pronouns which have no nominative form.

Both singular and plural numbers are represented in OP, and there are a few dual forms.

§169. THE CASE-ENDINGS OF *-o*-STEMS IN PIE: these are added to the stem-vowel, which is either *e* or *o*, and when vowel is added to vowel a contraction results, giving either a long vowel or a diphthong.

I. The endings of the singular: Nom. *-s* and acc. *-m* are added to stem-vowel *-o-*, giving *-os -om*; and the voc. is the bare stem in *-e*: Lt. *lupus*

lupum lupē, Gk. *λύκος λίκον λίκε* 'wolf'. The neuter has *-m* as ending for the nom. as well as for the acc.

Gen. ending *-sjo* is found in Aryan and in Greek, added to stem-vowel *-o-*: **tosjo*, Skt. *tásya*, Gk. (Hom.) *τῷτο*, (classical) *τῷ*; and with added *-s* in a few Latin words: *cius*, Skt. *asyá*; *cuius*, Skt. *kásya*, from **qosjo*. This ending was original in pronouns only, and spread from pronouns to certain classes of nouns in some languages.

The inst. ended in *-ē* and *-ō*, evidently by contraction of the stem-vowel *-e-* and *-o-* with another vowel whose quality cannot be determined. The abl. had *-ēd* and *-ōd*, a similar contraction with an unidentifiable vowel plus a dental consonant, which may have been either *t* or *d*; sandhi processes make it impossible to determine its original nature.¹ The loc. ended in *-i*, added to either stem-vowel: cf. Gk. *οἴκοι* and *οἴκει* 'at home'.

II. The forms of the plural number: Nom. pl. ending *-es*, added to stem vowel *-o-*, gave *-ōs*, which remained in Aryan, Germanic (Gothic *wulfōs* 'wolves'), Oscan-Umbrian (but was replaced by *-oi*, with pronominal plural-sign *-i*, in Greek, Latin, Balto-Slavic). Acc. pl. ending *-ns*, added to *-o-*, gave *-ons*. Nom.-acc. nt. pl. in *-a* was properly a fem. nom. sg. in *-ā*, with collective meaning. Gen. pl. ending *-ōm*, contracted with the

¹ For a theory of the origin of this ending, see Sturtevant, Lg. 8.1-10.

stem-vowel *-o-*, gave *-ōm*, as in Gk. *λόκων*, but in Aryan was remodeled after the gen. pl. of *-n-* stems. Inst. pl. ending *-ais* (*-a-* indeterminate for *a e o*!), contracting with stem-vowel *-o-*, gave *-ōis*, seen with shortening in Greek *λόκους*, and with retained length in Skt. and Av.; but the pronominal *-oibhis* (stem-vowel *-o-* + pronominal pl. *-i* + inst. pl. *-bhis*), remodeling of masc. dat.-abl. *-oibhios* (Skt. *tēbhyas*, demonstrative pronoun) after fem. inst. pl. *-ābhis* (Skt. *tābhiḥ*), is

seen in OP. Loc. pl. ending *-su*, added to stem-vowel *-o-* + pron. pl. *-i*, is found in Aryan and in Slavic; but *-oisu* was remodeled to *-oisi* in Gk. (dat. pl. *λόκοισι*) after the loc. sg. ending *-i*.

III. The forms of the dual number: see §189.

§170. THE CASE-ENDINGS OF *-o-* STEMS IN ARYAN. A comparative table of the endings in pIE, pAr., Skt., Av., OP is here given, including the cases represented in the extant OP words; except that dual forms are in §189.

	pIE	pAr.	Skt.	Av.	OP
Sg. Nom.	-os	-ah ¹	-ah	-ō	-a ^b
Acc.	-om	-am	-am	-əm	-am
Inst.	-ē, -ō	-ā	-ena ²	-ā -a ³	-ā
Abl.	-ēd, -ōd	-ād	-āt ¹	-āt	-ā ⁴
Gen.	-osjo	-asya	-asya	-ahyā -ahe ⁵	-ahyā
Loc.	-ei, -oi	-ai	-e	{ -ōi-, e ² -ay-a ³ }	{ -aiy -ay-ā }
Voc.	-e	-a	-a	-ā -a ³	-ā
Pl. Nom.	-ōs	{ -āh ¹ -āsah ⁴ }	{ -āh -āsah }	{ -ā -a ³ -āvho }	{ -ā ⁴ -āha ⁴ }
Acc.	-ons	-ān ⁵	-ān	-aš	-ā ⁶
Inst.	-āis	-āiš	-āiš	-āiš	-ai ^{bis} ⁵
Gen.	-ōm	-ānām ⁷	-ānām	-ānqm	-ānām
Loc.	-oisu	-aišu	-ešu	-aēšu	-aišw-ā
Neuter					
Sg. Nom.-Acc.	-o-m	-am	-am	-əm	-am
Pl. Nom.-Acc.	-ā	-ā	-ā ⁸	-ā -a ³	-ā

¹ And other sandhi-products. ² With different suffix.

³ Short-vowel final in LAv.; long vowels or diphthong in GAv. ⁴ Double ending, with added *-as* from nom. pl. of consonantal stems. ⁵ With analogical length; and *-s* re-

tained in some sandhi combinations. ⁶ From *-oibhis*, cf. dat.-abl. pl. Skt. *-ebhīḥ*, Av. *-aēibyo* from **-oibhios*.

⁷ By influence of *-n-* stems. ⁸ Ved. *-ā*, but classical Skt. *-āni* after *-n-* stems.

✓ §171. CASE-FORMS OF *-o-* STEMS IN OP:

Nom. Sg. *martiya*, *xšāyathiya*, *kāra*, *baga*, *drauga*, *hamičiya*, *anušiya*; man's name, *Kabūjiya*; place names and ethnics *Pārsa*, *Māda*, *Sugda*, *Suguda*, *Saka*, *Sparda*, *Mudrāya*, *Ūja Ūvja*, *Yauna*, *Parθava*, *Armina*, *Arminiya*, *Asagarta*, *Gadāra*, *Mārgava*, *Ūvjiya*.

Acc. Sg. *martiyam*, *xšāyathiyam*, *kāram*, *hamičiyam*; *Kabūjiyam*; *Pārsam*, *Mādam*, *Sugdām*, *Mudrāyam*, *Ūvajam*, *Arminam*, *Asagartam*, *ufrāš-tam*.

Inst. Sg. *kārā*, *Pārsā*, *Aurā*, probably *karšā*; nt. *artā*, *dātā*, *ariyā*; masc. or nt. *vašnā*, *pišā*.

Abl. Sg. *draugā*; *Kabūjiyā*, *Pārsā*, *Sugudā*,

Spardā, *Mudrāyā*, *Kušā*, *Yaunā*, *Gadārā*, *Karmānā*; nt. *dušiyārā*, *vispā*, *gastā*.

Gen. Sg. *martiyahyā*, *xšāyathiyahyā*, *kārahya*, *Pārsahyā*, *visahyā*, probably *māhyā*; nt. *uškahyā*, *waipašiyahyā*, *jivahyā*, [ha]krtahyā.

Loc. Sg. *Pārsaiy*, *Mādaiy*, *Mudrāyaiy*, *Ūjaiy*, *Ūvjaiy*, *Parθawaiy*, *Arminiyaiy*, *Asagartaiy*, *Hagmatānaiy*; with added *-ā*, *duvarayā*, *dastayā*, *spāθmaidayā*, probably *karšayā*, [da]rtanayā; nt. *uzmayā*.

Voc. Sg. *martiyā*, *marikā*.

Nom. Pl. *martiyā*, *xšāyathiyā*, *hamičiyā*, *anušiyyā*, *takabarā*, *tigrazaudā*, *haumawargā*, *paruwā*, *Mādā*, *Sakā*, *Mudrāyā*, *Yaunā*, *Ūvjiyā*; with double ending, *aniyāha bagāha*.

Acc. Pl. *martiyā, xšāyabiyā, hamičiyā, Sakā, Ūvjiyā, ufraštā*.

Inst. Pl. *asabāraibiš, martiyaibiš, hamičiyaibiš, bagaibiš, vīdāibiš, kamnaibiš; Mādaibiš, Sakai-biš, Parbavaibiš, Mārgavaibiš, Ūvjiyaibiš; nt. ūnaraibiš*.

Gen. Pl. *martiyānām, xšāyabiyānām, bagānām*.

Loc. Pl. *Mādaišw-ā*.

Nt. Nom. Sg. *xšačam, dušiyāram, ardatam, daraniyam, arwastam, dātām, θakatam, kartam, višam, kamnam; acc. xšačam, stānam, daraniyam, arwastam, kartam, višam, uvāipašiyam, waspam, probably cašam*.

Nt. Nom. Pl. *ūnará, θakatā, [d]ātā; acc. āyadanā, [waspā], uraθā*.

✓ §172. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE -o- DECLENSION IN OP.

Nom. Sg.: OP -ā, regular from pAr. -ah, pIE -os; the failure to write the final vowel long shows a final minimal consonant: -a¹.

Acc. Sg.: OP -am, regular from pAr. -am, pIE -om.

Inst. Sg.: OP -ā, regular from pAr. -ā, pIE -ē or -ō.

Abl. Sg.: OP -ā for -āi, regular from pAr. -āl, pIE -ēd or -ōd (or -t).

Gen. Sg.: OP -ahyā, regular for pAr. -asya, pIE -osjo; OP -ā for -ā shows that no minimal consonant followed; for a few writings -ahyā, see §36.IV. For māhyā from *māhahyā, see §131.

Loc. Sg.: OP -aiy in place-names, regular from pAr. -ai, pIE -ei or -oi; OP -ayā in common nouns, being -ai + postposition -ā (similar forms are found in Avestan).¹

Voc. Sg.: OP -ā, regular from pAr. -ā, pIE -e; with OP -ā because there is no final minimal consonant.

Nom. Pl.: OP -ā for -ā¹, regular from pAr. āh, pIE -ōs; also OP -āha for -āha¹ in *aniyāha bagāha* 'other gods', cf. §10 and the similar formations Av. *ahurānθō* 'Ahuras', Skt. *devāsah* 'gods'.

Acc. Pl.: OP -ā for -ā¹, either regularly from pAr. -āns with reduced *n*, in some sandhi-positions; or the nom. pl. as acc., by analogy (§168).

Inst. Pl.: OP -aibiš, regular for pAr. -aibhiš.

Gen. Pl.: OP -ānām, regular for pAr. -ānām, with

-nām from -n- stems (§187); for writing -ānām, see §52.III.

Loc. Pl.: OP -aišwā, regular from pAr. -aišw, pIE -oisu, + postposition -ā; -šw-ā should become -šwā, but the OP writing does not distinguish between this value and -šwā, in which the -u- is retained as a vowel by the influence of the original form and a glide consonant written between it and the following vowel.

Nt. Nom.-Acc. Sg.: OP -am, regular from pAr. -am, pIE -om.

Nt. Nom.-Acc. Pl.: OP -ā, regular from pAr. -ā, pIE -ā.

dātā DB 1.23, XPh 49, 52, when used with *pari-ay-* 'respect', is probably inst. rather than abl., because of the lack of prep. *hacā*; note that the text of DSe 37-9, as now restored, gives no support for the abl. in the other passages, despite my remarks JAOS 54.46, Lg. 13.303, JAOS 58.117. On inst. sg. *karšā*, loc. sg. *karšayā*, nt. acc. *cašam*, acc. pl. *ufrāštā-diy*, see Lex. s.vv.

Artaxšaça- has the regular gen. -čahyā,² but nom. -čā and acc. -čām have been assimilated to *Xšayār-šā -šām* (§187), and gen. *Artaxšačahyā* (A²He) may have been assimilated to the late gen. *Xšayāršāhyā* (§187; unless there is mere addition of a character, §53).

§173. THE CASE-ENDINGS OF -ā-STEMS IN PIE: only those relevant to extant OP forms will be discussed.

I. In the singular, nom. -ā is the strong grade of the stem-vowel, without special case-suffix. Acc. -ām is stem-vowel -ā- + case-suffix -m. From the evidence of non-Aryan languages, we should expect PIE to have inst. -ā (from -ā- + -a), abl.-gen. -ās (from -ā- + -es), loc. -āi (from -ā- + -i);³ but in Aryan we find dissyllabic terminations, inst. -āyā, abl.-gen. -āyās, loc. -āyā. Either a pre-IE variant stem in -āyā- here comes to light, though it does not appear outside these singular cases (and in the dative, lost in OP), or these cases are built upon a stem extracted from the loc. sg. -āyā (so in Iranian, but extended by -m in Skt.): for the loc. sg. should have been stem-vowel -ā- + ending -i, to which postposition -ā was added, making -āyā.

² Unless this form also is a neologism (§57).

¹ The same phenomenon in Osc.-Umb.: *en 'in' is attached to the loc. ending as an integral part of the case-form, in Osc. *hūrtin* 'in horto' from *e₁-en, and in Umb. *arven* 'in arvo' from *a₁-en.

³ §173. Although ā + i regularly contracted to ai (§131), the loc. of -ā- stems seems to have had -āi by the influence of -ā- in other cases; on Skt. inst. ending -āyā, see Thumb-Hirt, Handbuch d. Skt. §259, §351.

To the extracted stem *-āyā-* it is simple to form inst. *-āyā*, gen.-abl. *-āyās*.

II. The plural has pIE nom. *-ās* from *-ā-* + *-es*; acc. *-ās* from *-ā-* + *-ns*, with pIE loss of *n* between long vowel and final *s*; gen. *-ōm* from *-ā-* + *-ōm*, replaced in pAr. by *-ānām* after *-n-* stems; loc. *-āsu* from *-ā-* + *-su*.

§174. THE CASE-ENDINGS OF *-ā-* STEMS IN ARYAN. The comparative table includes only cases represented in extant OP forms.

Sg.	pIE	pAr.	Skt.	Av.	OP
Nom.	<i>-ā</i>	<i>-ā</i>	<i>-ā</i>	<i>-ā -a¹</i>	<i>-ā</i>
Acc.	<i>-ām</i>	<i>-ām</i>	<i>-ām</i>	<i>-am</i>	<i>-ām</i>
Inst.		<i>-āyā²</i>	<i>-ayā</i>	<i>-ayā¹</i>	<i>-āyā</i>
Abl.		<i>-āyās</i>	<i>-āyās</i>	<i>-ayās³</i>	<i>-āyā^b</i>
Gen.		<i>-āyās</i>	<i>-āyās</i>	<i>-ayā</i>	<i>-āyā^b</i>
Loc.		<i>-āi</i>	<i>-āyā</i>	<i>-āyām</i>	<i>-aya</i>
Pl.					<i>-āyā</i>
Nom.	<i>-ās</i>	<i>-ās</i>	<i>-ās</i>	<i>-ā</i>	<i>-ā^b</i>
Acc.	<i>-ās</i>	<i>ās</i>	<i>ās</i>	<i>-ā</i>	<i>-ā^b</i>
Gen.	<i>-ōm</i>	<i>-ānām</i>	<i>-ānām</i>	<i>-anqm</i>	<i>-ānām</i>
Loc.	<i>-āsu</i>	<i>-āsu</i>	<i>-āsu</i>	<i>-āhu</i>	
				<i>-āhva¹</i>	<i>-ā^bhwā</i>

¹ Avestan forms with short final *-a* belong to the LAv.; note that the indication of length in interior syllables of Avestan words is not reliable. ² Cf. §173n. ³ Remodeling of the gen. ending in Late Avestan after the abl. *-āt* of *-o-* stems.

✓ §175. CASE-FORMS OF *-ā-* STEMS IN OP:

Nom. Sg. *taumā* 'family', *hainā*, *framānā*, *yau-viā*, *didā*, *θikā*; *Aθurā*; adjectives *kartā*, *gastā*, *hamiçiyā*.

Acc. Sg. *taumām*, *yauviyām*, *didām*, *θikam*; *Paiçiyāwādām*, *Sakām*; adjective *abagainām*.

Inst. Sg. *framānāyā*, *aruvāyā*, perhaps *ha[natāyā]*.

Abl. Sg. *Paiçiyāwādāyā*, *haināyā*, *taumāyā*, *Yadāyā*.

Gen. Sg. *taumāyā*.

Loc. Sg. *Arbairiāyā*, *Aθurāyā*, *Çiçāyā*; perhaps *avastāyā*, *stūnāyā* (see §176); adj. *vazrakāyā* (unless gen. in some passages).

Nom. Pl. *stūnā*, *hamiçiyā*, *kartā*.

Acc. Pl. [*stūnā*] (restored only).

Gen. Pl. *paruzanānām*, *vispazanānām*.

Loc. Pl. *maškā^bwā*, *aniyā^bwā*.

§176. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE *-ā-* DECLENSION IN OP. Reference to the table of endings in §174 will show that OP faithfully represents the endings as they were in pAr., with a few slight modifications. The failure to write the minimal

final consonants brings to a uniform writing *-āyā* the inst., abl., gen., loc. cases of the singular. It is impossible to determine whether OP shared the LAv. split of the Aryan abl.-gen. *-āyās* into gen. **-āyās*, abl. **-āyāt* in imitation of the *-o-* stem abl. in *-āt*; in the absence of evidence we assume that OP abl. and gen. were identical, with *-āyā* from older *-āyās*. The OP loc. shared the general Aryan addition of *-ā*, but not the further Skt. addition of *-m*. The plural forms of OP also are quite regular, the gen. showing the Aryan remodeling after *-n-* stems, and the loc. the addition of *-ā* which occurs also in a few Avestan forms. There is the same ambiguity as to the phonetic value of *-ā^bhwā* in this declension that there is in the *-o-* stems (§172).

The fact that the pAr. loc. sg. of *-ā-* stems has the added *-ā* which passes to the loc. sg. of common nouns and adjectives of other stem-classes, and to the loc. pl., in OP, and to a smaller extent in Avestan, makes it likely that the *-ā-* stems are the starting point for this remodeling of the ending.

The puzzling form *stūnāyā* occurs only in the phrase *apadānam stūnāyā abagainām* 'palace stony . . . column'; as it occurs only in texts of Darius II and later, it may be a miswriting with omission of the final *a*, and stand for *stūnāyā*, inst. or loc. of specification (cf. the use of inst. *karšā* and loc. *karšayā* with a numeral, Lg. 19.227-9): 'palace stony as to column(s)', *stūnāyā* being singular in form but generic in meaning, and therefore to be taken as a collective.¹

§177. THE CASE-ENDINGS OF *-i-* AND *-ī-* STEMS IN PIE AND IN ARYAN: only those relevant to extant OP forms will be discussed.

I. The *-i-* stems had pIE nom. sg. *-i-s*, acc. *-i-m*, gen. *-ei-s* or *-oi-s* (with strong grade of the stem-vowel); these are represented by Skt. *agnīṣ agnīm agnēṣ* 'fire'. The loc. had the long diphthong, without case-suffix, *-ēi*; this became *-ē* in pIE, since long diphthongs in pIE regularly lost the semivowel when they were final: Skt. (Ved.) has *agnā*.¹

II. The *-ī-* stems had pIE nom. sg. *-ī*, acc. *-ī-m*,

¹ Hinz, ZDMG 95.250, takes as miswritten for *stūnāyam*, adj. modifying *apadānam*: 'Säulenhalle'.

§177.¹ Skt. *agnīu* is a new formation by influence of the *-u-* stem loc. *śatrā śatrāu* 'enemy', where both forms were still used.

abl.-gen. $-(i)i\bar{e}s$ or $-(i)i\bar{a}s$,² inst. $-(i)i\bar{a}$,³ loc. $-(i)i\bar{e}$ or $-(i)i\bar{a}$ ² (from the final long diphthong, as in \bar{i} -stems). The nom. pl. was pIE $-i-es$, giving $-i\bar{e}s$. These are represented by Skt. *devī devīm devyās devyā devyā-m* 'goddess' (with $-m$ attached to the loc., as in \bar{a} -stems), pl. *devyās = deviyas*.

III. The \bar{i} -stems were exclusively feminine, but the \bar{i} -stems included both masculines and feminines; both in Skt. and in Av. the fem. \bar{i} -stems optionally or regularly assumed the endings of \bar{i} -stems in the inst., dat., abl.-gen., loc. singular. Occasionally, also, the fem. \bar{i} -stems acquired a nom. sg. $-s$ from the \bar{i} -stems in Skt. and Av., giving nom. $-i\bar{s}$.

§178. CASE-FORMS OF \bar{i} - AND \bar{i} -STEMS IN OP:

I. Masc. \bar{i} -stems:

Nom. Sg.: *skauṭiṣ, paṣtiṣ, ṭarmiṣ, yāumainiṣ ayāu-(ma)iniṣ*; the personal names *Fravartīṣ, Dādarṣiṣ, Ciṣpiṣ*; the ethnic *Pātiṣuvariṣ*; perhaps the place-names *Arakadriṣ, Kāpiṣakāniṣ, Viṣ-[pa]uz[ā]tiṣ*.

Acc. Sg. *skauṭim, uṣabūrim, duwarṭim, Fravartim, Dādarṣim*.

Gen. Sg. *skauṭaiṣ, Fravartaiṣ, Ciṣpaiṣ, Ōāigarcaiṣ, Bāgayādaiṣ*; also *Ciṣpāiṣ, Ciciṣrāiṣ*.

II. Fem. \bar{i} -stems (some possibly \bar{i} -stems):

Nom. Sg.: *arṣ[ē]iṣ, ṣiyātiṣ, iṣtiṣ*, probably *dipi[ṣ]*.

Acc. Sg.: *ṣiyātim, bājim, dipim; paṭim* (to a heteroclitic stem).

Inst. Sg.: *[ni]p[ē]ṣ[ti]yā*.

Loc. Sg.: *d[ē]p[ē]yā*.

III. Fem. \bar{i} -stems:

Nom. Sg.: *Uvārazmiy Uvārazmiṣ, Baxtriṣ, Harauvatiṣ* (Skt. *sārasvatī*), *Sikalya[wa]tiṣ; āpiṣ* (in *āpiṣim = āpiṣ-ṣim*), BU 'earth' (ideogram only).

Acc. Sg.: *Harauwatim, būmim*, probably *yau[da]tim*.

Abl. Sg.: *Harawatiyā, Baxtriā, Uvārazmiyā*.

Loc. Sg.: *Harawatiyā, Baxtriā, āpi[y]ā, būmiyā*.

Nom. Pl.: *abagainiya*.

IV: Not included here:

Inst. Pl.: *abiṣ, araṣaniṣ*: see Lex. s.vv.

§179. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE \bar{i} - AND \bar{i} -DECLENSIONS IN OP.¹

I. The \bar{i} -stems and the \bar{i} -stems fell together in OP into one declensional paradigm, having nom. sg. $-i\bar{s}$, acc. $-im$, gen. $-aiṣ$, abl. $-iyā$ ² (= Skt. $-yās$), loc. $-iyā$ (= Skt. $-yā-m$), nom. pl. $-iyā$ ². The only survival of separate declensional forms is nom. *Uvārazmiy*, with original \bar{i} , replaced in later inscriptions by *Uvārazmiṣ*. There is the possibility that when nom. \bar{i} of \bar{i} -stems took the ending $-s$, the length of the vowel remained to distinguish the \bar{i} -stems from the \bar{i} -stems; and similarly the long vowel in acc. $-im$ may have remained. The OP system of writing leaves this ambiguous. But it is more likely that the new ending $-i\bar{s}$ and the old ending $-im$ became $-i\bar{s}$ and $-im$ in imitation of the corresponding forms of \bar{i} -stems.

II. It is true that in Aryan the abl. sg. and the gen. sg. of these stems have the same ending (so in all stems except \bar{o} -stems!), and here we find gen. $-aiṣ$, abl. $-iyā$. But all the OP genitives are of masculine words, and all the locatives are of feminines; and as we noted in §177.III, feminine \bar{i} -stems were likely to assume \bar{i} -stem endings in certain oblique cases of the singular. It is possible then that the feminines may in OP have diverged in some case-forms from the pattern of the masculine \bar{i} -stems, without in reality preserving a separate declensional type. Note that *būmiyā* seems to be loc. only; if the form occurred in a passage where the gen. were certainly required, this differentiation would seem to be established. Yet in \bar{i} -stems we find both endings in masc. ablatives.

III. It is not always possible to determine whether the feminine common nouns are \bar{i} -stems or \bar{i} -stems; etymological comparison is necessary. The short vowel seems assured in *arṣti*, Skt. *ṛṣṭi* 'spear'; *paṭim*, Skt. stem *paṭh-* in some case-forms; but it is only a probability in *ṣiyāti*, *iṣti*, *bāji*, *dipi*. The long vowel seems assured in *būmi* by Skt. Ved. nom. *bhūmī* (once only; against 12 occurrences of the new formation *bhūmīṣ*), and is certain in nom. pl. *abagainiya*, like Skt. *pāpās* to sg. fem. *pāpī* which is one fem. formation to *pāpās* 'evil'.

IV. The gen. $-aiṣ$ in *Ciṣpāiṣ* and *Ciciṣrāiṣ* is only graphic for $-aiṣ$ in words where the nom. and the gen. would be written alike: *aiṣ-aiṣ* = nom.

² Variation between \bar{i} - and \bar{i} - by Sievers' Law (cf. Edgerton, Lg. 10.235-65); differentiation between pIE \bar{i} and pIE \bar{a} cannot be made because of lack of adequate non-Aryan cognates. ³pAr. \bar{a} , cf. preceding note; probably pAr. \bar{a} extended from \bar{o} -stem instrumentals.

¹ Debrunner, IF 52.131-6; Kent, Lg. 19.221-4.

Cišpiš or gen. *Cišpaiš*; similarly *-riš** = *-riš* or *-raiš*.

V. In forms ending in *-iyā*, the *-i-* is probably syllabic and not merely graphic; for **Harahvatyā* would become **Harawašiyā* and not *Harawašiyā*, and **dīpyā* would become **dīfiyā* and not *dīpiyā*.² In the others the long preceding syllable would cause Sievers' Law to operate, changing *-yā* to *-iyā*.

§180. THE CASE-ENDINGS OF *-ū-* STEMS IN PIE AND IN ARYAN: again, only those relevant to extant OP forms will be discussed.

The *-ū-* stems had pIE nom. sg. *-u-s*, acc. *-u-m*, gen. *-eu-s* or *-ou-s* (with strong grade of the stem-vowel), seen in Skt. *śātrus śātrum śātroḥ* 'enemy', Av. *vəhuš vohūm vanhōuš* 'good'. The inst. sg. was the stem in *-ū-* + pAr. ending *-ā*; the *-ū-* remained vocalic if after a single consonant preceded by two consonants or by a single consonant after a long vowel or a diphthong, but became consonantal after a single consonant preceded by a short vowel. The loc. sg. ended in the strong grade or the lengthened grade of the stem vowel, *-eu* or *-ēu*, to which the postposition *-ā* was often added in Iranian: Skt. *śātrāu*, Av. *vəhāu*, also *ənhava* to *ənhuš* 'existence'. The nom.-acc. sg. nt. was the bare stem, and ended in *-u*: Skt. *mādhu* 'honey', GAv. *vohū* 'good' (all final vowels are long in GAv.). The gen. pl. was pIE *-(u)ōm*, but became *-ū-nām* in pAr. in imitation of the *-n-* stems; Av. has both endings in *vəhvəm* and *vohvəm*.

✓ §181. CASE-FORMS OF *-ū-* STEMS IN OP:

Nom. Sg. Masc.: *maguš*, *piruš*, *sikabruš*, adj. *wāmaršiyuš*; names of kings, *Dārayavauš*, *Kūruš*; place-names, *Abirāduš*, *Kudruš*, *Θa-guš*, *Bābiruš*, *Māruš*, *Marguš*, *Hirduš*.

Acc. Sg. Masc.: *magum*, *xraθum*, *gāθum*; *Dārayavaušum*; *Bābirum*, *Margum*; *visadahyūm*; perhaps *agurum*.

Inst. Sg.: *Ufrātuvā*.

Gen. Sg. Masc.: *Kūrauš*; *Dārayavahauš*, with neologisms *Dārayavaušahyā* *Dārayavašahyā*.

Abl. Sg. Masc.: *Bābirauš* *Bābiraw*, *Hidaw*, *gāθavā*.

Loc. Sg. Masc.: *Bābiraw*, *Margaw*, *gāθavā*.

Gen. Pl. Masc.: *parūnām* *parūvām*. Fem.: *parūnām*.

Nt. Nom. Sg.: *paruw*, *dāruw*.

Nt. Acc. Sg.: [*dār*]w.

For forms of *tanūš*, *dahyāuš*, *uzšnauš*, *nāuš*, see §183.

✓ §182. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE *-ū-* DECLENSION IN OP. The development of the endings from pIE and pAr. are quite perspicuous for the most part, and call for but few remarks.

I. The neologisms *Dārayavaušahyā* and *Dārayavašahyā* are mere attempts to build up genitives on the nom. as a stem, at a time when the endings had worn down and were not distinguished in speech; §57.

II. The loc. in *-aw* represents the short diphthong (unlike the long diphthong in Skt.), without case-suffix; and that in *-avā* is the regular phonetic development of *-au* + *-ā*.

III. The abl. *Bābirauš* is the gen., for in Aryan the same form functioned as gen. and as abl., except in the *-ō-* stems; the other ablatives are locative forms (cf. the fusion of loc. and abl. forms and functions in Latin).

IV. The gen. pl. has the regular Aryan *-nām* from *-n-* stems; it is to be observed that the masc. form of the adjective functions also as fem.

V. The nom.-acc. nt. sg. inherits the old ending; OP nom. *paruw* is the exact equivalent of Av. *pouru*, Skt. *purā*, Gk. *πολί*.

✓ §183. THE *-ū-* STEMS AND *u-* DIPHTHONG STEMS IN OP.

I. The only *-ū-* stem in OP is *tanū-* 'body, self', which is shown by Skt. and Av. *tanū-* to have the long vowel; its forms in OP are nom. *tanūš*, acc. *tanūm*, unless indeed it has *-ūš-ūm* by assimilation to the *-ū-* stems.

II. OP fem. *dahyau-* 'land, province' has in most case-forms the diphthong and not the zero-grade *-u-*, a peculiarity which in general it shares with the Avestan cognate. The diphthong is lengthened as a mark of the nom. sg.: OP *dahyāuš* (but Av. *daiōhuš*). This length is extended to the acc. sg. OP *dahyāum* and *dahyāum* (of which the prior is phonetically correct¹ and the second is an-

² The tendency in OP is to level toward changed forms of the stem-consonant, not back to the original sound; cf. Lex.s.vv. *gāθu-* *xraθu-*, *arašan-*.

¹ In pIE, diphthong before nasal in the same syllable automatically became vowel + consonantal semivowel, after which the nasal became vocalic: thus *-ēum* > *-ēym*, whence OP *-āvam*. But nom. *-ēus* remained and induced

alogical to the nom.,² Av. *daišhaom* graphic for *švam*); but as second element of a compound we find *-dahyūm* in *visadahyūm* (or *-dahyaum*, as *-yūm*³ is ambiguous), and in A³Pa 26 we have *DHyaum*⁴, which may be either *DHyaum* or *DHyūm* (Av. *dahyūm* is probably for *-yūm*). OP loc. *dahyanwā* is *dahyanw* like *Bābiraw*, with added *-ā*; but the diphthong is here kept before the added vowel (unlike *gāḥavā*). Nom. pl. *dahyāva* has the long diphthong extended from the nom. sg., and represents pAr. *-āvas* (so also Av. *daišhāvō*); this form was extended to serve as acc. pl. in OP (so also in Av.). OP gen. pl. *dahyūnām* and *dahyūnām* is a regular gen. pl. of *-u-* stems in Aryan (Av. *dahyūnām*). OP loc. pl. *dahyūšwā* is the *-u-* stem loc. pl. with ending *-su*, + the postposition *-ā*; whether phonetically *-ušwā* or *-ušwā* depends on whether the *u* of *-su* was consonantized before the added vowel, or retained by analogy.⁵

III. Nom. sg. *u[ṣṇa]uṣ* 'well satisfied' is formed with the case-suffix *s*, but no lengthening.

IV. Nom. pl. [*nāwa*] corresponds to Skt. *nāv-as*, Gk. *nḗ-es*, the regular nom. pl. of the diphthongal stem **nāu-* (pIE **nāu-es*).

§184. THE CASE-ENDINGS OF CONSONANT-STEMS IN PIE AND IN ARYAN. Again only part of the cases have extant forms in OP.

Nom. Sg. Masc. and Fem.: formed by adding *-s*, or by lengthening the last vowel of the stem, rarely by both together. After a lengthened vowel a final liquid or nasal was lost in pIE.¹

Acc. Sg. Masc. and Fem.: formed by adding *-m*, which here automatically became *-n*, since it stood after another consonant.

Nom.-Acc. Sg. Nt.: the bare stem, without suffix.

Gen. Sg.: pIE *-es* and *-os*,² Aryan *-as*.

Loc. Sg.: the bare stem, in the strong grade if hav-

ing ablaut variation; or the same + case-ending *-i*.
Inst. Sg.: formed by adding (Aryan) *-ā*, from pIE *-ē* or *-ō*.
Inst. Pl.: formed by adding *-bhis*, Aryan *-bhiš*.
It is to be noted that in Aryan, when a word ended in two or more consonants, the final consonant or consonants fell off until only one was left; thus pIE nom. **nepōt-s* 'grandson', Lt. *nepōs*, became pAr. **napāt*, Skt. *nápāt*.
✓ §185. THE *-s-* STEM IN OP: of these there are several varieties.
I. The neuter formation with suffix *-os* in nom.-acc. sg., *-es-* in other forms: type Lt. *gen-us gener-is*, Gk. *gén-es gén-e-os*, Skt. *ján-as ján-as-as*. OP has nom. *rautaš* 'river', Skt. *srótas*; nom.-acc. *raucaš* 'day', Av. *raocō* 'light', Skt. *rócas* 'light'; acc. *drayaš* 'sea' (and *draiyaš*, §18), Av. *erayō*, Skt. *jráyas*; acc. *manaš-cā* (§105), Av. *manō*, Skt. *mánas*; acc. *zūraš* 'evil', Av. *zürō*; acc. *miḍaš* 'evil'. Inst. *manahā*, Skt. *mánasā*. Loc. *drayahy-ā* (with added *-ā*; also written *drayahiyā*, but whether the *-i-* is syllabic cannot be determined), Skt. *jráyasi*, cf. Av. *manahi-cā*. Inst. pl. *raucabiš*, probably for **raucašbiš*, cf. Av. *manōbiš*, Skt. *mánobhis*: the *-h* from *-s* in certain sandhi positions here transferred to the medial position before the consonant of the case-suffix, and then voiced before the voiced consonant and lost with the same products as when final in the respective languages.
II. When a nt. *-es-/os-* stem forms the second element of a compound, whether adjectival or a man's name, the nom. sg. has *-ēs*, the other cases have *-es-*: Gk. *δυσμενής, διωγμένος το μένος, γένος*. This *-ēs* became Ar. *-ās -āh*, OP *-āš*: *Vi-da-farnāš*, cf. Av. *x³arəno* 'royal splendor', pIE **syehnos*; *Aspacanāš*, cf. Skt. *cánas* 'delight'.
III. Apparently there was also a nt. suffix *-os-*, not varying within the paradigm nor in the corresponding masc. formation: type Skt. *kravīš* 'raw flesh', Gk. *κρέας*. OP nom.-acc. *hadiš* from **sed-os*, cf. Gk. *έδος* from **sed-os*; acc. *abicarīš* 'pastureland', see Lex. s.v. In names, *Haxā-maniš*, *Ardu-maniš*, perhaps *I-maniš*; late gen. *Haxāmaniš-ahyā* adds the gen. ending of *-o-* stems to the nom. as stem.¹
1 If we could accept *Haxāmanišahyā* at face-value, we could be quite sure that these three names are *-s-* stems and not *-i-* stems with nom. *-š*, as some have supposed;

OP acc. *-ūm* (which indeed might have come down from pIE in the position before an initial vowel). An alternative development of a long diphthong before final *m* in pIE was the loss of the semivowel of the diphthong; there are no examples in OP. ² Cf. pIE nom. **nāus*, acc. **nāyūm* 'ship': Skt. *nāus*, *nāyam*; Gk. Hom. *νῆς νῆα*, Att. *ναῦς ναῦν*. ³ For further speculations on the declension of *dahyāuš*, see Bv. Gr. §287.
§184.¹ The liquid or nasal was restored in the nom. in some IE branches, by the influence of the stem in the oblique cases: thus Skt. *pitā* 'father', but Gk. *πατήρ*, Lt. *pater*; Skt. *tāksā* 'carpenter', but Gk. *τέκτων*. ² *-es* as in Lt. *ped-is*, *-os* as in Gk. *ποδ-ός*.

IV. The remaining *-s-* stems of OP are *nāh-* 'nose', *lawīyah-* 'stronger', *A^huramazdāh-* 'Ahura mazda', and possibly *māh-* 'month'.

OP acc. *nāh-am*, Skt. *nāsam*, has the ending *-m* generalized in its antevocalic value, assisted by the *-am* of *-o-* stems. OP nom. sg. masc. *lawīyā^h* has the comparative suffix in the long-vowel form, pIE *-iōs*, pAr. *-iās*; Av. *spanyā* 'holier' has the same suffix and case-formation, while Skt. *sthāvī-yān* 'stronger' stands for *-yāns*, with an intrusive *-n*² and loss of the final consonant of the cluster, but a stem-formation closer to that of OP *lawīyā* (on *-aur-*, §48). OP *māhyā* probably does not belong here as loc. **māhi-* + *-ā*, cf. Skt. loc. *māst*, but is rather gen. sg. **māhahyā* to *māha-*, Skt. *māsa-*, with reduction of *-āhah-* (§131).

OP nom. *Auramazdā^h* ends in pIE **dhēs*, an *-s-* formation to a long-vowel root which in this formation shows no ablaut variation (cf. Lt. *flōs* 'flūr-is' and other monosyllables); a nom. *-s* added to *-dhēs-*, pAr. *-dhās-*, produces no change, since the *-ss* is shortened automatically to *-s*. Acc. *Auramazdām* instead of **dāham* shows that the form was transferred to the *-ā-* stems.³ Gen. *Auramazdāha^h* is regular for the stem in *-dāh-*, as is also the unique *Aurahya Mazdāha^h* declined in both parts;⁴ gen. *Auramazdāha^h* has *-āha^h* by influence of gen. *-āyā^h* of *-ā-* stems, since the nom. *-dā*, acc. *-dīm* already agreed with the nom. *-ā*, acc. *-ām* of *-ā-* stems.⁵ Gen. *Auramazdāhā* is an error of writing which is to be classed with gen. pl. *xšāyabī-yūnām* 'of kings', for *-ānām* (§52.III).

but *Hazāmanīšahyā* stands in the much miswritten Ariaramnes inscription, and may replace a gen. in **manaiš* as *Dārayavauš-ahyā* (in inscriptions of Artaxerxes I and II) replaces the old gen. *Dārayavahauš*. However, the derivative *Hazāmanīš-īya* 'Achaemenian' seems to justify us in regarding the *-š-* as belonging to the stem.⁶ This *-n-* may come from the perf. ptc. nom. Skt. *vidān*, pIE *-yōs* as in Gk. *εἰς(ε)ῶς* 'knowing'; and in the perf. ptc. of Skt. it seems to have come from the *-nt-* of the pres. ptc.⁷ Cf. similar phenomena in the declension of *Xšayāršan-*, §187. Pisani, Riv. Stud. Or. 19.81-2, argues that *Auramazdā* is by origin a root-noun in *-ā-*, with analogical gen. to avoid identity of nom. and gen., but this is very improbable.⁸ The divine name is always declined in both parts in the Avesta; in the *Gāthās* other words commonly intervene between its two parts, and in the Later Avesta *mazdā ahurō* is more frequent than *ahurō mazdā*.⁹ This rather indicates that *-h* was lost in OP after *ā*, and remained only after *ā*; §40.

✓ §186. THE *-r-* STEMS IN OP: these fall into two groups.

I. Agency nouns with suffixes pIE *-tor-* and *-ter-*, showing ablaut variation in the declension; the nom. sg. has the long vowel, which is commonly extended to some or all of the other case-forms: Lt. *dator*, gen. *datōr-is* (*ō* throughout); Gk. *δῶτωρ δῶτορ-ος* (*ō* only in nom. sg.), *δοτήρ δοτήρ-ος*, *δοτήρ δωτήρ-ος* (*ē* throughout except in voc. sg. *δῶτρε*); Skt. *dātā*, acc. *dātāram*, dat. *dātṛé*, loc. *dātāri*, etc. OP has nom. sg. *ja^htā* 'slayer', Av. *janta*, Skt. *hantā*; *dauštā* 'friend'. OP acc. *framātāram* 'lord', with extension of the long vowel of the nom., and the antevocalic value of the acc. ending (§67.II).

II. Words of relationship had suffix *-ter-*, nom. *-tē* or restored *-tēr*, other cases *-ter-* or *-tr-*. OP has nom. *pitā* 'father', Skt. *pitā*, Gk. *πατήρ*, Lt. *pater*; also in cpd. *hama-pitā* 'having the same father'. OP nom. *mātā* 'mother' in *hamātā* 'having the same mother', Skt. *mātā*, Gk. (Dor.) *μᾶτηρ*, Lt. *māter*. OP nom. *brātā* 'brother', Skt. *bhrātā*, Gk. *φράτηρ* 'clan-brother', Lt. *frāter*.¹ OP gen. *piçā^h*, Gk. *πατρός*, Lt. *patris*, from **pōtr-ος* or *-es*, unlike Skt. *pitṛs* from **pōtr̥s*.

✓ §187. THE *-n-* STEMS IN OP: these also fall into several groups.

Those with suffixes (Aryan) *-man-* *-van-* *-an-* (pIE vowel *-e-* or *-o-*) had nom. in *-mā* *-vā* *-ā*: OP *taumā* 'power', stem *tauman-*; *artāvā* 'blessed', GAv. *ašavā*, LAv. *ašava*, Skt. *ṛtāvā*, cf. GAv. acc. *ašavanəm*; *asā* 'stone', cf. LAv. *asənga-* in cpds., OP *aša^hga* 'stone'; *xšaçapāvā* 'kingdom-protecting, satrap', with stem *-pāvan-* as in Skt. (Ved.) *tanū-pāvan-* 'person-protecting'. Acc. with extension of the long vowel, in OP *asmānam* 'sky', cf. acc. Lith. *akmenī* 'stone' and Gk. *ἀκμῶνα* 'anvil' with *-mēn-* and *-mōn-* respectively. It is uncertain whether acc. *həzānam* (for *hizānam*) is an *-an-* stem with the long vowel, or an *-āna-* stem; at any rate it is an extension of the stem seen in Av. *hizvā-* (see Lex. s.v. *hazāna-*). Neuters with suffix *-men-* have nom.-acc. in the zero-grade *-mē^h*, acc. OP *nūmā*, Skt. *nāma*, Lt. *nōmen*, from **nōmē^h*.

¹ OP *hamapitā* and *hamātā* do not distinguish, and cannot distinguish, between the two vocalisms seen in Gk. *δομᾶτήρ* and *δομᾶτῶρ*; but the *-ōr* forms are those proper in original compounds.

§187.¹ OP *c^hsm^h* is not to be read *cašma* as a neut. *-n-*

The stem *Xšayāršan*-² has the regular nom. *Xšayāršā*, but the other cases are remodeled to the type of *Auramazdā*, acc. *-dām*, gen. *-dāha* (§185.IV): acc. *Xšayāršām*, gen. [*Xšayār*]šāha, with late genitives *Xšayāršahyā* (§57) and *Xšayāršahyā* (A²He), with the medial *-ā-* of the other cases. On forms of *Artaxšaça*, see §172.

Of the other forms, OP *baršnā* is inst. sg. to stem *baršan-*, cf. Av. inst. *barəšna* to *barəzan-*, Skt. *rājñā* to *rājan-* 'king'. OP *nāma* is probably a suffixless loc. *nāma*. Inst. pl. *taumaniš* and *arašaniš* are analogical for *-abiš*, since the paradigm would have been nom. *-anaš*, gen. *-anām*, inst. *-abiš* (from *-ṇ-bhis*).³

OP nom. *manawiš* is probably for **manas-vi*, nom. to *-vin-* (cf. Skt. nom. *batī* to stem *baltn-* 'strong'), with added nom. *-s*.⁴

§188. THE STEMS IN STOPS, IN OP: these include stems ending in *t* (*napāt-* 'grandson'), *nt* (**tunvant-* 'strong'), *d* (*θard-* 'year', *pad-* 'foot', *rūd-* 'cause'), *p* (*zšap-* 'night'), *ap-* 'water' cf. *āpī-*) *k* (*viθ-* 'house', *vas-* 'will').

I. Nom. *napā* = *napā*, Skt. *nāpāt*, from pIE **nepōt-s* with Aryan loss of last consonant of the final cluster; or = *napāš* from a remade Iranian **napās* seen in Av. *napāš*.

II. Nom. *tunwā* = **tunwān* with pIE *-ōnt* (long vowel nom.) as in Gk. *φέρων* 'bearing', or the same + nom. *-s* as in Av. *has* 'being' from Iran. **hānt-s*, cf. Skt. nom. *sān* from **sant-s*, pIE **s-ent-s*. Acc. *tunwadam* = **tunvantam*, with the regular acc. *-am* from *-ṇ* (§67.II). Gen. *tunwatakyā* = **tunvantakyā*, with transfer to *-o-* stem ending, and retention of the *-ant-* of the suffix as in Av. gsm. *fšuyantō* 'cattle-raising', despite Av. *hatō* = Skt. *sat-ās*, pIE gsm. **sntās* (or **sntós*) 'being' with strong grade in nsm. **sent-s*.

III. Acc. *θardam*, gen. *θarda*, gen. *xšapa*, loc. *rādyi*, *-padyi* in *nī-padyi*, *vasiy* (but cf. Lex. s.v.) have the regular pIE endings of their cases: acc. *-ṇ*; gen. *-es* or *-os*; loc. *-i*, without added *-ā* because the forms function as preposition, phrasal adverb, adverb respectively.

stem, because of the final short vowel (§36.III), but is *cašam*, acc. nt. of an *-a-* stem. ² Bv. Gr. §290 takes as stem *Xšayāršāh-* because of the gen. *-āha*, the second element being *arša-* 'just' made into an (Ar.) *-ās-* stem; the objection to this is that *-ās-* stems are hardly made upon *-ā* stems. Cf. also §162 note. ³ Lg. 15.175-6; for other interpretations of these two forms, see Lex. s.vv. ⁴ Lg. 15.170.

IV. Acc. *viθam*, inst. *viθā*, loc. *viθiyā*, to stem *viθ-* from pIE **uik-*, also have the regular endings: acc. *-ṇ*, inst. *-ē* or *-ō*, loc. *-i*, here with added *-ā* because *viθiyā* is a true locative in use.

V. Inst. pl. *viθiš* and *abiš* show the regular *-bhis* seen in Skt. *-bhis*, Av. *-biš*; *-θb-* as a cluster remains by the influence of the separate stem and ending (we expect *-db-* from *-k-bh-*), and the *-b-* of *abiš* is for *-bbh-* from *-p-bh-*.

§189. THE DUAL CASE-FORMS OF OP: nom. *ubā* 'both', *ušiy* 'two ears, understanding'; acc. *gaušū* 'two ears', [*uš*]i-cā; inst. *dastaihiyā* 'with two hands', *pādaibiyā* 'with two feet', *ušibiya*, *ušiyā*, *gaušāyā*.¹ These are masculines, except *ušiy*, which is neuter.²

The nom.-acc. of *-o-* stems ended in pIE *-ō* or *-ōu*, seen in Skt. *ubhā ubhāu*, Lt. *am-bō*, OP *ubā*, *gaušā*. That of neuter *-i-* stems ended in *-i*, seen in Skt. Ved. dual *tri* 'three', Lt. *tri-gintā* 'three tens', and this *-i* was transferred in Aryan to consonant-stems, as in Skt. *mānas-i*, dual to *mānas-* 'mind'; thus *ušiy* is the proper form whether the stem is *uš-* or *uši-*, a point which cannot be determined.

The inst. *dastaihiyā* and *pādaibiyā* have the stems *dasta-* and *pāda-*, with the pronominal plural element *-i*, plus the inst. ending *-bhi* + *-ā*, as in Av. dat. du. *asparibya* 'two horses' = **aspaibiyā*: the dat., inst., loc. are identical in the dual, in Aryan languages. Skt. has in this form *āsvābhyām*, with *-bhyā* (as in Iranian) added to the dual in *-ā* as a stem, and a final *-m* attached; OP *ušibiya* is the same formation to *ušiy*, cf. Skt. *akṣibhyām* to *akṣi* 'two eyes'. OP *ušiyā* seems to be an inst. dual (it has the same use and meaning as *ušibiya*) formed on the dual stem with the inst. sg. ending *-i*; *gaušāyā* is a like formation to *gaušā*. The *i* before the *-ā* in *ušiyā* is responsible for the glide *-y-*, which has spread to *gaušāyā* as a vowel-separator; the prior *ā* in *gaušāyā* indicates that the *-i-* in *ušiyā* also is long.³

§190. ADJECTIVES IN OP have all their customary uses and forms. For those which are cardinal and ordinal numerals, see §204; for the semi-

¹ Nom. *hamciyā* DB 2.93 is predicate to two singular masculine nouns, but is more probably plural than dual; cf. §259. ² The form *karšū* does not belong here, nor probably *artā-cā brazmani* (if so normalized) nor *taumanišaiy*; on these words see the Lexicon s.vv. ³ On these forms, cf. Kent. Lg. 19.225.

pronominal *aniya-*, *harwa-*, *hama-*, §203; for the demonstrative and determinative adjectives, which function also as pronouns, §199, §200, §202; for the relative, §198; for those which are participles, §239-244.

I. Adjectives are found in all classes of stems, and the history of their case-forms has been included with that of the substantives. The commonest type of adjectival stems ends in *-o-* for masc. and nt., with *-ā-* for the fem.: nom. PIE *-os -om -ā* = OP *-aš -am -ā* (§169-§176). The *-i-* stems are *skauθ-iš -im -aiš*, *yāumainiš ayāu(ma)iniš*, *ušabārim*; the *-ī-* stems are acc. sg. *yau[datim]*, probably *yau[da'tim]*, to masc. *yaudant-*, and nom. pl. *abagāiniya* to masc. *abagāina-* (§§177-9]. The *-ū-* stems are *paru-* (nt. *parw*, gen. pl. *parānām*), nom. sg. masc. *wāmaršiyu-š* and *u[ṣṣna]u-š*, acc. sg. masc. *visadāhyu-m* (§§180-3). The consonantal stems are *artāwan-*, *mana^hwīn-*, *tauiyāh-*, *hamapitar-*, *hamātar-*, *tunwa^ht-*, all in nom. sg. masc.: *artāvā*, *manawīš*, *tauiyā*, *hamapitā*, *tunwā* with acc. sg. *tunwa^htam* and gen. sg. *tunwa^htahyā* of *-o-* stem formation (§§184-8).

II. The oldest comparison of adjectives was by the suffixes *-jes-/jos-* for the comparative, *-isto-* for the superlative; both added to the root rather than to the stem of the adjective in the positive degree. There are these examples in OP:

Comp. nsm. *tauiyā* with *-ījōs* (§48 for *-aw-*), to a positive **tau-ma* 'strong'; cf. Skt. nsm. *sthāviyān* to positive *sthū-rā*.

Comp. stem *vah-yas-* in *Vahyaz-dāta-* (for *z*, see §120), to positive *va^h-u-* 'good', Skt. *vāsu-*, cf. Lex. s.v. *va^h-u-*.

Superl. nsm. *mabīšta* 'greatest', asm. *mabīštām* with *-isto-*; cf. Av. *masista*, Gk. Dor. *μάκιστος* to *μάκρως*.

Superl. asn. *duvaiš[ta]m* as adv. 'for a very long time', Skt. *dāviṣṭha-* 'farthest', superl. to OP Av. Skt. *dūra-* 'far'.

III. Secondary comparison, that is, comparison by suffixes attached to the stem of the adjective as seen in the positive degree, was made in Aryan by the use of *-lara-* and *-lama-*, cf. Gk. *-τέρος -ταρος*, Lt. *ex-terus* and *ex-timus*. The comparative is seen in OP *fratarā-* and adv. *apatarām*, the superlative in *fratama-*. Nt. comp. *frabaram* has an alternative suffix with aspirated stop, seen in the Skt. superlative *prathamā-*. A simpler form of the

comparative suffix is that in Aryan *-ra-* (PIE *-ro-*), seen in *apara-*, formed upon the local adverb OP *apa-*.

IV. Adjectives were used in OP not merely as attributive and predicate adjectives, but also as substantives: thus *skauθiš* 'lowly', as a masc. sg., means 'person of lowly station'. In certain case-forms they function as adverbs (§191).

§191. THE ADVERBS OF OP will be listed here, except the conjunctions (coordinating, §291; subordinating, §§293-9) and the prepositions and verbal prefixes, with the inseparable prefixes (§268-§271), which are elsewhere adequately discussed; further information may be sought in the Lexicon. These adverbs are by meaning local, temporal, modal, and serial, as in other languages; we group them here according to their formation:

I. Old Adverbs:

Negative: *naiy*, *mā* (§292).

Ending in *-i-*: *apiy* (also enclitic), *upariy*, *-diy*, *patiy* (also enclitic).

II. Adverbs having special adverbial endings:

In modal (pAr.) **-thā-*: *avādā* (cf. conj. *yabā*), [*parw*]*yabā*, *an[iya]bā*.

In abl. (PIE) **-tos-*: *amala*, *parwiyata*, *fravata*.

In loc. (PIE) **-ta-*: *ciā* (cf. conj. *yātā*).

In loc. (PIE) **-dhe-*: *ada-*, *avādā*, *idā*, [*harwadā*], *dūrādā*.

In abl. (OP) *-ša-*: *avadaša*, *dūradaša*, perhaps *avabāša-*.

III. Case-forms as adverbs:

Acc. Nt.: *apatarām*, *aparam*, *ciṭiyām*, *dargam*, *ragam*, *daršam*, *duwaištām*, *nūram*, *paranam*, *parwām*, *duwīyām*, *-ciy*, perhaps *hama* (DB 4.90); compounds *duwītā-paranam* (first part instr.), *fra-haravām* (first part adv.), *ha-karam* (first part insep. numeral), *hyāparam* (abl. *hyā* + *aparam*); cf. conj. *yad-iy*.

Inst.: *azdā*, *kā*, *ci[nā]*; dubious *avā* (see Lex. s.v.); cf. *duwītā-* above.

Abl.: probably *hyā* (cf. *hyāparam*, above).

Loc.: *ašnaiy*, *dūraiyy*, *vasiy*, *-kaiyy*; cf. conj. *yaniiy*.

IV. Phrasal Adverbs, of prep. + acc. or loc., and of acc. or gen. + postpos.:

abiy-aparam (written *abiyapara*), *pati-padām*, *para-draya* (also as two words), *pasāva* (from **pasā* *ava*), *ni-padiy*.

ava-parā, *avahya-rādiy*; cf. conj. *yad-ā*.

§192. THE PRONOUNS OF OP are the following, which will be discussed in the order in which they are here listed:

- (a) Personal pronouns: *adam* 'I', *tuwam* 'thou'.
- (b) Enclitic pronouns of the third person: *ši-*, *di-*.
- (c) Nom. pronoun of the third person: *haw*.
- (d) Survivals of the pIE relative **jo-*.
- (e) The OP relative and article *hya hyā tya*.
- (f) The demonstrative *iyam ima* and its suppletions.
- (g) The demonstrative *awa-* 'that'.
- (h) The interrogative-indefinite pIE **q^o-* **qⁱ-*.
- (i) Demonstrative *ala-* 'this'.
- (j) Demonstrative *ama-* 'that', only in adv. *amata* 'from there'; see Lex. s.v.
- (k) Reflexive **uwa-*, pronoun and possessive adjective of the third person, only in compounds; see Lex. s.v. *uwa-*.
- (l) Semi-pronominal adjectives: *aniya-* 'other', *haruwa-* 'all', *hama-* 'one and the same'.

§193. THE FIRST PERSONAL PRONOUN.

I. Nom. sg. *adam*, Av. *ažam*, is pIE **eǵhom* or **eǵom*; it cannot be determined whether the Iranian forms agree with Skt. *ahám* in having *ǵh* by influence of the dat. **meghi* (Skt. *māhy-am*, Lt. *mih*), or this extension of the aspirate was limited to Indic, and the Iranian preserved the unaspirated pIE *ǵ* and thus agreed with Lt. *ego*, Gk. *ἐγώ*.

II. Acc. sg. *mām* agrees with Skt. *mām*, in having the acc. ending *-m* of nouns added to the pIE **mē*, which was the accented form: enclitic acc. *-mā* is probably the same without the *-m*, since Skt. has *mā* as an enclitic (although OP *-mā*, Av. *mā* might be for pIE encl. **mē*, Gk. *με*, because OP writes final *ā* as long, and Av. writes all final vowels long in monosyllables).

III. Gen. sg. *manā*, before enclitics sometimes *mand-*, is for pAr. **mana*, Av. *mana*, cf. Skt. *māna* with consonantal assimilation: the case-suffix *-na*, which appears in a number of non-Indo-Iranian languages, is of uncertain origin, but possibly was transferred from the instrumental (OP *tyanā*; Skt. *kāmena*, instr. to *kāma-* 'desire'). Enclitic gen. *-mai*y (written *-ma* in A²Ša, §52.I) is for pIE **moi*, encl. gen.-dat. in GAv. *mōi*, Skt. *me*, Gk. dat. *μοι*.

IV. Encl. abl. *-ma* is for pIE **med*, Av. *maš*, Skt. *mat*, cf. accented pIE **mēd* in oLt. *mēd*, cLt. *mē*.

V. Nom. pl. *vayam* is pIE **uei* + *-om* from

other pronouns such as *adam*, *tuwam*; Skt. *vayám*, Av. *vaēm*, cf. Gothic *wei-s* with pluralizing *-s*.

VI. Gen. pl. *amāzam* corresponds to Av. *ahmākəm*, Skt. *asmākam*, nt. adj. in genitive function, from the stem seen in Skt. instr. *asmābhīḥ*, loc. *asmāsu*. The source of the aspiration which gives *-x-* in OP is unknown.

§194. THE SECOND PERSONAL PRONOUN.

I. Nom. sg. *tuwam* is the same as Skt. *tuwām*, from pIE **tū* + *-om* (spreading from 1st person *adam*, etc.): *tuwa* without *-m*, §52.V.

II. Acc. Sg. *θuwām* is the same as Skt. *tvām*, from pIE **tue* + acc. *-m* of nouns (cf. *mām* 'me').

III. Gen. encl. *-tai*y is the same as Skt. gen.-dat. *te*, pIE **toi*; *-tay*, §52.II.

§195. THE ENCLITIC PRONOUNS OF THE THIRD PERSON.

I. Acc. *-šim* is the acc. of pIE **st-*, in the pAr. sandhi-form with *š* after final *-i* and *-u* (§117); Skt. *sīm* has the long vowel; Av. *hīm* has pAr. *h* which is regular initial antevocalic, but the long vowel is not significant because *i* is in Av. often written long before final *-m*.¹ To *-šim*, the gen.-dat. *-šai*y was formed by analogy to 1st person *-mai*y, 2d person *-tai*y. The abl. *-ša'* was used only as a suffix to ablatival adverbs; in form it is analogical to 1st person *-ma'*, Av. *maš*, Skt. *māt*, and to 2d person Av. *θwaš*, Skt. *tvāt*; but in DB 1.50 *-šim* functions as ablative. Pl. acc. *-šiš* (Av. *hiš*) and gen. *-šām* were formed by analogy, though *-šim* was used also to refer to a plural antecedent.

II. Acc. *-dim* (Av. *dim*), not differentiated in function from *-šim*, seems to have originated by wrong division in such combinations as *pasāwad-im* (cf. DNa 33, where we divide it *pasāva-dim*), in which *-im* was acc. to **is*, Lt. *is* 'this, he'. Acc. pl. *-diš* (Av. *diš*) is formed by analogy to *-šiš*, and is sometimes written as a separate word (DB 4.34, 35, 36); for a misread acc. pl. *dai*y (DB 5.11), see Lex. s.v. *dai*y.

III. *-šiš* and *-diš* are the only OP acc. pl. forms with endings distinctive of the case; all other OP acc. pl. forms are identical with the nom. pl., either by phonetic development or by analogy.

¹ The source of pIE **st-* is not clear. Perhaps it is a conflux of pIE nsm. **so*, nsf. **sā* (Skt. *sā-s* *sā*, Gk. *ὁ ἡ*) and pIE nsm. **i-s*, nsf. **i* (Lt. nsm. *is*; Skt. nsf. *iyām* from **i* + *-om*), asm. **i-m*, asf. **i-m*. In this way even the variation in vowel length is accounted for.

The form *-šiš*, upon which *-diš* was made by analogy, must be older than the coalescence of the two sets of forms, and have received its *-š* from pIE *-ns* of the acc. pl., reduced to *-s* in pIE after long vowels, as in Skt. acc. pl. *sénās* 'armies', *devīṣ* 'goddesses', *vadhūṣ* 'women', cf. GAv. encl. acc. pl. masc. *iš* to stem *i-*. We cannot be certain therefore that *-šiš* and *-diš* had a short rather than a long vowel. The reason for the preservation of these distinctive forms is that these stems had no regular nominative forms which could be transformed by analogy to accusative function.

§196. THE THIRD PERSONAL PRONOUN *haw*, functioning also as an adjective, is from pIE **so* + particle **u*; see also Lex. s.v. This **so* is the nsm. of the pIE demonstrative **so *sā *tod*, seen in Av. *hō hā taṭ*, Skt. *sā-s sā tād*, Gk. *ὁ ἡ τό*. OP *haw* serves both as nsm. (from **so-u*) and as nsf. (from **sā-u*) (§131); before an enclitic pronoun it is written either *haw-* or *haw-* (§137). The form *haw-ram* (DB 1.29) is *haw* + *-am* from *adam*, *tam*, etc., retaining the *-v* after the model of the separate *haw*.

The same pIE demonstrative appears probably in the enclitic apm. *-tā* in *awabāša-tā* (DB 4.72; see Lex. s.v. *-ta-*), and as the prior element in *hya hyā tya* (§198).

§197. THE PIE RELATIVE PRONOUN **jo-* survives in OP as the second element of *hya hyā tya* (§198); in the nom.-acc. nt. *yaciṯ* 'whatever' from **iōd-q'id*; and in the subordinating conjunctions *yātā*, *yabā*, *yadā*, *yaliy*, *yaniy*, *yāvā*, the formation of which is given in the Lex. s.vv.

§198. THE OP RELATIVE AND ARTICLE *hya hyā tya* is for earlier **syas syā tyād*, an amalgamation of the demonstrative **sa sā tad* (pIE **so sā tod*) with the relative **ias iā iad* (pIE **ios iā iōd*); its equivalent is not found in Avestan. The demonstrative *syā-s syā tyād* of Vedic Skt., though phonetically identical, differs in meaning and seems to be an *-(i)ios* extension of the old demonstrative, which has assumed the paradigmatic endings of the demonstrative itself (Lg. 20.1-6).

The forms extant in OP are the following:

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Sg. Nom.	<i>hya</i>	<i>hyā</i>	<i>tya</i>
Acc.	<i>tyam</i>	<i>tyām</i>	<i>tya</i>
Inst.			<i>tyanā</i>

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Du. Nom.	<i>tyā</i>		
Pl. Nom.	<i>tyaiy tyai-</i>	<i>tyā tyaiy</i>	<i>tyā</i>
Acc.	<i>tyaiy</i>	<i>tyā</i>	<i>tyā</i>
Gen.		<i>tyaišām</i>	

The nom. sg. of the relative in pIE, as given above, is represented in the nom. sg. *hya^b hyā tya^d*. Other forms follow the usual *-o/-ā-* declension, except the following: inst. *tyanā* has the ending *-na* seen in Skt. *yéna*, Av. *kana* (to Av. *ka-* 'who?'); nom. pl. *tyaiy* has pronom. pl. *-i*, like Skt. *yé*, from pIE **joi*, and this form, properly masc. nom., may function also as masc. acc. and as fem. nom. (alongside the regular fem. nom. *tyā*, Skt. *yās*); gen. pl. *tyaišām* has plural *-i* + pronominal gen. pl. *-šām*, cf. Skt. *yéšām*, and is used for the fem. as well as for the masc. (no extant masc. example).

While the stem with original initial *s* was originally limited to the nom. sg. masc. and fem., there is an occasional extension of the *s-* to other forms. In OP we have the absn. *hyā*, from pAr. **šāād*, as adverb in *hyā duiāštām* and in *hyāparam*.

§199. THE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN 'THIS' was in OP a combination of two stems, each in two forms: *i-* and *ima-*, *a-* and *ahyā-*: their developments are described below. The extant forms are:

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Sg. Nom.	<i>iyam</i>	<i>iyam</i>	<i>ima</i>
Acc.	<i>imam</i>	<i>imām</i>	<i>ima</i>
Inst.	<i>anā</i>		
Loc.		<i>ahyāyā</i>	
Pl. Nom.	<i>imaiy</i>	<i>imā</i>	
Acc.	<i>imaiy</i>	<i>imū</i>	<i>imā</i>
Inst.			<i>imaihiš</i>
Gen.	<i>imuišām</i>		

The stem **i-* is that seen in Latin *is*, nt. *id*, pIE nsm. **is*, nt. **id*; the nsf. was presumably **i*, which, with the addition of (Ar.) *-am* from other pronouns, gives Skt. nsf. *iyām*, OP nsf. *iyam*, used also as masc. The asm. was pIE **im*, which, with the same affix, is Skt. *imām*, OP *imam*, Av. *iməm*; from this a stem *ima-* was extracted, declined according to the pronominal endings: nt. **imad*, OP *ima*, Av. *imaṭ*; npm. **imai*, OP *imaiy*, Av. *ime*. Other forms from this stem are regular in case-formation, but in Skt. and Av. they are limited to

the nom. and acc. cases; in OP the plural *-i* is kept before the case-ending in the inst. and gen.

From the gsm. **ahya* (Skt. *asyā*, GAv. *ahyā*, LAv. *ahē*), not found in extant OP, a stem *ahya-* was extracted in OP, to which a fem. stem *ahyā-* was formed, with a lsf. *ahyāyā*, sometimes also *ahiyāyā* (§27). The stem *a-*, on which **ahya* was formed, is pIE **e-*, seen in Lt. nt. **ed* in *ec-ce* 'lo'; on it also is formed the ism. OP *anā*, GAv. *anā*, with the inst. ending *-na* seen in *tyanā*.

§200. THE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN 'THAT' was in OP *ava-*, found also in Av. (Skt. only gen. du. *avōṣ*). The extant OP forms are:

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Sg. Nom.	<i>ava</i>		<i>ava avaš-ciṣ</i>
Acc.	<i>avam</i>	<i>avām</i>	<i>ava avaš-ciṣ</i>
Inst.			<i>avanā</i>
Abl.	<i>avanā</i>		<i>avanā</i>
Gen.	<i>avahyā</i>		
Pl. Nom.	<i>avaiy</i>	<i>a[vā]</i>	<i>avā</i>
Acc.	<i>avaiy</i>		
Gen.	<i>avaišām</i>		

The nt. *ava* is for **avad*, with pron. *-d*; *avaš-ciṣ* is a sandhi-product (§105). Isn. *avanā* has inst. *-na*, like *tyanā* and *anā*. Abl. *avanā* is for **avasmād*, with the regular pronominal ending of the abl., as in Av. *ahmā*, Skt. *asmāt*, to stem *a-*; whence OP **avasmād*, remade to *avanā* after inst. *avanā*. The remaining forms show no new peculiarities.

The adverbs from this stem are *avabā*, *avadā*, *ava-parā*, *avahya-rādhī*, *pasāva* (from **pasāva*).

§201. THE INTERROGATIVE-INDEFINITE pIE **q^o-*/**qⁱ-* occurs only sparingly in OP. Nsm. *kaš-ciṣ* 'anybody' is **q^o-s*, Skt. *kaś*, Av. *kaś-*, + encl. *-ciṣ*; asn. *ciš-ciṣ* 'anything' is **qⁱ-d*, Gk. *τι*, Lt. *quid*, + encl. *-ciṣ*: both with Median sandhi-development (§105). Enclitic *-ciṣ* is pIE **qⁱ-d*, Skt. *cid*, Av. *-ciṣ*, Lt. *quid*, etc. See also *aciy*, *yaciṣ*, *kā*, *-kaiy*, *ciṭā*, *ci[nā]*, *ciyākara-* in the Lexicon.

§202. THE DEMONSTRATIVE *aita-* 'THIS' was perhaps the demonstrative pIE **e-* (§199) + deictic *-i* + demonstrative **to-* (§196). In OP we find nsm.-asn. *aita* (Av. *aita*, Skt. *etad*), apf. *aitā*.

§203. SEMI-PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVES are those adjectives which to some extent are usable as pronouns, and therefore have assumed some of the special declensional forms of pronouns: such are,

for example, Lt. *ūnus*, *alter*, etc., with gen. in *-tus*, dat. in *-ī*, like *is*, *quī*, *hic*, etc.

I. OP *aniya-*, Av. *aīnya-*, Skt. *anyā-* 'other (of two)'; forms:

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Sg. Nom.	<i>aniya</i>	<i>aniyā</i>	<i>aniya</i> <i>aniyaš-ciṣ</i>
Acc.	<i>aniyam</i>	<i>aniyām</i>	
Abl.	<i>aniyanā</i>		
Pl. Nom.	<i>aniyai-ciṣ</i>	<i>aniyā</i>	<i>aniyāha</i>
Acc.		<i>aniyā</i>	
Loc.		<i>aniyāwā</i>	

Of these forms, nsm. *aniya* has *-d*, like Skt. *anyād*, Av. adv. *aīnya* 'except'; *aniyaš-ciṣ* has the same sandhi-development which has been seen in *avaš-ciṣ*, *ciš-ciṣ*. Abl. *aniyanā* developed like abl. *avanā* (§200); cf. Skt. abl. *anyasmād*. Npm. *aniyai-* has the pronominal pl. *-i*; *aniyāha* has the double ending seen in *bagāha*, which it modifies (§10). Loc. *aniyāwā* is equal to Skt. *anyāsu*, with added postposition *-ā*; cf. *maškāwā* (§§175-6).

II. OP *haruwa-* 'all' (Av. *haurva-*, Skt. *sarva-*) has nsm. *haruwa*; asn. *-haravam* in adv. *fraharavam* (with irregular writing of *-rv-*, §26); lsf. *harwahyāyā*, upon fem. stem *harwahyā-* formed to gsm. **harwahyā*, Skt. *sarvasya* (*harwahyāya* is a defective writing not indicating the length of the vowel), cf. lsf. *ahyāyā* (§199).

III. OP *hama-* 'one and the same' (Av. *hama-*, Skt. *samā-*) has *hama* DB 4.92, either nsm. *hama*¹ or asn. as adv. **hama*² with pron. nt. *-d* (in DB 4.90, asn. as adv., if correctly read); gsf. *hamahyāyā*, formed on stem extracted from gsm. **hamahyā*, like lsf. *ahyāyā* and *harwahyāyā*.

§204. THE NUMERALS are scantily represented in OP, since they are commonly indicated by numerical signs (§43). There are the following written out in the cuneiform characters:

I. One: asn. *aivam*, Av. *aēva-*, Gk. Cypr. *oīfos* 'alone', from pIE **oiwos*; probably demonstrative **o-* + deictic *i* + suffix *-yo-*, cf. with other suffixes Skt. *ēka-* 'one' from pIE **oiwo-*, and Lt. *ūnus*, Gt. *dins*, from pIE **oino-*. pIE **sem* 'one' (Gk. nt. *ἓν* 'one', Lt. *sem-per* 'always') is seen in zero form **sm-* as first part of OP *ha-karam* 'once', cf. Skt. *sa-kṛī* 'once'; with this, the inseparable prefix

OP *ha-ham-* (see Lex. s.vv.), Skt. *sa-sam-*, is probably identical.

II. Two: nt. *dwitīyam* 'a second time' is the precise equivalent of Skt. *dvitīya-* 'second'; formed on **dyi-* (as in Skt. *dvīs* 'twice') + ordinal suffix *-to-* + a further suffix *-tīyo-*. The simpler *dwita-* seems to appear in inst. sg. as the first part of *dwitā-paranam* 'former with a second', that is, 'one after another'. The stem *aniya-* 'one or other of two, other, rest of' is the same as Skt. *anyā-*; cf. Gt. *anpara-*, Eng. *other*, with the comparative suffix, see §190.III.

III. Three: nt. *çitīyam* 'a third time' and the conjectural asf. *çitām* are related to the stem **tri-* 'three' in Av. *θritām* (graphic for *-tīyam*) 'a second

time' and to Gk. *τρίτος* 'third', as OP *dwitīyam* and *dwita-* are to the similar cognates (see II); Skt. *tṛtīya-* has the same suffix, but is based on a simpler form of the stem.

IV. Nine: nsm. *navama* 'ninth' is identical with Skt. *navamā-s*, and is formed from the ordinal PIE **neyn*, Skt. *nāva*, in imitation of **deksmos* to **dekṃ*, cf. Skt. *daśamā-s* to *dāśa*, Lt. *decimus* to *decem*. The *-n* in 'nine' is seen in the Lt. ordinal *nōnus*, from **noyenos*.

V. Hundred: it is possible, but not certain, that the prior part of the province-name *Θata-guš* is the stem of the PIE **kṃtō-m* '100', cf. Av. *satəm*, Skt. *śatām*, Lt. *centum*.

CHAPTER VI. STEMS AND FORMS OF VERBS

§205. THE VERB IN OLD PERSIAN shows the expected form-categories, though some of them are scantily represented:

Tense-Stems: present, aorist, perfect, with various formations.

Voices: active, middle, passive.

Moods: indicative, subjunctive, optative, injunctive, imperative.

Tenses: present, imperfect, aorist, perfect.

Persons: first, second, third.

Numbers: singular, dual, plural.

Infinitive: present.

Participles: present active, present middle, perfect passive, future passive.

§206. VERBAL PREFIXES.

(a) The following adverbs, occurring also in prepositional uses, are found as verbal prefixes in OP: *ā-*, *ati-*, *abi-*, *upa-*, *upari-*, *ni-*, *pati-*, *parā-*.

(b) The following, not found as prepositions in the extant remains of OP, are found as verbal prefixes: *apa-*, *awa-*, *ud-*, *nij-*, *fra-*, *vi-*.

(c) Double prefixes are perhaps found in two forms: *pati-ā-* in *patiyābaram* DB 1.68, *awa-ā-* in *awājanīyā* DB 1.51, 52; but there are some dubious features even about these, cf. JAOS 62.274-5.

§207. THE PRESENT-TENSE FORMATIONS which are found in OP include the following types, which are discussed in the following sections:

(a) Type of Skt. *āsti*.

(b) Type of Skt. *dādhati*.

(c) Types of Skt. *kṛnōti*, *kṛṇāti*, *venati*.

(d) Type of Latin *jungit*.

(e) Type of Skt. *prcchāti*.

(f) Types of Skt. *bhāvati*, *rudhāti*.

(g) Types of Skt. *nāhyati*, *drūhyati*.

(h) Types of Skt. *pādyati*, *patdyati*.

(i) Type with suffix *-ye/-yo-*.

(j) Type of Skt. *namasyati* (denominative).

§208. THE PRESENT-TENSE SYSTEM OF TYPE SKT. *āsti*: the stem is the bare root, non-thematic, suffixless, without reduplication; the root has the strong grade in the singular indicative active and in the singular imperative active (except when the personal ending is PIE **-dhi*), and the zero grade in other forms unless paradigmatic leveling interferes:

PIE **ei-ti* 'he goes', OP *aitiy*, Skt. *éti*; **i-te* 'go ye', OP *-itā* in *paraitā*, Skt. *itā*; **i-dhi* 'go thou', OP *-idiy* in *paridiy*, Skt. *ihā*; inf. **ei-n* 'I went', OP *-āyam* (for *-am*, §67.II) in *nij-āyam* [up]-*āyam*, Skt. *āyam*; inf. 3d sg. OP *āiš* (on *-š*, §228.III) and *aitiy-āiš*; inf. 3d pl. with thematic vowel from 1st sg., OP *-āya* in *apariy-āya*, *-āiša* (on *-ša*, §232.III) in *patiy-āiša*, mid. *āya***tā* from **ā-āya***tā*.

PIE **es-mi* 'I am', OP *a^mmiy*, Skt. *āsmi*; **es-ti* 'he is', OP *astiy*, Skt. *āsti*; **s-enti* 'they are', OP *ha^ttiy*, Skt. *sānti*; pAr. **s-mas-i* 'we are', Skt. *smās-i*, OP *a^mmahy* (with full grade of root extended from the singular); inf. **ēs-n* 'I was', in antevocalic development Skt. *āsam*, OP *āham*, whence with thematic vowel 3d sg. OP *āha**,

Av. *awəta*, 3d pl. OP *āha*^a, Skt. *āsan*, mid. OP *āha*^a*tā* (and *āha*^a*ta*, §36.IV.c).
 pIE **g^hen-ti* 'he smites', OP *jaⁿtiy*, Skt. *hanti*;
 **eg^hen-t* 'he smote', OP *ajaⁿ*, Skt. *āhan*; 2d sg.
 inv. **g^hhⁿ-dhi*, OP *jady*, Skt. *jaht*; so also 2d
 pl. inv. **g^hhⁿ-te*, OP *jatā*, and 3d sg. inf. mid.
 **eg^hhⁿ-to*, OP *patiy-ajata*¹; inf. **eg^hen-m*, OP
ajanam, Skt. *āhanam* (with antevocalic de-
 velopment of *m*, §67.II), whence with the-
 matic vowel 3d pl. OP *-ajana*^a in *avājana*^a
 and perhaps the restored subjunctive 3d pl.
vi-janā^atiy.

pAr. **k(h)an-* 'dig', in 3d pl. inf. OP *viy-aka*^a, 3d
 sg. inv. OP *ni-kaⁿtw*.

pAr. **pā-* 'protect', Skt. *pāti* 'he protects'; OP 2d
 sg. inv. *pādy*, 3d sg. and pl. inv. *pātūw pāⁿtw*.

pIr. **xšnau-ti*, OP *ā-xšnautiy* 'he satisfies'; inv.
 **xšnu-dhi*, OP *ā-xšnudy* 'hear thou'.

pIE **g^{em}-* in opt. Skt. *gam-yāt*, OP *ā-jamiyā^t* (cf.
 §101).

pIE **bhy-ijēt* to root **bheu-*, in OP *biyā^t*, cf. Av.
buyāt from **bhu-ijēt*; on loss of *-y-*, §114.

§209. THE PRESENT-TENSE SYSTEM OF TYPE
 SKT. *dādhati*: the stem is the root, non-thematic,
 suffixless, with reduplication; ablaut grades of the
 root the same as in the preceding class:

pIE **dhē-* 'put, make'; inf. OP *adadā*, Skt.
ādadhāt, Gk. *ēidiθ*.

pIE **dō-* 'give'; inv. OP *dadātūw*, Skt. *dādātu*,
 Gk. *didōρω*.

pIE **stā-* 'put, (mid.) stand'; inf. mid. OP
atištata, Skt. *ātiṣṭhata*, both probably shifted to
 thematic class (§213); Gk. *istaro*.

pIE **dhī-* 'think, see', in inv. Skt. *didihē didīht*,
 OP *dīdy* (with haplology, §129).

§210. THE PRESENT-TENSE SYSTEM OF TYPES
 SKT. *kṛnōti*, *kṛnāti*, *vēnati*: the stem is the root
 in the zero-grade (usually), with a suffix begin-
 ning with a nasal.

I. The suffix is *-neu-*, varying with *-nu-*:

pAr. **kⁿ-nau-* in OP *kunautiy*, Skt. *kṛnōti*; inv.
 OP *kunautūw*, Skt. *kṛnōtu*; inf. OP *akunavam*
 (§226.II), *akunauš* (§228.III), Skt. *ākṛnavam*
ākṛnot; with thematic vowel, OP 3d pl. act.
akunava^a, mid. *akunava^atā*.

pAr. **dh^rš-nau-* in OP *adaršnauš*, Skt. *ādhr̥ṣnot*.

pAr. **yⁿ-nau-* in Skt. *vṛnōti*; thematic in OP inf.
 mid. *avarnavatā*, inv. mid. *varnavatām*.

pAr. **tu-nau-/nu-* in pres. **tunauti*, OP ptc. nsm.
tunuw-ā, asm. *-aⁿtam*, gsm. *-aⁿtahyā*.

On *danu[taiy]* as alternative to *danu[patiy]*, see
 §216; on *ā-xšnautiy* and forms, see §208.

II. The suffix is *-nā-*, alternating with *-nə-*:

OP inf. *adīnā^t* 'he took away', cf. Av. *zināiti* 'he
 harms'; OP 1st sg. *adīnam* with *-nā-* as though
 thematic.

OP inf. *adānā^t*, Skt. *ājānāt* 'he knew', from **ǵn-*
nā-; unless from **ǵnō-nā-* with full grade of the
 root and dissimilative loss of the prior *n* (§68).

III. The suffix is thematic *-ne-/no-*:

pIE **ueid-ne-/no-* in OP *vaināmiy* 'I see', 3d sg.
vainatiy, mid. *vainatāiy*; Skt. *vēnāmi* 'I desire',
vēnati, *vēnate*.

§211. THE PRESENT-TENSE SYSTEM OF TYPE
 LATIN *jungit*: the stem is the root in zero grade,
 with an ablauting infix *-ne/-n-*: Skt. *yu-nā-k-ti*
 'he joins', pl. *yu-ñ-j-anti*, to root **ǵeug-/ǵiug-*. In
 some languages the paradigm is leveled to the
 form of the plural, and the stem is made thematic;
 thus Latin *jungit*, *jungunt*. This is the situation
 in the Aryan root **manu-*, Skt. pres. *muñhate*¹
 'he runs away', OP inf. *amuⁿθa^t* 'he fled', and
 probably in Ar. **paīs-*, Skt. pres. *pīśati*, OP 3d sg.
 inf. *apiḍa^t* (DSf 54).

The same formation is seen in Skt. *vi-n-dāti*
 'finds'; the present participle OP *viⁿda^t* is seen as
 the prior element of *Vidaḥfarnā* 'Intaphernes'.

§212. THE PRESENT-TENSE SYSTEM OF TYPE
 SKT. *prcchāti*: the stem has the thematic suffix *-ske-*
/-sko-, the root being normally in a zero-grade; but
 some verbs have the full grade extended from
 other stems:

pIE **prek-*, pres. **prk-ske-*, OP *parsāmiy* 'I pun-
 ish', Skt. *prcchāmi* 'I ask'; inf. OP *aparsam*,
 Skt. *āprccham*; inv. OP *parsā*, Skt. *prcchā*.

pIE **ǵem-* 'reach out', pres. **ǵm-ske-*, Skt. *yācchati*;
 inf. mid. OP *āyasatā* (to *ā-yam-*).

pIE **tres-* in Skt. *trāsati*; pres. **t^rs-ske-*, OP *tarsa-*
tiy 'he fears', pl. *tarsaⁿtiy*, inf. *atarsa^t*, pl.
atarsaⁿ, inj. 1st sg. *tarsam*.

pIE **ǵnō-*, pres. **ǵnō-ske-*, Lt. *gnōscit* 'he learns';
 subj. OP *xšnāsāhy xšnāsātiy*, Lt. (fut. ind.)
gnōscēs gnōscet.

pIE **ǵ-* in pres. **ǵ-ske-*, Skt. *prcchāti*; **re-ske-*,
 NPers. *rāsād*, inf. OP *arasam* 'I went', 3d sg.
-arasa in *parārasa^t*.

¹ Middle, with cerebral *-ṇh-* of post-classical develop-
 ment.

§213. THE PRESENT-TENSE SYSTEM OF TYPES
SKT. *bhāvati*, *ruddhī*: the stem consists of the root ending in a thematic *-e/-o-*; the root is regularly in the strong grade if accented, but in the zero-grade if the thematic vowel is accented:

pIE **bhere-*, Skt. *bhāraṭi*; OP *bara^atiy* 'they bear', Skt. *bhāraṇti*; inf. OP *abaram*, 3d sg. *abara^a*, 3d pl. *abara^a abaraha^a*, mid. *abara^atā*; inv. 3d sg. *baratw*; in epds., 3d sg. pres. *ā-baratiy*, 2d sg. inv. *pari-barā*.

pIE **bheye-*, Skt. *bhāvati*, OP *bavatiy* 'he becomes'; 3d pl. *bava^atiy*, inf. *abavam* *abava^a abava^a*.

pIE **pete-*, Skt. *pātati* 'he flies'; inf. mid. OP *ud-apatatā* 'he rose up, rebelled'.

pIE **iāge-*, Skt. *yajati* 'he worships'; mid. OP *yadataiy*, inf. 1st sg. *ayadaiy*, Skt. *dyaje*.

pIE **reḡhe-* (or **redhe-*, see Lex. s.v.), Skt. *rahati* 'he leaves'; inj. 2d sg. OP *awa-rada^a*.

pIE **ḡeḡe-*, Skt. *cīvati* 'he moves'; inf. OP *aṣiyavam* 'I set forth', *aṣiyava^a aṣiyava^a*.

pIE **ke(n)se-*, Skt. *śāsati* 'he praises', OP *θātiy* (§131) 'he says'; inf. OP *ābham*, *ābaha^a*.

pIE **neḡe-*, Skt. *nāyati* 'leads'; OP inf. *-amayam* in *frānayam*, *anaya^a*, *anaya^a*, 3d sg. mid. *anayātā*.

pIE **mṛde-*, Skt. *mṛddati* 'he crushes', OP *vi-mar-datiy*, inf. *viyamarda^a* (cf. §44).

pIE **sṛḡe-*, Skt. *srjati* 'he looses'; inf. OP *awa-har-[da]* (unaugmented).

pIE **sṇge-*, Skt. *stjati* 'he hangs', or **senge-* (Skt. accent is irregular for root in zero-grade); imp. OP *-ahajam* (or *-aha^ajam?*) in *frāhajam*.

Also, with strong-grade roots: OP *kana-* in inf. *awākanam*; *gauba-* in mid. *gaubatiy*, inf. *agau-batā*, pl. *agau-ba^atā*; *tazša-* in mid. *ha^atazšatiy*, inf. *hamatazšaiy* *hamatazšatā* *hamatazša^atā*; *yau-da-* (Av. *yaozaiti*), in inf. *ayauda^a ayauda^a*, ptc. *yau[da^atim]*; apparently *vaja-* in *avajam*, *razba-* in inv. *razbatw*; perhaps *māva-* in 3d pl. inf. mid. *[am]āvatā*.

pAr. **kšāja-* in Skt. *kṣāyati* 'he possesses', OP inf. *patiy-ašayaiy* 'I ruled over', ptc. *xšayamma* 'ruling'; unless this is rather pIE **qba-ḡe-* (§214) to **qbē-* seen in Gk. *κέκτημαι* 'I possess'.

pAr. **ḡiṃa-*, OP *ḡiṃa-*, see §216.

§214. THE PRESENT-TENSE SYSTEM OF TYPES
SKT. *nāhyati*, *drūhyati*: there is a suffix *-ḡe/-ḡo-* added to the root either in a strong grade or in a zero grade; this suffix may be identical with the

passive suffix (§220), which is accented, and therefore this class may be merely passives which have assumed active (or middle) meanings, usually accompanied with a shift of the accent to the radical syllable. Those with strong-grade roots seems to be later formations, made from the roots by direct addition of the unaccented suffix.

pIE **dhreugh-*: pAr. **drughja-* in Skt. *drūhyati* 'he deceives', OP inf. *adurujīya^a*, pl. *adurujīyaša^a*.

pIE **men-*: pAr. **manja-* in Skt. *mānyate* 'he thinks', OP 1st sg. *manīyaiy*, inf. *amanīyaiy*.

pIE **mer-*: pAr. **mrje-* or **mrje-* in Skt. *mriyāte* (with accent of passive) 'he dies', OP inf. *amariyatā*.

pIE **ḡhūā-* (vowel quality indeterminate) and **ḡhūa-*: pAr. *zhya-ya-* 'call' in Skt. *hvyati*, OP inf. *patiy-azbayam*.

pAr. **pā-* 'protect', and **pa-ya-* (from pIE **pā-*), in OP 1st sg. inf. *apayaiy*, 2d sg. inv. mid. *pati-paya^arwā*.

pIE **g^ahedh-* in pAr. **gadhja-*, Av. *jaiḥyeiti*, OP *jadiyāmiy* 'I entreat'.

pAr. **as-* 'throw' in *asja-*, Skt. *āsyati*, OP inf. mid. *[ā]hyatā*.

pIE **stā-* in pAr. **stā-ja-*, OP inf. *-astāyam* in *niyaštāyam* 'I enjoined' (on §117) and *avāstāyam* 'I restored', 3d sg. *niyaštāya^a*.

pIE **mē-* 'measure' in pAr. **mā-ja-*, Skt. *māyate*: OP inf. mid. *-amāyatā* in *frāmāyatā* 'commanded'.

On OP *xšaya-*, see §213.

§215. THE PRESENT-TENSE SYSTEM OF TYPES
SKT. *pātayati*, *paḍayati*: this is an original causative formation with the pIE suffix *-ḡe/-ḡo-* attached to the root in the *o*-grade; in Aryan the suffix is *-āja-* and the root has *-ā-* (also in the diphthongs *-ai-* and *-au-* before consonants) or *-ā-* (rarely, *-ī-* or *-ū-*).

pIE **dher-* 'hold firm': pAr. **dhāraja-* in Skt. *dhārdyati*; OP *dārayāmiy*, *dārayatiy*, pl. *dāraya^atiy*, inf. 3d sg. *adāraya^a*, mid. 1st sg. *ham-adārayaiy*, 3d sg. *adārayatā*.

pIE **klei-* 'lean': pAr. **šrāja-* in Skt. *śrādyati*; OP 1st sg. inf. *niy-ašarayam*, with *-r-* after *dārayatiy*.

pIE **neḡ-* 'perish': pAr. **nāja-* in Skt. *nādyati*, OP *vi-nābayatiy*, inf. 3d sg. *viy-anābaya^a*, opt. 3d sg. *vi-nābayaiš*.

pIE **sed-* 'sit': pAr. **sāja-* 'seat' in Skt. *sādyati*;

OP inf. *nīyaśādayam* 'I set down' (on -ś-, §117).
pAr. **aiś-aṣa-* in Skt. *eṣayati*; OP inf. *frāīṣayam*
frāīṣaya'.

pAr. **gāy-aṣa-* in Skt. *jāvayati*; OP inf. *abiy-*
ajāvayam 'I promoted'.

pAr. **tāy-aṣa-* in OP *tāvayati* 'has strength', inf.
atāvayam.

pAr. **tar-aṣa-* 'cross', OP inf. *viy-atarayam* 'I put
across', pl. *viy-atarayāmā*; cf. Skt. *tārāyati*.

pAr. **mān-aṣa-* 'remain', OP inf. *amānaya'*.

pAr. **gauṣh-aṣa-* 'conceal', OP 2d sg. inj. *apa-*
gandayaḥ; cf. Skt. *gūhāyati*.

pIr. **śadaja-* 'seem', Av. *sadayēiti*, OP 3d sg. inj.
ṭadayat'; cf. Skt. *chadāyati chandayati*.

pIE **uort-eje-* 'cause to turn', Skt. *varṭayati*; per-
haps in OP [va]rṭaiyay 'I appeal to' (for -*taiyay*,
§48).

pOP **ias-aṣa-* derivative to pIr. **iāsa-* (with pIE
-*skē-*, OP inf. *āyasatā* 'took as his own'), *nīya-*
saya' 'set down' (for **nīyayasaya'*, §23.I).

§216. THE PRESENT-TENSE SYSTEM WITH SUFFIX
-*ye/-yo-*: this is found with certainty in OP
only in inj. *stāmba-vaḥ* 'revolt!', cf. NPers. *stāmb-*.
There are two other less certain examples:

OP *danu[va]ti*, Skt. *dhanvati*, stem pAr. *dhan-*
va-; unless we should restore OP *danu[ta]ti*, like
Skt. *dhanutē*, stem pIE **dhn̥-nu-* (varying with
-*neu-*, §210.I).¹

OP inv. *jivā* 'live!' from pIE **gʷi-ye*; OP 3d du.
inf. *aṣwatam*; cf. Skt. *jīvati* 'he lives': unless
**gʷi-ye-* is really a broken reduplication **gʷt-gʷe-*
to the root **gʷei-* 'live', with dissimilative loss
of the second *g*, cf. Lt. *vivō* 'I live', *vivos* 'living',
Osc. npm. *bivus* 'living', but oEng. *cwicu* 'living',
NEng. *quick*, Gm. *queck*, *erquicken*.

§217. THE PRESENT-TENSE SYSTEM OF DENOMINATIVE VERBS (type, Skt. *namas-yati* 're-
veres', to *nāmas-* 'reverence') has the pIE suffix
**-je/-jo-* attached to the nominal stem; the suffix
originally bore the accent:

OP *avah-ya-* in inf. *patiy-avahiyay* 'I appealed for
help', to stem in Av. *avah-* 'help'.

OP *garbā-ya-* in inf. *agarbāyam* *agarbāya'* *agarbā-*
ya' *agarbāyātā*; to pAr. **grbhā-*, cf. Skt. *grbhāyati*;

¹ But pAr. **dhanva-* may be merely **dha-nu-* made
thematic, and therefore properly analyzable as **dha-nu-*
+ *-e-*; cf. similar shifts from non-thematic to thematic in
Greek verbs, such as *deik-nb-e-te* 'you show' replacing
deik-nu-te.

OP ptc. *ā-garbīta* has the final stem-vowel of the
noun changed to *ī*, as in the next example.

OP *drauṣṭi-ya-* 'regard as a lie' in 2d sg. subj.
[*drau*]ṣṭīyāhy, to *drauga-* 'the Lie', with change
of the final stem vowel to *ī* before the suffix;
cf. Whitney, Skt. Gram. §1059d.

§218. THE AORIST-TENSE FORMATIONS found in
OP are few and scattering.

I. The Sigmatic Aorist is seen in *nīy-apaiṣam* 'I
inscribed' (or -*apiṣam*?)¹, to root *paiṣ-*, pIE **peik-*;
in mid. *adarṣiy* 'I held', to root *dar-*, pIE **dher-*;
perhaps in pass. -*asahya* in *frāśah[ya]*. The aorist
endings 3d sg. -*s-t*, pl. -*s-nt*, may also be respon-
sible for the endings of *aiś* -*āīśa* to root *ay-*
(§208); *akunauś* *akunawaśa* to *kar-*; *adurujiyaśa* to
durujiya-; *abaraha* to *bar-*.

II. The Strong or Suffixless Aorist, with strong
grade of the root in the singular indicative active
and zero grade in most other forms, is seen in OP
adā 'he created', Skt. *ādāt*, pIE **édhēt*; OP *akutā*
'he made', *akumā* 'we made', *kuṣuwā* 'make thou',
= Skt. *ākṛta*, **akṛma*, **kṛṣva*. Possibly also there
belong here the inv. *dīdīy*, if it is to be explained
without haplology (§209), and the opt. *ā-jamiyā*
(§208), which have been taken as presents; per-
haps also the opt. 2d sg. *biyāḥ*, 3d sg. *biyāt* (§223.I).
On *am^arm^ara* if to be taken as (*h*)*am-azmatā*, see
Lex. s.v. *amazamatā*.

§219. THE PERFECT TENSE is attested with cer-
tainty in OP only by a single form, the opt.
cazriyā, from **qe-gr-ijēt*, with regular reduplica-
tion and with zero grade of the root in the opta-
tive. There is a dubious restoration of a 3d sg.
perf. indic. pass. [c]āzr[iyatā] or *cazr[iyatā]*, DB
4.90, for KT's *..azr^a...*

§220. THE PASSIVE-VOICE PRESENT STEM of
pIE was formed by the addition of the suffix pIE
-*je/-jo-*, which is accented in Sanskrit; in OP the
root regularly has the normal grade, with -*a-*: inf.
3d sg. and pl. *abariya* *abariya'*, to root *bar-*;
ayadiya *ayadiya'*, to *yad-*; *akanīya*, to root *kan-*
'dig'; *abahiya* and *abahiya*, to *ṭah-*; *awaniya*, to *van-*;
ajaniya, to *jan-*; *akariya* *akariya^alā*, to *kar-*; pres.
1st pl. *ṭahyāmahy*, to *ṭah-*; opt. 3d sg. *kariyaīś* to
kar-, *frābiyaīś* to *frāb-*, 3d pl. *yadiyaīśa* to *yad-*.

¹ Though OP *nīy^ap^aīś^ama* permits either normaliza-
tion, an s-aorist with strong ablaut-grade is to be ex-
pected rather than one with zero-grade.

With the vocalism of the present-tense stem: *adāriya*, to *dar-*, pres. *dāraya-* (§215); and the uncertain [a]i[ə]i[ya] (see Lex. s.v. *paṭh-*). Formed on the present-tense stem: 3d pl. *akunavaya^utā*, to *kar-*, pres. *kunav-a-* (§210.I); and the uncertain [a]i[ya]i[ya], for **atīyayasiya* (§215), to *yam-*, pres. *yasa-* (§212). Dubious forms on the sigmatic aorist stem, *frāsaḥi[ya]* to root *sā-* (§218.I), and on the perfect stem, *cazr[iyatā]* or [c]āzr[iyatā], to *kar-*.

It is to be noted that with two exceptions active endings are used, the *-ya-* suffix being adequate to indicate the passive value.¹ The exceptions are *akunavayatā* and *cazr[iyatā]* or [c]āzr[iyatā].

§221. THE FINITE MOODS OF THE VERB IN OP: The indicative is formed directly upon the tense stem by the addition of the personal endings, as is also the imperative. The subjunctive and the optative have special mood-formations, and the injunctive differs from the indicative in lacking the augment; these three moods will therefore be considered separately. The indicative and the imperative will be considered only under the personal endings (§225-§237).

§222. THE SUBJUNCTIVE FORMATIONS: all subjunctives so far found in OP have primary personal endings (§225).

I. Non-thematic stems have subjunctives with the thematic vowel, long in the first person and short in the second and third persons: to as- 'be', Skt. *āsāmi* *āsasi* *āsati*, OP *ahāniy* *āhy* *ahātiy*. In *ahāniy* the *ā*, if not an error in writing, is an extension from the other forms; *āhy* is for **ahahi* (§131).

II. Thematic stems have subjunctives with the long thematic vowel throughout, 1st sg. and 1st and 3d pl. *ō*, other forms *ē*; 2d and 3d sg. and mid. as in Skt. *bhār-āsi* *-āti* *-āse* *-āte*: OP *xšnāsāhy*, *θāhy* (for **θahāhy*), *apa-gaudayāhy*, [drau]i[ya]hy, *pāti-parsāhy*, *pāri-barāhy* (and *-āh^u-diš*), *vaināhy*; *ni-rasātiy*, *xšnāsātiy*, *pāti-parsātiy*, *bavāhiy*, *vainātiy*; *maniyāhiy* (for variant spellings, see Lex. s.v. 'man-'); *maniyātāiy*, *gaubātāiy*, *ḥadayātāiy*, *yadātāiy*, *vainātāiy*. 3d pl. act. as in Skt. *-ānti*: OP *vi-nāḥayā^utiy* (restored form).

¹ The same variation between active and middle endings in forms with the specifically passive stem-suffix is found in the Avesta (Reichert, Aw. Elmb. §615) and in Sanskrit (Whitney, Skt. Gram. §774); but in both these languages the middle endings are more frequent than the active endings in the *am-* passives.

III. Certain non-thematic stems which in the indicative have in part been shifted to thematic stems, have subjunctives of the second type:

kar-, pres. *kunav(a)-*: *kunavāhy*, mid. 1st sg. *kunavāniy*, 3d sg. *kunavātāiy*.

var-, pres. *varnav(a)-*: *varnavātāiy*.

xšnav-, pres. *xšnav(a)-*: *ā-xšnavāhy*.

kan-, pres. *kan(a)-*: *vi-kanāhy* (and *-āh^u-diš*).

jan-, pres. *jan(a)-*: perhaps (restored) 3d pl. *vi-janā^utiy*, cf. Av. 3d sg. *janāiti*.

§223. THE OPTATIVE FORMATIONS: all optatives have in OP, as in other languages, secondary endings.

I. Non-thematic stems have optatives with pIE *-iē-* in the sg. act., *-i-* in other forms. The *-iē-* suffix, which alone appears in extant OP, became *-iē-* after two consonants even in pIE; and in OP even *-iē-* was of necessity written *-iyā-* after any consonant except *h* (§25). Examples: 2d sg. *b-iyā^u*; 3d sg. *b-iyā^u*, *ā-jam-iyā^u*, *avā-jan-iyā^u*, perf. *cazr-iyā^u*.

II. Thematic stems have optatives with *-i-* (as zero-grade of *-iē-*, cf. I) added to the thematic vowel pIE *-o-*, making pIE *-oi-*: cf. 2d and 3d sg. Gk. *φέποις* *φέποι*, Skt. *bhāreṣ* *bhāret*. Examples: 3d sg. *vi-nāḥayaiš*, pass. *kariyaiš* *frāḥiyaiš*, pass. pl. *yadiyaiša^u* (for ending, §232.III); 2d sg. mid. with ending *-so*, *yadaišā*, cf. Gk. *φέποι*.

§224. THE INJUNCTIVE FORMATIONS are merely secondary indicative forms lacking the augment; the following forms have been found in OP: 1st sg. *tarsam*; 2d sg. *stabava^u* *apa-gaudaya^u* *ava-rada^u*; 3d sg. *ḥadayā^u*. See also §237.

§225. THE PERSONAL ENDINGS OF THE VERB, so far as they appear in extant OP forms, are listed in the table; they are given in the pAr. values, since the pIE endings cannot in all instances be determined.

TABLE OF PERSONAL ENDINGS

	Active			Middle		
	Prim.	Sec.	Inv.	Prim.	Sec.	Inv.
Sg. 1	{ <i>-mi</i> <i>-ni</i> }	-m		{ <i>-i</i> <i>-nai</i> }	-i	
2	-si	-s	{ <i>nil</i> <i>-dhi</i> }	-sai	-sa	-sya.
3	-ti	-t	-tu	-tai	-to	-tām
Du. 3		-tam				
Pl. 1	-masi	-ma				
	2	-ta				
	3	-ni	-ni			-nda

The original quality of the pAr. *a* in some of these endings is seen in certain other languages, especially Greek: 2d pl. *-ta* is pIE *-te*; *-sai* *-tai* are pIE *-sai* *-tai*; *-sa*, 3d sg. *-ta*, *-lam*, *-nta* are pIE *-so* *-lom* *-nto*; *-masi* and *-ma* varied between *-e* (as in Gk. Dor. *-mes*) and *-o* (as in Lt. *-mus*); for the *-ā* of *-nai*, *-sya*, *-tām* there is no evidence.

A number of variations from the pIE formations will be discussed in the following sections. The imperative endings are taken up collectively in §237.

It is to be noted that certain of these endings cannot be distinguished in the OP syllabary. The endings *-ti* *-tai* *-nti* are all written *-tiy*, though normalized *-tiy* *-taiy* *-ntiy* on the evidence of the context or of other forms of the same verb; *-ta* and *-nta* are both written *-ta*, and normalized *-tā* and *-ntā*; *-s* *-t* *-nt* are all unrepresented in the writing if preceded by *-ā*, though, like the *n* in *-nti* and *-nta*, they may optionally be represented by raised letters in the normalization. The subjunctive endings *-ni* and *-nai* also are both written *-niy*, though normalized *-niy* and *-naiy*. Further, the Aryan change of both pIE *e* and pIE *o* to *a* makes it impossible to distinguish the quality of the thematic vowel by citation of Aryan forms merely; for this purpose, Greek cognates have been cited.

§226. THE PERSONAL ENDINGS OF THE FIRST SINGULAR ACTIVE.

I. The primary ending *-mi* is attached directly to non-thematic stems, as in pIE **es-mi*, Skt. *āsmi*, Av. *ahmi*, OP *amiy*. The ending of thematic stems was the lengthening of the thematic vowel *o*, as in Lat. *ferō*, Gk. *ῥέω*; but to this *-ō* there was added in Aryan the ending *-mi*, as in Skt. *bhārā-mi*, Av. *barāmi*, OP *pari-barāmiy*. Other OP examples: *parsāmiy*, Skt. *prcchāmi*; *dārayāmiy*, Skt. *dhārāyāmi*; *vaināmiy*, *jadyāmiy*.

The ending *-ni*, of unexplained origin, was similarly added to the 1st sg. subj. in *-ō*: pIE **es-ō* to *es* 'be', Gk. Ion. *ἔω*, Lat. (fut. ind.) *erō*; but Skt. *āsā-ni*, OP *ahāniy* (with *ā* perhaps after the *ā* of other forms, as in 3d sg. *ahatiy*).

II. The secondary ending *-m* was attached directly to the thematic vowel *-o*: pIE *ebhero-m* 'I bore', Skt. *ābharam*, Gk. *ἔβηρον*, OP *abaram*; Skt. *āprccham*, OP *aparsam*. Other OP examples: *niy-āśādayam*, *frānayam*, *arasam*, etc. When attached to non-thematic stems, the *-m* became vocalic, and developed in pAr. to *-am*, a generalization of the antevocalic value, furthered by the identity

with *-am* from thematic *-o-m*: pIE **es-m* 'I was', Skt. *āsam*, OP *āham*; Skt. *ākr̥ṇavam*, OP *akunavam*; OP *frājanam* *avājanam*, *viyakanam*, *avākanam*, *nij-āyam* [u] *pāyam* *upariy-ā[ya]m*, aor. *niy-apaišam*. The suffix *-nā* has become *-na* in *adinam*, in imitation of other first persons.

§227. THE PERSONAL ENDINGS OF THE SECOND SINGULAR ACTIVE.

I. The primary ending *-si* was attached directly to the present stem, whether thematic or non-thematic, but happens to occur in OP only in subjunctive forms: *pāti-parsāhy* (on *-hy*, §37), Skt. *prcchāsi*; *pari-barāhy* and *-barāh-diš* (§136), *vikānāhy* and *-kanāh-diš*, *kunavāhy*, *xšnāsāhy*, *āxšnāvāhy*, *vaināhy*, *apa-gaudayāhy*, [drau] *jīyāhy*; *thāhy* for **thāhy* (§131); *āhy* for short-vowel subjunctive (§222.I) **ahāhy* = Skt. *āsasi*.

II. The secondary ending *-s* is seen in Skt. *ābharas*, Gk. *ἔφερες*; in OP it happens to occur only in injunctive *ava-rada*, *apa-gaudaya*, *slabava*, and in opt. [biy] *ā*, in which it is not written because it is final after *ā* (§36).

§228. THE PERSONAL ENDINGS OF THE THIRD SINGULAR ACTIVE.

I. The primary ending is *-ti*, before which the thematic vowel is *-e*: pIE **bheyeti*, Skt. *bhāvati*, OP *bavatiy*; pIE **bhereti*, Skt. *bhārati*, OP *ābaratiy*; OP *tarsatiy*, *dārayatiy*, etc.; *thāty* for **thātiy* after **thāhy* for **thāhy* (§131). Non-thematic: pIE **esti*, Skt. *āsti*, OP *astiy*; pIE **eiti*, Skt. *ēti*, OP *aitiy*; Skt. *hānti*, OP *ja'tiy*; Skt. *kṛnōti*, OP *kunautiy*; OP *ā-xšnautiy*. Subjunctives: Skt. *bhāvāti*, OP *bavātiy*; Skt. *āsati*, OP *ahatiy*; etc. (§222).

II. The secondary ending is *-t*, which is not written in OP final after *ā* (§40); before *-t* the thematic vowel is *-e*: pIE **ebheyet*, Skt. *ābhavat*, OP *abava*; pIE **ebheret*, Gk. *ἔφερε*, Skt. *ābharat*, OP *abara*; Skt. *ādruhyat*, OP *adurujiya*; Skt. *adhārayat*, OP *adāraya*; *viyamarda*; unaugmented *ava-har[da]*; etc. Injunctive *thadaya*. Remodeled non-thematic, *āha* 'was'. Passive, *abariya*, *adāriya*, etc. (§220). Non-thematic: *adānā* to *xšnā*, *adadā* to *ādā*, *adānā* to *ādā*, *viy-aka* to *kan*, *avāja* to *ava-jan*; in the last two, radical *n* as well as ending *t* is not represented in the OP orthography. Strong aorist: pIE **edhēt*, Skt. *ādhāt*, OP *adā*. Optatives: Skt. *gamyāt*, OP *ā-jamiyā*; OP *avā-janiyā*, *biyā*, perf. *cazriyā*.

III. When *i* or *u* stands before the ending *t*, the OP form has a final *š*. Probably this is a trans-

fer from the sigmatic aorist, where the terminations would be pIE *-is-n -is-s -is-t*, pAr. *-išam -iš -iš*; the identity of second and third personal forms gives an analogy to the 2d sg. imperfect in *-i-š* (no examples extant in OP), whence impf. 3d sg. in *-iš*.¹ After *u* the phenomena are the same.² The OP examples are *āiš* 'went', *āiy-āiš* 'went past', *akunauš* 'made' (Skt. *ākṛnot*), *adaršauš* 'dared' (Skt. *ādṛṣnot*); and the thematic optatives active *vināyayaiš*, passive *kariyayaiš* *frāyayaiš* (cf. for ending Gk. *φέποι*, Skt. *bhāret*).

§229. THE PERSONAL ENDINGS OF THE THIRD DUAL ACTIVE. This occurs in OP only in *aṣṣatam* '(the two) were living', with ending agreeing with the Greek primary ending in present *φέρετον* '(the two) are bearing', pIE *-tom*. In the corresponding imperfect, Gk. Dor. *ἐφετέρων* and Skt. *ābharatām* both have analogically lengthened vowels.

§230. THE PERSONAL ENDINGS OF THE FIRST PLURAL ACTIVE.

I. The primary ending was pIE *-mes*, as in Gk. Dor. *φέρομεν*, or *-mos*, as in Latin *ferimus*; pAr. has *-mas* or, with added deictic *-i*, *-masi*. Both *-mas* and *-masi* occur in Skt., but only *-masi* in Iranian. Thus Skt. *smās* and *smāsi* 'we are', Av. *mahi*, OP *a^hmahi* (*a-* after sg. *a^hmīy*, *astiy*, as also in Gk. *ἐσμεν*). The same ending stands in OP *baḥyāmahi* 'we are called'.

II. The secondary ending was pIE *-me* or *-mo*, as in Gk. *ἐφέρομεν*, Skt. *ābharāma*; OP examples, impf. *viy-atarayāmā*, aor. *akumā*.

§231. THE PERSONAL ENDINGS OF THE SECOND PLURAL ACTIVE. The only OP forms are two injunctives as imperative: *paraitā* 'go ye forth' from *parā* + *itā*, cf. impv. Skt. *itā*, Gk. *ἴτε*, Lat. *ite* (with strong grade of root from singular); *jatā* 'smite ye', Skt. *hatā*. The ending is pIE secondary *-te*.

§232. THE PERSONAL ENDINGS OF THE THIRD PLURAL ACTIVE.

I. The primary ending was pIE *-nti*, which was attached to the thematic vowel *-o-*: pIE **bheronti*, Gk. Dor. *φέποντι*, Skt. *bhārantī*, OP *baraⁿtiy*; Skt.

bhāvanti, OP *bavaⁿtiy*; Skt. *dhārayanti*, OP *dārayaⁿtiy*; OP *tarsaⁿtiy*; (restored) subjunctives with *-ō-*, OP *vinādayāⁿtiy*, *vijanāⁿtiy* (cf. §222.III). When attached to an unaccented non-thematic stem, the *-nti* was of necessity accented, and took the form pIE *-ēnti*: pIE **s-ēnti* 'they are', Osc. *sent*, Gk. Dor. (enclitic) *ἐντι*, Skt. *sānti*, OP *haⁿtiy*. It is to be noted that the OP script does not permit the writing of the nasal in the ending (§111).

II. The secondary ending was pIE *-nt*, which lost the final *t* in pAr. unless sentence phonetics permitted its retention; for in pAr. only a single consonant could stand at the end of a word. In OP, also, the final *n* was not written (§112). Before this ending the thematic vowel was *-o-*: pIE **ebheront*, Gk. *ἐφερον*, Skt. *ābharan*, OP *abaraⁿ*; OP *abavaⁿ*, *anayaⁿ*, *ayayudaⁿ*, *ašiyawaⁿ*, *atarsaⁿ*, *agar-bāyaⁿ*; passive *abariyaⁿ*, *ayadiyaⁿ*. Non-thematic stems would normally have pIE *-nt* after consonants, becoming pAr. *-at*; but this was commonly replaced by *-an(t)* after the *-am* of the 1st sg.: pIE **s-nt*, but Skt. *āsan*, OP *āhaⁿ*; OP *apariy-āyaⁿ*, *avājanaⁿ*.

III. The sigmatic aorist similarly remodeled its 3d pl. from *-sat* (< *-s-nt*) to *-san(t)*; thus in Gk., *s*-aorist *ἐλθ-αν* 'they loosed', whence strong aorist *έδο-σαν* 'they gave', and (late Greek) thematic *ἐλάβο-σαν* 'they took'. So also in OP, the *-san* spread to some verbs,¹ being regularly *-haⁿ* after *a* and *-šaⁿ* after *i*: *abarahaⁿ* alongside *abaraⁿ*, *patiy-āišaⁿ*, opt. pass. *yadiyāišaⁿ*, and with extension of *-šaⁿ* to the position after *a*, *aduriyijašaⁿ*, *akuna-vašaⁿ* alongside *akunavaⁿ*.

§233. THE PERSONAL ENDINGS OF THE FIRST SINGULAR MIDDLE.

I. The perfect tense seems to have had an ending *-ai*, as in Skt. *tutudē*, Latin *tutudī*, with vowel quality determined by Faliscan *PEPARAI* 'peperi'; this looks like the perfect first active *-a*, seen in Gk. *οἶδα*, Skt. *vēda*, + middle ending *-i* (see V, below).

II. Whatever the original ending in primary tenses, this was in Aryan replaced by *-ai*, identical with the ending in the perfect; probably this was facilitated by the change of the thematic vowel *-e-/o-* to Aryan *-a-*, and the *-ai* of the 2d sg. *-sai*, 3d sg. *-tai*, as in Gk. (non-thematic) *ἵδο-σαι ἵδο-*

¹ A detailed discussion of this analogical process is given by Pisani, Riv. Stud. Or. 19.89-92. ² While nothing stands in the way of assuming phonetic development of final *t* after *u* to *š* in OP, it is unlikely that this change occurred after *i*; for OP *-ciy* is from pIE **q^hid*, which is Skt. *cid*, Av. *fiy*, Lat. *quid*. One must assume that the 3d sg. *-š* after *u* is of the same origin as the same ending after *i*.

¹ This analogical extension is treated in detail by Pisani, Riv. Stud. Or. 19.92-3.

rai, (thematic) $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta$ $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$. In OP we have pres. *naniyaiy* (= Skt. *mānye*), *patiy-avahiya*y, and *paṛtaiyaiy* (for *-layaiy*, §48; = Skt. *varṭaye*). The same *-ai* is found as primary ending of non-thematic stems in Avestan and Indic, but there are no OP examples.

III. This *-ai* was used in Aryan also as secondary ending in thematic imperfections, as in Skt. *āmanye*, OP *amaniyaiy*; OP *ayadaiy*, *apayaiy*, *ham-adārayaiy*, *ham-ataxšaiy*, *patiy-azšoyaiy*.

IV. The present subjunctive middle *kunavānaiy* has the active *-ni* remodeled to *-nai* after the 2d sg. *-sai*, 3d sg. *-tai*; in this form *-ānai* is not found in Skt., which has only *-āi*, but in Av. both *-āi* and *-āne* (from *-ānai*) occur.

V. The ending *-i* seems to be original in non-thematic imperfections and aorists in Aryan; cf. Skt. *āneṣi* 'I led' to root *nī-*. There is one example in OP, the sigmatic aorist *adaršiy* 'I held' to root *dar-* (normalization *adaršaiy*, with *-aiy* like all other OP 1st sg. middles, is also possible).

§234. THE PERSONAL ENDINGS OF THE SECOND SINGULAR MIDDLE.

I. The primary ending was pIE *-sai*, seen in Gk. (non-thematic) $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\sigma\alpha\iota$, Skt. (thematic) *bhārase*. The only OP example is subj. *maniyāhaiy* (with varying orthographies, see Lex. s.v. 'man-').

II. The secondary ending was pIE *-so*, seen in Gk. (non-thematic) $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\sigma\omicron$, with which Avestan agrees (Skt. has a different ending, *-hās*). There is one OP example, opt. *yadaišā*; for formation and ending, cf. Gk. $\epsilon\acute{\tau}\omega\sigma\omicron$ 'thou wouldst follow', Av. *haxšaēša* (written *hix-*).

§235. THE PERSONAL ENDINGS OF THE THIRD SINGULAR MIDDLE.

I. The primary ending was pIE *-tai*, as in Gk. $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$, Skt. *bhārate*; this is seen in OP *yadataiy* (= Skt. *yājate*), *gaubataiy*, *ham-taxšataiy*, *vainataiy*, *varnavataiy*, and in the subjunctives *yadātaiy*, *gavbātaiy*, etc. (§222).

II. The secondary ending was pIE *-to*, as in Gk. $\epsilon\acute{\phi}\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\tau\omicron$, Skt. *dbharata*; this is seen in OP *ud-apatātā* (Gk. $\epsilon\acute{\nu}\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\omicron$, Skt. *āpatatā*), *anayatā* (Skt. *ānayata*), *amariyatā*, *frāmāyatā*, *agarbāyatā*, *agavbatā*, *ham-ataxšatā*, *āyasatā*, [ā]h[ya]t[ā], *adā[rayat]ā*, [am]āvatā, passive *akunavayatā*, perhaps aor. (h)amāxmatā and perf. pass. *cazr[iyat]ā* or [c]axr[iyat]ā; non-thematic remade to thematic, *avarnavatā* and *aṛištātā*; non-thematic aor. *akutā* (Skt. *ākṛta*) and imf. *patiy-ajātā* (Skt. *āhata*).

§236. THE PERSONAL ENDINGS OF THE THIRD PLURAL MIDDLE. The thematic vowel before the ending was *-o-*, as is shown by the Greek.

I. The primary ending was pIE *-ntai*, as in Gk. $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota$, Skt. *bhārantē*; but this is not attested in OP.

II. The secondary ending was pIE *-nto*, as in OP *abara^atā*, Skt. *ābharanta*, Gk. $\epsilon\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\nu\tau\omicron$; *agauba^atā*, pass. *akariya^atā*; non-thematic remade to thematic, *akunawa^atā* 'made', *āha^atā* 'were', *āya^atā* 'went'.

§237. THE PERSONAL ENDINGS OF THE IMPERATIVE. Apart from injunctive forms, there are imperatives with special endings, here discussed. The injunctives are those used in prohibitions with *mā*: 1st sg. *tarsam* (§226.II), 2d sg. *stabava^b apagaudaya^b ava-rada^b* (§227.II), 3d sg. *ṭadaya^a* (§228.II); and those used as regular imperatives: 2d pl. *paraitā jātā* (§231).

I. The second singular active of thematic stems is the stem without suffix: *jīvā*, Skt. *jīva*; *pari-barā*, Skt. *bhāra*, Gk. $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon$; *parsā*, Skt. *prcchā*, Lat. *posce*. That of non-thematic stems has an accented *-dhi*, attached to the zero grade of the root: pIE **i-dhi*, OP *-idīy* in *paraidīy* and *paridīy*, Skt. *ihī*, Gk. $\iota\theta\epsilon$; pIE **g^hh¹-dhi*, OP *jadiy*, Skt. *jahī*; OP *pādiy*, *ḍidiy* (§129), *ā-xšnudiy*.

II. The third singular active and the third plural active have in Aryan the endings *-tu* and *-ntu*, possibly being injunctives in *-t* and *-nt* with the accretion of an emphatic particle *u* (familiar in Skt.): thematic *baratw*, Skt. *bhāratu*; *raxbatw*; non-thematic *dadātūw*, Skt. *dādātū*; *kunautw*, *pātūw*, *nī-ka^atūw*; 3d pl. *pātūw*.

III. The second singular middle had in Aryan an ending *-sya*: OP *patī-paya^a-wā*, cf. Skt. *bhārasya*; OP *ku^a-šwā*, Skt. *kṛ-śwā*.

IV. The third singular middle had in Aryan an ending *-tām*, as in Skt. *bhāratām*; the only OP example is *varnavatām*, a thematic form remade from a non-thematic stem.

§238. THE INFINITIVE occurs in OP only in the present active, with the suffix *-tanaiy*, the ancestor of the NPers. infinitive ending *-tān* or *-dān*: *cartanaiy* 'to do', to *kar-*; *kar^a-tanaiy* 'to dig', to *kan-*, cf. NPers. *kāndān*; *bartanaiy* 'to bear', to *bar-*; *nīpaištanaiy* 'to engrave', to *nī-paiθ-*. The *c-* of *cartanaiy* is evidence for the *-e-* ablaut-grade in this formation (§98); NPers. *kārdān* 'to do' has *k-* generalized from the rest of the paradigm. In form,

the *-tanaiy* is dat. sg. of a *-tan-* stem (other forms of *-an-* stems¹ occur as infinitives in Indic and elsewhere, which makes it unlikely that *-tanaiy* is loc. sg. of a *-tana-* stem).

§239. THE PARTICIPLES FOUND IN OP include the present active with suffix *-nt-*; the present middle with suffix *-mo-*; the perfect passive with suffixes *-to-* and *-no-*; the future passive in *-eto-*, with meaning shifted to the past.

§240. THE PRESENT ACTIVE PARTICIPLE has the suffix *-nt-*, before which the thematic vowel is *-o-*: nom. masc. pIE *-ōnt* or *-ont-s*, fem. *-ontā* or *-ontjā*, nt. *-ont*; Gk. *φῶν-ων* *-ovsa-ov*; Skt. *bhāran*, *bhārantā* or *bhāratā*, *bhārat*. Where (Aryan) thematic forms have *-at-* rather than *-ant-*, it is by extension from non-thematic forms, where *-nt-* became *-nt-* because of the preceding consonant; conversely, non-thematic forms might have (Aryan) *-ant-* by imitation of thematic forms or because the suffix, when accented, took the pIE value *-ent-* or *-ont-*. The OP examples are nsm. *tunwā*, from *-ōnt*, probably with added *-s* in Iranian (§188.II), to present **tunau-ti*; asm. *tunwa*lam*; gsm. *tunwa*tahyā*, with thematic declension: the nom. *-s* and the *-ant-* of the stem agree with the Avestan formations. There is also an uncertain restored asf. *yau[da*tim]*, regularly formed to pres. **yaudati*.

The old neuter in pAr. *-at* survives in the first element of the compounds *Dāraya*va*u-* 'Darius'. *Vi*da*farna** 'Intaphernes', *Vāya*spāra-* (§162); and in the derivative *hašiya-* 'true', = Skt. *satyā-*, pIE **snt-jo-*, where (Skt.) *sāt* is nt. ptc. to root *as-* 'be'.

§241. THE PRESENT MIDDLE PARTICIPLE has the suffix *-meno-*, which is seen in Gk. *φερόμενος*, but has a lengthened vowel in Skt., as in *bhāra-māṇas*, or a zero grade, as in Av. *barəmnā-*. The thematic vowel preceding *-meno-* is seen in Gk. to be *-o-*; but it is *-e-* in Gk. *βέλε-μεν* 'missile', which has the suffix in the form *-mo-*. The OP examples are *xšayamna* 'ruling', *jiyannam* 'ending, end'.

§242. THE PERFECT PASSIVE PARTICIPLE IN *-to-* may be formed to any verbal root, whether transitive or intransitive; when the root is intransitive in meaning, the participle is active in meaning, as

in OP *para-itā* 'having gone forth', *marta* 'having died'.

I. The participial suffix *-to-* is accented, and the verbal root is therefore regularly in the zero grade: thus *para-itā*, Skt. *itā-*, to *ay-* 'go'; [p]ištā *ni-pišta-*, Skt. *pišā-*, to *paib-* 'adorn'; *xšnuta-* to *xšnaw-*; *a-xšatā*, Skt. *kṣata-*, to *xšan-*; *awa-jata*, Skt. *hatā-*, to *jan-*; *karta-*, Skt. *kṛtā-*, to *kar-*; *u-barla-* *parā-bartam*, Skt. *bhṛtā-*, to *bar-*; *marta-*, Skt. *mṛtā-*, to *mar-*; *arta-*, Skt. *ṛtā-*, to *ar-*; perhaps *parta[m]* to *par-*; *ditam*, cf. Av. *zyā-*; *hita-* in *An-ā-hitā*, of uncertain connections.

The cluster of a voiced aspirate stop + *t* in pIE resulted in pIE voiced cluster of non-aspirate + aspirate, the product of which remained in Indic, but which was replaced in Iranian by an analogical non-aspirate voiceless cluster:

pIE **dhreugh-*: ptc. **dhruh-to-* > **dhruhdho-*, pAr.

**drugha-*, Skt. *drugdhā-*; but pIr. **druxta-*, GAv. *druxtō*, OP *duruxtam*.

pIE **bhendh-*: ptc. **bhndh-to-* > **bhndzdho-* (§58.D), Skt. *baddhā-*, but Av. *basta-*, OP *basta-*.

pIE **gendh-*: OP *gasta-* 'evil', cf. Skt. *gandhā-* 'smell'.

II. The *-to-* is sometimes attached to the strong grade of the root, as the result of leveling to the vocalism which stands in other verbal forms; in some instances the inconvenience of the consonantal clusters in the zero-grades was a factor.

pIE **dhē-*: **dhē-to-*, Skt. *hitā-*; but Av. *dāta-* 'right', OP *dātam* 'law'.

pAr. *pā-* 'protect': Skt. *pāta-*, Av. *pāta-*, OP *pāta-*. pIE **mē-*: **mē-to-*, Skt. *mitā-*, Av. *mita-*; also Av. *māta-*, OP *ā-mātā*, fra-mātām.

OP *šiyāta* 'happy', Av. *šyāta*, Lt. *quietus*.

Skt. *khatā-* 'dug' to root *khan-*; but Av. *kanta-*, OP *ka*lam* 'excavation'.

pIE **prek-* 'ask': **prek-to-*, Skt. *prṣā-*, Av. *parṣta-*; but OP *u-frašta-* *u-frašta-* 'well punished' (where the change of *p* to *f* shows that consonantal *r* immediately followed, §74.I).

pIE **nek-* 'perish': **nek-to-* with strong grade, Skt. *naṣtā-*, Av. *našta-*, OP *vi-nastahyā*.

pIE **reḡ-* 'direct': **reḡ-to-* with lengthening of the vowel (§93.n2), Latin *rectus*, Av. *rāšta-*, OP *rāstam* 'straight, right'.

pIE **ghrebh-* 'seize': pAr. *grbhī-ta-* (on *-ī-*, §217), Skt. *grbhītā-*, OP *ā-garbīta-*.

Here belong, probably, also *garta-* in *Asagarta*

¹ Cf. Bv. Origines 105-6; Sturtevant, Lg. 20.206. The restored [daj]rtanayā may belong to this type of formation, by transfer to the *-a-* stems, where it was felt as a loc. and took the postposition *-ā* like other locatives.

(see Lex. s.v.), *māta-* in *Gaumāta* (hardly the same as *māta-* in *āmātā*, above); *marla-* as base for *martiya-* (see Lex. s.v.).

§243. THE PERFECT PASSIVE PARTICIPLE IN *-no-* is seen in Skt. *sannā-* 'seated' to *sad-*, Gk. ἅγιός 'holy' to ἁγῶμαι 'I revere', Latin *plēnus* 'full' to *plē-* 'fill', and in the Germanic participles such as Gm. *gesprochen*, Eng. *spoken*, etc. These formations also normally have the root in the zero grade, but show the same variation as do the *-to-* participles (§242). There are two examples in OP, both serving as the second element of personal names:

OP *ā-bigna-*, to an unidentified root, in *Bagābigna-*. OP *ā-baušna-*, late form for **ābauršna-*, to root *baug-* 'free', seen in Av. *pouru-bauršna-*; in OP *Āthyābaušna-* (see Lex. s.v.).

The same formation probably stands also in the adv. *ašnaiy* (see Lex. s.v.).

§244. THE FUTURE PASSIVE PARTICIPLE IN *-eto-* is typified by Skt. *yajātā-*, Av. *yazata-* 'worthy of worship', to (Skt.) *yaj-* 'worship'; but the formation often comes to have virtually the force of a perfect passive in *-to-*: cf. Skt. *pacatā-*, but Gk. πεπρός, Lt. *coctus* 'cooked'. Cf. also Gk. ἔ-σχερος 'unchecked', to ἔχω 'I hold, have'. The OP examples happen to be from intransitives, and are therefore active in meaning: nsn. *θakatā* 'past', to root *θak-* 'pass'; and *-gmata-* 'gone' to *gam-* 'go', in npm. *ha^m-gmātā* 'assembled', nsf. *parā-gmātā* 'gone forth', perhaps nsf. [*ava-gmātā*] 'gone down, fallen', cf. Av. *γomata-* as well as the regular passive participle *gata-* (PIE **g^mto-*, also in Skt. *gald-*, Gk. *-βατος*, Lt. *ventum*).

CHAPTER VII. SYNTAX AND STYLE

§245. THE SYNTAX OF OP has few features which differentiate it from that of other related languages; but from the paucity of the texts and the large amount of repetition in them the variety of constructions is very limited. As text and translation are both accessible in this volume, many examples are cited by reference and text, without translation; others are cited by reference only.

§246. THE SYNTAX OF THE NOUN IN OP follows the expected lines, in the main. Its special features are the anacoluthic use of the nominative (§§312-4), the disappearance of the dative form and the assumption of the dative uses by the genitive form (§250), and a certain amount of syncretization of the locative, ablative, and instrumental cases (§254).

§247. THE NOMINATIVE CASE is found in OP in the following uses:

A. As subject of a finite verb expressed or implied: DB 1.1 *adam Dārayavauš*, 1.3f *θātīy Dārayavauš xšāyabiya*.

B. As predicate to a nominative subject: DB 1.1 *adam Dārayavauš*, 1.7 *vayam Hazāmanišīyā bahyāmahy*, 2.27 *avobāšām hamaranam kartam*.

C. As appositive to a nominative: DB 1.1 *adam Dārayavauš xšāyabiya vazraka*.

D. By anticipation for another case, normally with a resumptive pronoun or adverb which defines the case-use; see §312, §314.

E. In late inscriptions, as a general form replacing a genitive (§313) or an accusative: A²Pa 5f *hya mām Artaxšaça xšāyabiya akunauš* 'who made me, Artaxerxes, king'.

§248. THE VOCATIVE CASE is used in direct address: *martiyā* DNa 56.

§249. THE ACCUSATIVE CASE is found in OP in the following uses:

A. As direct object of a transitive verb: DB 1.19 *manā bājīm abaratā* 'they bore tribute to me'.

B. As direct object of a verbal noun: DB 4.55f *Auramazdā θwām dauštā biyā* 'may Ahuramazda be a friend unto thee'.

C. As direct object anticipating the subject of an object clause: DB 1.52f. *mātyamām xšnāsātīy iya adam naiy Bardiya amiy* 'lest (the people) know me, that I am not Smerdis'.

D. As double object, one of the person and the other of the thing: DB 1.44f *aita xšaçam iya Gaumāta hya maguš adīnā Kabūjīyam* 'this kingship which Gaumata the Magian took away from Cambyses' or 'of which Gaumata deprived Cambyses'; so also 1.46f, 59, 65f, and its passive in 1.49f *hya avam Gaumātām iya magum xšaçam dīlam carriyā* 'who might make that Gaumata the Median deprived of the kingship'. DB 4.65 *naiy škaurim* (= *skaušim*) *naiy tunwalam zūra akunavam* 'neither to the weak nor to the powerful did I do wrong'. DPd 20-2 *aita adam yānam jaliyā-*

miy Auramazdām 'this I ask as a favor of Ahuramazda'. In the passive, the accusative of the thing remains unchanged: DNb 8f *tya skauhiš* . . . *miša kariyaiš* 'that the weak should have wrong done to him'; also DNb 10f, and DB 1.49f (above).

E. As appositive to another accusative: DB 1.49f *Gaumātām tyam maḡum*; DPd 2f *hauw Dārayavaum xšāyathiyaḡ adadā* 'he created King Darius'.

F. As predicate to the direct object of a factitive verb: DNā 5f *hya Dārayavaum xšāyathiyaḡ akunauš* 'who made Darius king'; and of other verbs, cf. *yānam* in DPd 20-2 (quoted under D).

G. To express the goal; names of places are often used thus without a preposition (regularly with *fra-aiš-*, *ar-*, *awa-ar-*, *parā-ar-*, *šiyav-*), but names of persons always have the preposition: DB 3.82 *abiy awam Arxam ašiyava Bābirum*; exception DB 5.21f *ašiyavam abiy Sakām*, cf. DB 2.72, 3.73f (*šiyav-*), 2.72f (*fra-aiš-*), DB 5.23f (*awa-ar-*), DPe 24 (*ni-ar-*). With *ay-* 'go' places as well as persons take prepositions, cf. DB 1.91f, 3.73, DZc 11 for places, DB 1.93, 2.32f for persons.

H. With prepositions and postpositions, denoting not merely goal but sometimes other ideas, see §269.

I. With *kāma* 'desire', apparently a terminal accusative indicating that the desire has reached the person and is felt by him (JAOS 66.44-9): DB 4.35f *yadā mām kāma* 'as was my desire', XPf 21f *Auramazdām awadā kāma āha* 'thus was the desire unto Ahuramazda'.

J. To express duration of time, as in the adv. *dargam*: DB 4.56 *dargam jivā* 'mayest thou live long'.

K. To express time when, as in the adverbs *paranam* and *pariwam* 'formerly', and with the postposition *patiy*: DB 1.20 *xšapavā raucapativā awa akunavayatā* 'either by night or by day, that was done'; DB 2.61f *Θuravāharahya māhya jiyam-nam patiy awadā šām hamaranam kartam* 'on the last of the month Thuravahara, then by them the battle was fought'.

L. To express specification: *nāmā* as in *Marguš nāmā dahyāuš* 'a province Margiana by name' (DB 3.11), if *nāmā* is really acc. nt. and not loc. with long-grade vowel (see Lex. s.v. *nāman-*).

§250. THE GENITIVE CASE appears in OP in the following uses:

A. Possessive,¹ as in DB 2.19f *manā badaka* 'my subject'; DB 4.82f *anušiya manā* 'my followers', whence also with its opposite in DB 2.79f *hauw-maiy hamiciya abava* 'he became rebellious toward me' (also DB 3.11, 4.12, instead of *hacāma* 'from me' and the like, DB 1.40, 2.6f, 3.27, 3.78, 3.81f); DB 1.4 *manā pilā*, 1.29f *Kabujiyahyā brātā*, and with other words of relationship. This is found also in the predicate: DB 3.9f *pasāva dahyāuš manā abava* 'afterwards the province became mine', cf. DB 5.19f, 35f, and DB 3.58f *awam kāram hya Dārayawahauš xšāyathiyaḡ garbataiy* 'that army which calls itself King Darius's'.

B. Subjective, as in DB 1.11f *vašnā Auramazdāha* 'by the favor of Ahuramazda', DNā 56f *hyā Auramazdāhā framānā* 'Ahuramazda's command'; especially with passive participles, where it develops into the agent: DB 1.27 *tya manā kartam* 'which has been done by me', XPf 38 *tyamaiy piça kartam āha* 'which had been built by my father'. Alternative ways of expressing the agent are the genitive with postposition *rādīy* (see K), the ablative with *hacā* in *hacā-ma* (see §271 and Lex. s.v. *hacā*), and apparently by the accusative alone (A³Pa 22f *mām upā mām kartā* 'made by me in my time', A³Pa 26 *mām kartā* 'made by me'; both probably corrupt, but cf. the *mām kāma* idiom, §249.I).

C. Objective, as in DB 4.78f *Auramazdātiy jatā biyā* 'may Ahuramazda be a smiter of thee' (unless this is a dative use); and especially with *xšāyathiya* and *framātār-*, as in DB 1.1f *xšāyathiya xšāyathiyanām* 'king of kings' and DNā 7f *awam parūnām framātāram* 'one lord of many'. But only a plural genitive is used with *xšāyathiya*; in the singular the locative is used (§251.A). The genitive with the verb 'to rule' probably belongs here: DNā 18f *adamšām patiyaxšayaiy* 'I ruled over them'; DNb 15 *waipašiyahyā xšayamna* 'ruling over my own (impulses)'.

D. Partitive, expressing the whole: DB 1.37f

¹ The disappearance of dative forms in OP and the assumption of dative functions by the genitive form makes it impossible to differentiate possessive datives with the copula, from possessive genitives; thus in XPf 28f *Dārayavauš* (error for *-vahuš*) *puçā aniyaiçiy āhatā* 'Of Darius other sons there were', the genitive may be either a true genitive of possession, or a possessive dative. When an orthotone genitive follows the word on which it depends, however, there may be a presumption in favor of the dative use; cf. §309.

Vijayakhya mähya XIV raucabiś śakatā āha '14 days of the month Vijakhya were past'; DB 1.49 *naīy amāxam taumāyā kaściy* 'not anyone of our family', cf. *amāxam taumāyā* DB 1.28f depending directly on *Kabūjiyā*; DPd 1f *hya mabiśta bagānām* 'the greatest of the gods'.

E. Expressing time within which: DB 4.4f *hamahyāyā θarda* 'in one and the same year'; from this use came the use of the genitive *xšapa*, DB 1.20, in a riming pair with acc. *rauca* and enclitic *patiīy*, to indicate time when.

F. As appositive to a genitive, as in DB 3.58f *Dārayavahauš xšāyatihiyāyā*.

G. As dative of indirect object, in DB 1.12 *Awamazdā xšačam manā frābara*, DB 1.31f *kārahya naiy azdā abava* 'it was not known to the people', DB 1.75 *kārahya awaθā abaha*, DŚa 5 *visahya frašam θadayātaiy*.

H. As dative of reference, in DB 1.87 *aniyahyā asam frānayam* 'for the rest I brought horses', DNā 3f *hya šiyātim adā martiyahyā* 'who created happiness for man'; including the dative of possession, as in DB 4.56 *utātaiy taumā vasiy biyā* 'and to thee may there be family in abundance'.

I. As dative of goal, in DB 1.13 *imā dahyāwa tyā manā patiīyāiša* 'these are the provinces which came to me'.

J. With the idea of *hama-* 'like' in compounds: DB 1.30 *hamātā hamapitā Kabūjiyāyā* 'having the same mother and father as Cambyses'; the position of the genitive after the adjectives suggests that this is a dative use rather than a true genitive use (cf. §309).²

K. With prepositions, the mixed use with *-patiīy* (see E); DB 3.32 *pasā manā* 'behind me'; with *anu-* 'according to', in DNB 16, 18; with following *rādīy*, to express agent, in DNB 9, 10f; with enclitic *-rādīy*, in *avahyarādīy* 'on account of this'.

§251. THE LOCATIVE CASE appears in OP in the following uses:

A. Expressing place where, without a preposition, as in DB 1.34f *pasāva drauga dahyauwā vasiy abava utā Pārsaiy utā Mādaiy utā aniyāuwā dahyūšwā* 'afterwards the Lie waxed great in the country, both in Persia and in Media and in the other provinces'; DB 2.75 *diwarayāmaiīy basta adāriya* 'he was held bound at my palace en-

trance'; DB 2.76 *pasāvašim Hagmalānaiy uzmayā-patiīy akunavam* 'afterwards I put him on the stake (= impaled him) at Ecbatana'; DB 1.15 *tyaiy drayahyā* '(those) who (dwell) by the sea' (not 'islanders', since the term denotes the satrapy of which Dascylium was the capital, JNES 2.304). With 'king', singular nouns are in the locative, as in DB 1.2 *xšāyatiīya Pārsaiy* 'king in Persia', though plurals are in the genitive (§250.C); similarly DB 1.81 *xšačam tyā Bābirauw* 'the kingship in Babylon'. It is a substitute for the genitive in DB 2.23f *hya Mādaišwā mabiśta āha* 'who was chief among the Medes' (cf. §250.D).

B. Expressing place to which, with prep. *yātā* 'as far as', in DŚf 32f *abara yātā Bābirauw* 'carried as far as Babylon', 34 *yātā Čūšāyā* 'as far as Susa'; perhaps also, because of the idea of motion which seems to be in the verbs, in *gāθavā awāstāyam* (DB 1.62f), *gāθavā niyašādāyam* (DNā 36), *maškauwā awakanam* (DB 1.86), *uzmayā-patiīy* (DB 2.76, etc.).

C. Expressing specification: *nāma* 'as to name' (see Lex. s.v. for examples, and §312), and possibly *nāmā* (if long-vowel loc. and not acc.); probably We I *CXX karšayā* '120 (units) in weight', and D²Sa 1 (and A²Hb) *apadānam stūtiyā* (if for *-āyā*) *θagainam* 'palace made of stone as to its column(s)'.

D. Abnormal uses: The locative sometimes replaces the ablative with *hacā*, to denote place from which: *hacā Bābirauw* 'from Babylon' (DŚf 33; but the abl. in *hacā Bābirauš* DB 2.64f), *hacā Hidauw* (DŚf 44, DPh 7, DH 5f); and once even without the preposition: XPf 32-4 *yatiīmaiīy pitā Dārayavauš gāθavā ašiyava* 'when my father Darius went from the throne (= died)'.

E. With prepositions: The locative is found with *yātā* (see B), *hacā* (see D), *nī-* in the adv. *nī-patiīy*, *-patiīy* (see A, B). Further, all locative case-forms have the postposition *-ā*, except names of places in the singular and those which function as adverbs (such as *dūraiīy*, *nādiīy*, *nī-patiīy*, etc.).

F. As appositive to a locative, as in DB 1.34f.

§252. THE INSTRUMENTAL CASE appears in OP in the following uses:

A. With *hadā*, to denote accompaniment either friendly or hostile: DB 2.21f *pasāva hauw Vidarna hadā kārā ašiyava* 'after that this Hydarnes with the army marched forth'; DB 2.23 *awadā hamaranam akunauš hadā Mādaiibiš* 'there he made battle with the Medes'.

² Cf. Greek use of the dative with adjectives of which the prior element was *θμο-*; though in later times the genitive also was used with them.

B. With *pari-ay-* 'to have respect for', to denote association: DB 1.23 *imā dahyāva tyanā manā dātā apariyāya* 'these provinces had respect for my law'.

C. Alone, to denote means: DB 1.11f *vašnā Auramazdāha aham xšāyabiya amiy* 'by the favor of Ahuramazda I am king'.

D. Alone, to express specification: DNb 40f *yāumainiš amiy utā dastairibiya utā pādaibiya* 'trained am I both as to hands and as to feet'. So also with numerals: DB 2.56 *Anāmakahya māhyā XV raucabiš šakatā āha* 'of the month Anamaka, 15 by days were past'; Wa 1 II *karšā* '2 (units) by weight'; cf. Lg. 19.227-9.

E. With or without prepositions,¹ to denote place where or within which: DB 1.92 *vardanam anuw Ufrātuvā* 'a town beside the Euphrates'; DB 3.26 *kāra Pārsa hya vθāpatiy* 'the Persian army which (was) in the palace'; XPa 13f *vasiy aniyašciy naibam kartam anā Pārsā* 'much other good (construction) was built within this (city) Persepolis'.

F. With *hacā*, to denote place from which: DPh 5 (and DH 4) *hacā Sakaibiš* 'from the Scythians'; but perhaps the ablative form in the plural had been lost, and its functions been taken over by the instrumental form, for there is no distinctly ablative plural form recorded in OP.

G. Alone, to express cause: DB 1.86 *abiš naviya āha* 'on account of the waters there was navigability'; DSe 46f *didā ha[natāyā awagmat]ā* 'wall fallen down from lapse of time' (both examples doubtful, see Lcx. s.vv.).

II. With *anuw*, to express accordance: DNb 24-6 *martiya tya kunardiya yadivā ābaratiy anuw taumanišaiy* 'what a man does or performs according to his natural powers'.

I. As a general case-form, added as the last of a series of accusatives: DB 1.64f *abicariš gaiθōmē māniyamcā vθbišcā*; XPh 50f and 53f *Auramaz-*

dām . . . artācā. Apparently two locutions have been contaminated: 'Ahuramazda along with Arta' and 'Ahuramazda and Arta', giving 'Ahuramazda and along with Arta'. There is a similar but more extensive use of the instrumental as a general case-form in Avestan.²

J. With prepositions: *hadā* (see A); *anuw* (see E, H); *-patiy* (see E); *hacā* (see F).

§253. THE ABLATIVE CASE is found in OP in the following uses:

A. With *hacā*, to express the various 'from' ideas; listed §271.

B. With *yātā ā*, to express the goal in space: DPh 6 (and DH 5) *yātā ā Kūšā* 'as far as Ethiopia' DPh 7f (and DH 6) *yātā ā Spardā* 'as far as Sardis'; but cf. §270.II.

§254. SYNCRETISM OF THE CASES may have been a considerable factor in the forms and syntax of OP. With the reduction of final *-s -t* to a minimal sound, which perhaps was entirely lost after *ā* (though not lost after *-ā-*), the endings of certain cases, originally distinct, became identical. Thus in *-ā-* stems, a form ending in *-āyā* is gen., inst., loc., abl.; in *-ō-* stems, a form in *-ā* is both inst. and abl.; in *-i-* stems, a form in *-iyā* is inst., loc., abl. (and possibly gen.; no example extant); while no such confusion is demonstrable in *-i-* stems (no inst., loc., abl. forms extant), in consonant-stems (no abl. forms extant), in *-ū-* stems (no inst. or abl. forms extant; but see remarks below). So much for the singular; in the plural the nom. and acc. are always alike, the gen. is distinct, the inst. and loc. are different, the abl. form is entirely lacking.

It may be then that (except in enclitic pronouns: *-ma* in *hacāma*, *-ša* in *avadaša* etc.) the ablative as a distinct form was lacking in OP, since the original ablative forms had become identical with other case-forms, notably those of the instrumental and locative, and that therefore certain instrumental and locative forms, not by origin identical with the ablative, are used with *hacā* 'from' (§251.D, §252.F). This would explain also the regular use of the preposition with what we designate as the ablative, whereas other case

¹ Use of the instrumental without a preposition to denote place where or within which is not common, but is approached in various languages; for the whole IE field, cf. Brugmann, Gdr.² 2.2. §480 (Der Instrumentalis als örtlicher und zeitlicher 'Prosecutivus',—der Raumerstreckung—der Zeiterstreckung); in Sanskrit, cf. Whitney, Skt. Gr.² §281.d (Time passed through, or by the lapse of which anything is brought about); in Avestan, cf. Reichelt, Aw. Elmb. §448 (Prosecutivus zur Bezeichnung des Raums, mit dessen Zurücklegung eine Bewegung voranrückt).

² On this subject, Ed. Schwyzer, Die sog. misabräuchlichen Instrumentale im Awesta, IF 47.214-71 (1929); but for such forms in the Gathas, also Maria W. Smith, Studies in the Syntax of the Gathas of Zarathushtra, esp. pages 19-35 (1929).

are used both with and without prepositions, and would also motivate the single exception in XPf 33, where the loc. *gābawā* is used without *hacā*, but in an ablative meaning. One form remains to be noted: DB 2.65 has *Bābirauš* as the old abl. form identical with the gen., as in Sanskrit; but a later inscription, DSf, has loc. *Bābiraw* with *hacā* in line 33, and *Hidaw* occurs with *hacā* in DSf 44, DPh 7, DH 5f, showing a shift in this declension. Late Avestan also departed from the old identity of gen. and abl. (outside the *-š-* stems!), by creating new ablatives in *-t*; OP allowed a new amalgamation of the abl. with other cases to remain as normal.

§255. NUMBER has in OP its usual significance. The singular form has collective meaning in DB 1.87 *aniyahyā asam frānayam* 'for the rest I brought horse(s)'; in DB 5.24f *avadā hadā kārā pišā viyalarayam* 'there with the army I crossed by raft(s)'; and perhaps in D^Sa 1 and A²Hb *apadānam stūnāya atagayimam* 'palace stony as to column(s)' = 'palace with stone columns', if *stūnāya* is a miswriting for loc. *stūnāyā*. For *kāra* and *dahyāuš* as antecedents of plural masc. pronouns, see §258.III; for alternative singulars as antecedents of a plural pronoun, see §258.IV.

§256. GRAMMATICAL AGREEMENTS in OP follow the usual types found in IE languages, as to attributive adjectives, appositive nouns and adjectives, predicate nouns and adjectives, pronouns of the various kinds, and verbs with their subjects. A few peculiarities are listed in the following sections, with some instances of regular use.

§257. APPOSITIVES occur in the following cases; lack of examples in the other cases is accidental: nom. DB 1.1, 1.53, and almost everywhere; acc. DB 1.54, DPd 2, DNb 4f, etc.; gen. DB 3.59, DPd 9-11, XPc 14, etc.; loc. infrequent, DB 1.34f. More often the appositive, if more than a single word or if to an oblique case, is expressed by an anacoluthic nominative phrase, followed by a resumptive pronoun or adverb (§314a; §312). Partial appositives occur as in DB 1.34f *pasāva drauga dahyauwā vasiy abava ulā Pārsaiy utā Mādaiy ulā aniyārwā dahyūšwā* 'afterward the Lie became great in the country, both in Persia and in Media and in other provinces'; also DB 1.40f, 1.48f, DSf 25f *θikā awaniya aniyā XL arašaniš baršnā aniyā XX arašaniš baršnā* 'the rubble

was packed down, some 40 cubits in depth, another (part) 20 cubits in depth'. Appositive substantives do not necessarily agree in gender; thus DPd 6f *iyam dahyāuš Pārsa* 'this province Persia', where *dahyāuš* is feminine and *Pārsa* is masculine.

§258. AGREEMENTS OF PRONOUNS show the expected phenomena, and some special features which are here given.

I. The pronouns *haw*, *awa-*, *-šim*, *-dim*, and their forms are often used to refer back to a preceding phrase or relative clause; a preceding phrase is usually in the nominative, as in DB 2.30f *kāra hya hamičiya manā naiy garubataiy awam jadiy* 'the rebel army which does not call itself mine—that do thou smite', but sometimes in its own proper case, as in DB 2.84 *kāram hamičiyam hya manā naiy garubataiy awam jatā* 'the rebel army which may not call itself mine—that do ye smite'.

II. The enclitics *-šim* and *-dim* and their forms may have antecedents of any gender, and the singular forms may refer to antecedents of any number; for details, see Lex. s.vv. *-ša-* and *-di-*.

III. Plural pronouns are often used where the antecedent is 'men' implied in a preceding *kāra* 'people, army' or *dahyāuš* 'province' or the like: thus DB 1.65 *-diš* goes back to 64 *kārahya*; DB 2.19-21 *-šām* in two occurrences and the two plural imperatives go back to *kāram*; DB 3.11f *akunawa^atā* is plural by the meaning of *dahyāuš*, as are *agarbāyaⁿ* 3.48 and *agarbāyaⁿ* 3.49 by reference to *kāra* 3.45. DNā 36f *-šām* refers back to *-šim* 36, denoting 'men' (cf. II, above) implied from *būmim* 32. DB 4.5f *-šim* has the meaning 'foe(s)' by reference to *hamaranā* 'battles' (see JAOS 35.344-50, 41.74-5).

IV. Other features: In DSe 32-7 the fem. pl. *dahyāwa* motivates the masc. *aniya aniyam*. In DB 4.68f the masc. pl. *awaiy* refers back to masc. sg. *martiya* to which are attached two alternative relative clauses connected by *-wā* 'or'. In XPh 30f *atar aitā dahyāwa tyaiy upariy nipištā* 'within these provinces which are inscribed above', the masc. relative *tyaiy* refers to fem. *dahyāwa* though *dahyāwa* has the fem. attribute *aitā*. DB 1.65 *tyā* and DSs 6 *[-diš]* are neuter plurals with multiple antecedents of different genders.

§259. AGREEMENT OF PREDICATES is of the normal types. But an adjective in the singular neuter

may be used as predicate to any subject:¹ DB 2.18f *kāra Pārsa utā Māda hya upā mām āha haw kamnam āha* 'the Persian and Median army which was with me—this was a small thing'; so also DB 1.47 *uwāpašiyam* (referring to *Pārsam utā Mādam utā aniyā dahyāva*), DNa 39 *ciyākaram āha awā dahyāva*, DNb 6f *avākaram amiy*, DNb 27f *avākaram-ca-maiy ušiy utā framānā*, DNb 50f *ciyākaram amiy ciyākaram-ca-maiy ūwnarā*. A neuter subject may have a masculine substantive as predicate: DNb 11f *hya rāstam awa mām kāma* 'what is right, that is my desire'.

In DB 2.92f *Parθava utā Varkāna hamičiyā abava* *hacāma Fravartaiš agauba* 'Parthia and Hyrcania became rebellious from me, they called themselves Fravartis's', the plural verbs indicate that the predicate adjective *hamičiyā* is plural rather than dual, although it is predicate to two singular nouns.

In DB 1.8 *hacā paruviyata hyā amāxam laumā xšāyabiya āha*, the probability is that *xšāyabiya* is nom. pl. 'kings', in which case *āha* is plural, agreeing with its predicate; but if *xšāyabiya* is taken as nom. sg. adj. 'royal', *āha* is singular, agreeing with its subject *laumā* 'family'.

§260. THE PRONOUNS OF OP, including those which have also adjectival use, are the following:

I. The personal pronouns *adam* 'I' and *tuvam* 'thou' have no peculiarities of syntax; the genitive forms are used in all uses and not replaced by possessive adjectives (unlike the use of Latin *meus* and *tuus* to replace the possessive genitive, and sometimes other genitive uses). The only use of *tuvam* and its forms is, from the nature of the texts, to refer to a hypothetical second person of general character.

II. The enclitic pronouns of the third person, *-šim* and *-dim* and their forms, show no variation of form for gender; cf. Lex. s.vv. For forms of *-dim* written as separate words, see Lex. s.v. *-di-*, and §133.

III. Certain other pronouns may be grouped together as Demonstratives, though they seem to combine demonstrative and determinative mean-

ings that cannot be definitely separated from each other; these are all used both as pronouns and as adjectives:

haw (§263), much like Latin *is*.

awa- (§264), equivalent to Latin *ille*.

iyam and its suppletions (§265), like Latin *hic* and *is*.

aila- (§266), like Latin *hic*.

All these are used as resumptive pronouns, referring to something already mentioned which is frequently without grammatical construction (§314, §312), as well as in more usual ways. The adverbs *awadā* and *awadā* are also used as resumptives.

The adverb *amata* 'from there' indicates a stem *ama-* 'that', found in OP in the adverb only.

IV. The relative pronoun of OP is *hya hyā tya* (§261), used also as definite article (cf. §262) and (rarely) as pronoun of the third person.

V. The interrogative-indefinite pronoun, pIE **q'o- q'z-*, has a few remnants in OP; see §201.

VI. The pIE relative **jo-* also has a few remnants in OP; see §197.

§261. THE RELATIVE DEMONSTRATIVE of OP is *hya hyā tya*, in form and in functions combining Skt. demonstrative *sa-sā tad* and relative *ya-syā yad* (cf. Gk. ὁ ἢ τό, ὅς ἢ ὅ). In OP the use as relative occurs much more commonly than the use as article or demonstrative pronoun. Scrutiny of the examples makes it probable that the original dominant use was that of the relative; that in attributive clauses modifying a nominative the omission of the copula led to an understanding as an appositive marked by the article; that this use was extended to accusative antecedents, and rarely to substantives in other cases; that the appositive shifted to a mere attribute and was occasionally placed before the modified substantive; that the article was ultimately preposed to an adjective in a generic sense.¹

I. The relative use is clear where the clause has a finite verb, as in DB 1.51, or a participle without the copula as the passive equivalent of an active actually found: DB 4.1f *tya manā kartam* 'what (was) done by me' = DB 4.3f *tya adam akanawam* 'what I did'; also when the relative differs in case from its antecedent: XPf 22f *Dārayawam hya manā pātā*, cf. DSf 57f, DSf 42, DPf 5f.

¹ Ig. 20.1-10 (1944), with details of the argument leading to the views summarized in this section.

¹ Cf. the predicate neuter to a masc. or fem. subject sometimes used in Latin: Verg. Ecl. 3.80 *triste lupus stabulūis*, Aen. 4.569f *varium et mūtābile semper fēmina*. Similarly in Greek: Xen. Anab. 2.3.15 (ῥά πρᾶγματα) ἦν καὶ παρὰ πτόν ἡδὺ μὲν, κεφαλᾶλγός δέ, 3.2.22 εἰ . . . τοὺς . . . ποταμοὺς ἄπορον νομίζετε εἶναι.

II. From the originally relative type *Gaumāta hya maguš* (DB 1.44, etc.) without the copula, there came the accusative type *Gaumātām tyam magum* (DB 1.49f, etc.), where the articular use is assured.

III. This pronoun as article is used after a noun to introduce modifiers: an appositive substantive alone (DB 1.44, 1.50) or with preceding genitive (XPh 30, DB 1.39); a common adjective (DB 2.25f, DPe 3f, DSf 30f, 37), two successive common adjectives (DSf 11f), an ethnic (DBk 2, DB 1.79, 2.21); a superlative with following genitive of the whole (DSf 9); a possessive genitive of a personal name (DB 1.89) or of a pronoun (DB 2.35, 1.69); a locative substantive (DB 1.81 *xšačam tya Bābiraw*) or an instrumental with enclitic postposition (DB 3.26 *kāra Pārša hya v'θāpa-tiy*).

IV. This pronoun as article occasionally precedes its noun to attach to it an adjective or a genitive; there are these examples: DB 1.8 and DBa 12f *hyā amāxam taumā*; DB 1.23 *tyanā manā dātā*, cf. DNa 21; DB 3.32 *hya aniya kāra Pārša*; DB 4.87f *tyām imaišām martiiyānām taumām*; DB 5.12 *tyamšām matišām*; DNa 56f *hyā Auramaz-dāhā framānā*; DSf 12f *hya manā pitā Vištāspa*.²

V. This pronoun as generic article has two occurrences in DSe 39f *hya tarūyā tyam skauwim*; elsewhere generic force is given by use of *martiiya* 'man', as in DNb 12 *martiiyam draujanam*, or is unmarked, as with *skauwiš* DNb 8f, *tuwā* DNb 10.

VI. In two passages *tya-* is demonstrative: DB 3.73 *nipadiy tyaiy* 'close after them', where the text is certain, and DSf 14 *tyā* 'these two', which rests upon only slight traces of the characters.³

§262. THE ARTICLES IN OP.

I. The definite article, properly speaking, is lacking in OP, despite the uses given in the preceding section (cf. Lg. 20.6-8); for *hya hyā tya* as article function only to attach modifiers to another substantive, or to indicate generic value. Thus we find *kāra Pārša utā Māda hya upā mām āha haw kamnam āha* 'the Persian and Median army which was with me, this was a small thing' (DB 2.18f); *adam Dārayawauš xšāyatiya vazraka* 'I (am) Darius the Great King' (DB 1.1). It is noticeable

that Xenophon uses *βασιλεύς* without the article in reference to the Persian king (Anab. 1.7.1, 2, etc.).

II. The indefinite article is entirely lacking in OP, except in the phrase *I martiiya* 'one man', used in introducing a new personage, where the numerical sign has virtually the value of the indefinite article (DB 1.36, 74, 77, etc.).

III. The generic article is discussed in §261.V.

§263. THE DEMONSTRATIVE *haw* (once *hawam*, DB 1.29) is either a pronoun referring to a previously mentioned substantive, or an adjective immediately followed by its substantive, which is then sometimes explained by a relative clause (DB 1.92; 2.66; 3.35, 54, 70).

§264. THE DEMONSTRATIVE *awa-* 'that' is similarly either pronoun or adjective; it commonly refers to something already mentioned, but sometimes has a forward reference, as in *naimā awa kāma tya tuwāw skauwaiš rādiy miša kariyaiš* 'that is not my desire, that the mighty should have wrong done to him by the weak' (DNb 10f; also DB 3.58, 5.2f, DNa 39, DNb 20, 53, 55, 57, DSa 4, DSe 34, XPh 49, 51f). It has also the meaning 'yonder' as applied to the sky: *Auramazdā hya imām būmim ada hya awam asmānam adā* 'Ahuramazda, who created this earth, who created yonder sky' (DNa 1-3, etc.).

§265. THE DEMONSTRATIVE NSM.-NSF. *iyam* 'this', with its suppletions (§199), is likewise either pronoun or adjective, mainly of the following types: *iyam Pārša* 'this is the Persian' (DN I), *hya imam tacaram akunauš* 'who built this palace' (DPa 5f), *xšāyatiya ahyāyā būmiiyā vazrakāyā* 'king in this great earth' (DNa 11f). It is a pronoun with rather distant reference in *tya imaiy karam adurujivaša* 'so that these deceived the people' (DB 4.34f), where *imaiy* refers to the rebel pretenders listed in DB 4.7-30.

§266. THE DEMONSTRATIVE *aita-* 'this' more often refers to the preceding, but also sometimes to the following (DB 1.44, DNa 48, XPh 43, perhaps XSc 4°), when it may be repeated by *aita-* or *awa-*.

§267. THE PRONOUNS IN RELATIVE CLAUSES show some interesting syntactic features.

I. Except for *aita tya* 'this which' (DNa 48, XPh 43), the relative never has a preceding pronominal antecedent of general character; cf. DB 1.27 *ima tya manā kartam* 'this (is that) which

² DPe 22 *hyā* is not nom. sg. fem. article before its noun, but an ablative adverb; see Lex. s.v. ³ Lg. 20.3 for another possibility.

was done by me'. But there may be a general substantive antecedent, as in DB 1.21 *martiya hya agriya āha awam* 'a man who was excellent, him ...'

II. A general antecedent may be incorporated within the clause, as in DB 1.57f *utā tyaīšaiy frataṁ martiyā anušiya āhatā* 'and those men who were his foremost followers'; but more commonly the antecedent precedes the relative, as in DB 2.77 *utā martiyā tyaīšaiy frataṁ anušiya āhatā*.

III. A descriptive adjective is likewise incorporated within the clause, in DB 2.30f (and 2.50f) *kāra hya hamičiya manā naiy gaubataiy* 'the hostile army which does not call itself mine'; but such adjectives usually stand outside, as in DB 2.84 *kāram hamičiyam hya manā naiy gaubataiy*, cf. also DB 2.21, 3.86.

IV. The antecedent of a relative pronoun is commonly repeated after the clause by a resumptive pronoun in its immediate context, such as DB 1.21 *awam* (see above, I); DB 4.75f *tya kuna-vāhy awa-laiy Auramazdā ucāram kunautuv* 'what thou shalt do, that may Ahuramazda make successful for thee'.² In one passage the resumptive pronoun is repeated: DNb 16f *martiya hya hataxšataiy anu-dim [ha]kartahyā awatā-dim paribārūmiy* 'the man who cooperates, him according to his cooperative service, him thus do I reward'.

V. In one passage a relative which is the object of two verbs is repeated by *-diš* as object of the second verb: DNb 45-7 *ūmnarā tyā Auramazdā upariy mām nīyasaya utā-diš atāvayam bartanaiy* 'the skills which Ahuramazda bestowed upon me and I had the strength to bear THEM'.³

VI. The relative as subject is omitted before *ayauda* in XPh 31.

§268. THE PREPOSITIONS AND POSTPOSITIONS found in the OP texts, with certain others found

only as prefixes to verbs and nouns, are given in the following list, with a summary of their uses: *ā*, prep. w. adv.; postp. to loc.; pref. to verbs and nouns.

a'tar, prep. w. acc.

ati-, pref. w. verbs.

abiy, prep. w. acc.

anuw, prep. w. instr. and gen.

apa-, pref. w. verbs and nouns.

abiy, prep. w. acc.; pref. w. verbs and nouns.

awa-, pref. w. verbs.

ud-, pref. w. verbs and nouns.

upā, prep. w. acc.; pref. w. verbs and nouns.

upariy, prep. w. acc.; pref. w. verbs.

tara, prep. w. acc.

ni-, prep. w. loc. in phrasal adv.; pref. w. verbs.

nij-, pref. w. verbs.

nipadiy, prep. w. acc.

patiy, prep. w. acc.; postp. w. acc., inst., loc.; pref. w. verbs and nouns.

patiš, prep. w. acc.

para, prep. w. acc.; perhaps prefix in nouns.

parā, postp. w. acc.; prefix w. verbs.

pariy, prep. w. acc.; pref. w. verbs; used as root of derivative noun.

pasā, prep. w. acc. and gen.

fra-, pref. w. verbs and nouns, and in phrasal adverb.

yātā, prep. w. loc.

yātā ā, prep. w. abl.

rādiy, postp. w. gen.

vi-, pref. w. verbs and nouns.

hačā, prep. w. abl., loc., instr., adv.

hadā, prep. w. instr.

The inseparable prefixes are the following:

a- *an-*, the common negative prefix.

u- (= *hu-*) 'well'.

duš- 'ill'.

ha- *ham-*, equal in meaning to Gk. *συν* and Lt. *com-* as prefixes.

The uses as prepositions (and postpositions) will be discussed in the following sections; other uses are adequately described in the Lexicon.

§269. PREPOSITIONS WITH THE ACCUSATIVE are the following; for *patiy* and *pasā*, used also with other cases, see §271:

a'tar 'inside', of place where.

abiy 'to', of goal.

abiy 'to', of arrival at a goal, either person or

¹ Bv. TPS 1945.61n suggests that the engraver accidentally omitted *martiyā* before *tyaišaiy*, and then inserted it after *frataṁ* when he noticed the omission.

² Cf. the similar usage in Latin: Caesar, BG 1.12 *quae pars civitatis Helvetiae insignem calamitatem populo Rōmāno intulerat, ea princeps poenās solvit*. ³ The same use occurs also in Latin: Cic. ad Fam. 12.23.2 *legionibus . . . quās sibi conciliāre pecuniā cōgitabat easque ad urbem addūcere*.

place; except in 'I was near to . . .' (DB 2.12), 'I made additions to . . .' (XPg 10).

upā 'under', always of a person, in figurative uses: 'was under me, under my command, with me' (DB 2.18, 3.30); 'under Artaxerxes, in the time of A.' (A³Ša 4); 'made under me, in my time (A³Pa 23).

upariy 'over', with slight idea of motion, shading down to 'according to' (DB 4.64); once placed as second word after its object (DNb 49, variant of 46).

tara 'through', with motion.

nīpadiy 'close after', see §270.IV.

patiš 'against', governing a person as goal.

para 'beyond', of place where.

parā 'along', of motion; enclitic postposition.

pariy 'about = concerning = against', of a person.

§270. PREPOSITIONS WITH OTHER CASES are the following:

I. With the instrumental; see also *anuw*, *patiy*, *hacā*, §271.

hadā 'with', of accompaniment; of hostile association (as in DB 2.23).

II. With the ablative; see also *hacā*, §271:

yātā ā 'unto, as far as', of limit in place; see also *ā* and *yātā*, IV.

III. With the genitive; see also *anuw*, *patiy*, *pasā*, §271:

rādīy 'on account of', enclitic postposition in *avahyarādīy* 'on account of this'; also orthotone postposition, indicating the agent (DNb 9, 10f).

IV. With the locative; see also *patiy*, *hacā*, §271:

ā, enclitic postposition attached to the locative singular of all common nouns and adjectives except in phrasal adverbs, and to all locatives plural; also preposition with phrasal adverb *pasāva* to denote limit in time (DSe 48); see also *yātā ā*, II.

nī- 'down', only in phrasal adverb *nīpadiy* 'down on the footstep, on the track of, close after', itself functioning as a preposition governing the accusative *tyaiy* (DB 3.73; for form, see §198).

yātā 'unto', of goal in place; see also *yātā ā*, II.

§271. PREPOSITIONS WITH TWO OR MORE CASES are the following; see also *ā*, *yātā*, §270.IV, and *yātā ā*, §270.II:

anuw 'along', of motion past, with instrumental; 'according to', with instrumental (DNb 25) and genitive (DNb 16, 18).

patiy with accusative, 'against' (DNb 22), 'on' in phrasal adverb *patipadam* (DB 1.62); as orthotone postposition with accusative, 'on', expressing time when (DB 2.62); as enclitic postposition, local 'in, at' with instrumental in *v³θāpatiy* (DB 2.16^o, 3.26), 'on' with locative in *uzmayā-patiy* (DB 2.76, 91; 3.52, 92), temporal 'during' with genitive and accusative in *xšapa-vā rauca-patī-vā* (DB 1.20), with accusative in *[pa]tiy a[vā]m^o š[iām] θardam* (DB 5.2f).

pasā 'after', with accusative of time in *pasā tanūm* 'after himself' and in the phrasal adverb *pasāva* 'after that'; with genitive of place in *pasā manā* 'after, behind me' (DB 3.32).

hacā 'from', with ablative of noun or pronoun, or ablatival adverb; occasionally with nouns of locative or instrumental form (once with an anacoluthic nominative phrase, DZc 9, and once with an accusative enclitic pronoun as invariable, which it follows, DB 1.50). It governs place-names as the starting-point from which there is motion or action (DB 3.80) or extension (DPh 5, 7) or separation (XPh 16); names of persons of whom fear is felt, from whom commands proceed (= agent), from whom rebellion takes place, from whom something is taken away (DB 1.61); adverbs of time as starting-point; names of persons and things and abstracts from which protection is to be given (DPd 16f, etc.).

§272. THE VOICES OF THE VERB in OP include forms of the active, the middle, and the passive; but the meanings are not in all instances typical of the voice-forms.

§273. THE ACTIVE FORMS have the usual meanings of the active voice; but they are sometimes replaced, without difference of meaning, by middle forms (§274.b).

§274. THE MIDDLE FORMS have usually the proper meanings of the middle voice, but sometimes the meanings of the other voices.

(a) The middle meaning is clear in such examples as the following: DB 1.41f *xšaçam hauw agarbāyatā* 'he seized the kingship for himself'; DB 1.47 *wāipašīyam akutā* 'he made (the provinces) his own possession'; DB 1.55 *patiyāvahyaizy* 'I asked aid for myself'; DB 1.93 *hya Nabuk³dracara agarbatā* 'who called himself Nebuchadrezzar'; DB 4.38 *patipayawā* 'protect thyself'.

(b) In some passages the middle is used with purely active meaning, as in *akunava^atā* DSf 48 'they wrought', but act. *akunavaša^a* DSf 51, 53; *manā bājim alara^atā* DB 1.19 'they bore tribute to me', but act. *abara^a* DPe 9f, *abaraha^a* DNa 19f, XPh 17, in the same phrase; *azdā kušwā* DNb 50 'do thou make known'; mid. *āha^atā* 'they were', but also act. *āha^a*.¹ Perhaps the ambiguity of *abara^a* for sg. *abara^a* and pl. *abara^a*, *ak^aunava^a* for *akunava^a* and *akunava^a*, etc., led to the use of the middle form as distinctive for the plural; however, this does not account for some examples, such as the inv. *kušwā*.

(c) Some verbs are found only in the middle voice, though the middle meaning is no longer evident: such are *maniyaiy* 'I think', *yadataiy* 'he worships', *amariyatā* 'he died', and their forms. That these may originally have represented middle voice ideas, is indicated by the fact that Latin *arbitror*, *veneror*, *moriōr*, representing the same ideas (though only the last is etymologically cognate with the OP correspondent), are all deponents, as are indeed the etymological or semantic equivalents in various other languages.

(d) The following middle forms have passive meaning: ind. *vainataiy* 'is seen, is seen to be, seems' DNb 2, XPa 16, and subj. *vainātaiy* DNb 35; *anayatā* 'was led' DB 1.82, 2.73, 5.26²; probably *kunavātaiy* DNb 56, and the restored forms *[ā]h[ya]tā* 'was thrown' DB 1.95 and *adā[rayatā]* DB 4.90f. This use of the middle is found in Avestan (Reichelt, Aw. Elmb. §614); and the middle forms are the basis of the passive forms of Greek and Latin.

§276. THE PASSIVE FORMS fall into two groups, those with the passive suffix *-ya-* (§220), which are always passive in meaning, and those which are composed of the past participle with or without the verb 'to be'—usually omitted; the combinations in which it is expressed are listed in §276. That the participle without the auxiliary is a true indicative passive is shown by the equivalence of DB 4.1f *tya manā kartam* 'what (was) done by me' and DB 4.3f *tya adam akunavam*

'what I did'. When the verb is intransitive, the past participle has active meaning, as in DB 2.32, 38, 43, 52, 57f, 3.65 *hamiçiyā hagmatā paraitā* 'the rebels assembled (and) came out'; DNa 43-5 *Pārsahyā martiyahyā dūraiyy aršiš paragmatā* 'the spear of a Persian man has gone afar'.

§276. THE VERB 'TO BE' WITH PASSIVE PARTICIPLE is usually omitted; it is expressed only in the following examples:

I. True passives of action are perhaps to be seen in the following:

DB 1.61f *xšaçaṃ tyā hacā amāzam taumāyā parābartam āha*.

DB 4.46f *aniyašciy vasiy astiy kartam*.

DB 4.51f *avaišām ava(θ)ā naiy astiy kartam*.

XPh 38 *tyamaiy piça kartam āha*.

II. The predicate participle is clearly adjectival in the following:

DB 1.37f *Viyaznahya māhyā XIV raucabiš θakata āha* (so also in 17 other dates).

DB 3.7f *Garmapadahya māhyā I rauca θakalam āha*.

DPe 22 *yadiy kārā Pārša pāta ahaiy*.

DNb 26 *xšnuata amiy*, cf. the adj. in the parallel clause *uxšnuuš amiy*, in line 27.

XPh 47 *šiyāta ahaniy*, cf. adj. in 48 *artāvā ahaniy*, and the similar pair in 55f, *šiyāta bavaiy* . . . *artāvā bavaiy*, the prior of which seems in meaning nearer to a true present passive of action than any of the other phrases.

III. The verb *bav-* 'become' may fairly be considered here, cf. the German true passive with *werden* 'become', while Gm. *sein* 'be' forms only a passive of state, in which the participle is merely an adjective. With predicate participles OP *bav-* appears only in XPh 55, just cited; in DSf 25 *yabā kalam abava* the participle has become substantial and is subject.

IV. Four heavily restored passages, DSe 31f, DSf 56f, DNb 54f, DNb 56, give no additional evidence of value.

§277. THE INDICATIVE MOOD has in OP the usual uses to denote present and past time in independent clauses. In dependent clauses, it is used in the following:

(a) In relative clauses descriptive or restrictive, occasionally in clauses of general significance, in both of which types it may vary with the subjunctive (§301.a, b).

(b) In substantive clauses: object clauses of

¹ Bv. TPS 1945.61-3 seeks to show that active *āha* always denotes existence, but middle *āhatā* is always used in an expression of possession, with a genitive-dative. His argument is not quite convincing, especially for DB 4.81; and no motivation for the specialization seems to exist.

fact, direct and indirect quotations of fact, direct and indirect questions (§302.a, d, e).

(c) In temporal clauses introduced by 'when', 'after', 'while', 'as long as', 'until', in past time (§304.a, b, d, e, f), and by 'whenever', 'until' in present time as generalizations (§304.c, f).

(d) In modal, local, causal, and consecutive clauses in present or past time; in consecutive clauses with present result depending on present or imperfect in the main clause (§305).

§278. THE SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD has a number of uses in OP, including those of future time, of volitions, and of wishes. These may be divided into uses in independent clauses, uses in relative clauses, uses in other subordinate clauses.

I. In independent clauses:

- (a) Future uses: mere futurity in apodosis of future condition, *nirasātiy* DPe 24: future of determination almost equal to command, *xšnāsātiy* DNā 42.
- (b) Volitional uses: affirmative commands *bavātiy* DNā 43, 45f, *vainātiy* DNb 35; negative commands with *mā* or *mātya*, *draujīyāhy* DB 4.43, *vikanāhy* DB 4.71, *kunavātiy* DNb 56, *bavātiy* DNb 59. Negative wishes possibly in (restored) *vijanātiy*, *vinādayātiy* A³Ša 5, A³Ha 7 (though optative or injunctive or imperative forms are equally possible in these passages).
- (c) Uses in future possible wishes: *ahanīy* XPh 47, 48, *ahatiy* DB 4.39f, *ṭadayātiy* DŠa 5, DŠj 6.

II. In relative clauses:

- (a) In a relative clause of general future meaning, depending upon an expression of command or prayer: *āhy* DB 4.37, 68, 87, DŠt 10°; *ahatiy* DB 4.38, 68, 68f; *kunavāhy* DB 4.75, 79; *patiparsāhy* DB 4.42; *patiparsātiy* DB 4.48; *vaināhy* DB 4.70; *vainātiy* DŠj 5°.
- (b) In a relative clause equivalent to a present general condition, with the conclusion in the present indicative: *yadātiy* DB 5.19, 5.34f.
- (c) In a defining relative clause, not differing from one with the present indicative, the main clause being a command: *gaubātiy* DB 2.84, 3.86; cf. ind. *garibātiy* DB 2.21, 31, 51, 3.15, 59 in the same meaning.

III. In other subordinate clauses:

- (a) In future conditions with *yadiy* 'if'; the negative is *natiy*, and the main clause is a com-

mand or a prayer, once a future statement (DPe 22): *apagaudayāhy* DB 4.55; *ṭāhy* DB 4.55, 58; *vaināhy* DB 4.73, 77; *vikanāhy* DB 4.73; *vikanāh°-diš* DB 4.77; *patibarāh°-diš* DB 4.74; *patibarāhy* DB 4.78; *maniyāhiy* DB 4.39, DPe 20, DNā 38, XPh 47; *ahatiy* DPe 22.

- (b) In temporal clauses of future time, with *yāvā* 'as long as'; the main clause has an inv. or a subjunctive in future meaning: *āhy* DB 4.72; *ahatiy* DB 4.74°, 78, 5.19, 35°.
- (c) In alternative clauses, the first introduced by *yathā* 'when' and the second by *yadi-vā* 'or if'; the main clause omits the copula: *vaināhy* . . . *āxšnāvāhy* DNb 29f.
- (d) In negative clauses of purpose, introduced by *mātya*, with an implication of fear: *xšnāsātiy* DB 1.52, depending on a potential optative; *ṭadayātiy* . . . *varnavātiy* . . . *maniyātiy* DB 4.49f, depending upon a timeless present.
- (e) In a volition, object of a verb of mental action, without conjunction: *tya amanayatiy kuna-vānaiy* DSI 3f 'what I thought I will do'.

§279. THE OPTATIVE MOOD has a variety of uses in OP, fairly parallel to those of the subjunctive except that the uses as a future are lacking; they are as follows:

I. In independent clauses:

- (a) Commands: *yadaišā* XPh 50; negative with *mā*, *biyā* DB 4.69, *yadiyaišā* XPh 39.
- (b) Prayers: *biyā* DB 4.56, 56, 58, 74f, 75, 78f; negative with *mā*, *biyā* DB 4.59, 79°, *ājamīyā* DPd 19.

II. In a relative clause of characteristic, with potential meaning: *caxriyā* DB 1.50.

III. In other subordinate clauses:

- (a) In optative clauses explanatory of *kāma* 'desire', introduced by *tya* 'that': *kariyaiš* DNb 9, 11; *vinādayaiš* DNb 20; *fraḍiyaiš* DNb 21 (without *tya*).
- (b) Potential in an object clause to a verb of fearing in a secondary tense; no introductory conjunction: *avājanīyā* DB 1.51, 52.¹

¹ Or perhaps potential as principal verbs of informal indirect discourse; but not principal verbs denoting repeated action in the past, as taken by Bv. TPS 1945.50-1 (cf. opt. in this use in Avestan; Reichelt, Aw. Elmb. §638).

- (c) Potential in a future less vivid condition with *yadiy* 'if': *vinābayaiš* DNb 21 (conclusion *frābiyāiš*, see IIIa).

§280. THE IMPERATIVE MOOD has in OP the meanings of command and prayer.

I. Commands, addressed to men; very common, cf. *parsā* DB 4.38, 69, *yadiy* DB 2.31 etc., *kušwā* DNb 50. In *jīvā* DB 4.56, 75, the command approaches a wish in value; in *mā . . . raxbatuw* DNb 60, the negative command seems to become a threat. In *varnavatīm* DB 4.42, 53, the man addressed is not subject, but object.

II. Prayers, addressed to Ahuramazda with or without other gods; frequent, with *pātw* *pā'tuw*, *dadātūw*, *baratūw*, *kunautūw*, *nika'tuw*.

§281. THE INJUNCTIVE MOOD, which is a secondary indicative form lacking the augment, has in OP only the use in a negative prohibition, with *mā*: in the first person, *tarsam* DPe 21; in the second person, *apagaudaya* DB 4.54, *avarada* and *stabava* DNa 60; in the third person, *ṭadaya* DNa 58, DNb 53.

§282. THE INFINITIVE occurs in OP in two uses:

- (a) as direct object of verbs meaning 'order', 'dare', 'be able': *niyastāyam . . . katanaiy* DZc 9 'I ordered to dig'; *niyastāyam . . . nīpaištānaiy* XV 23f 'I ordered to inscribe', cf. the restorations in DSn 1 and DSf 19f (subject of passive *framātām*); *kašciy naiy adaršnauš cišciy ṭastānaiy* DB 1.53f 'no one dared say anything'; *utādiš atāvayam bartānaiy* DNb 46f 'and I had the strength to develop them'.
- (b) to express purpose, with verbs of motion: only in the phrase *hamaranam cartānaiy* 'to make battle' (DB 1.93f, and 10 other occurrences), depending upon *āiš* 'he went', *paraitā* (pl. etc.) 'they went forth', *frāišaya* 'he sent forth'.

§283. THE PARTICIPLES in OP have no peculiarities of syntax. The following are examples of their uses: as attributive adjective, *axšatā* DPe 23; as appositive adjective, *marša* XPh 48; predicate adjective to a nom., *xšnuta* DNb 26, *xšayamna* DNb 15, *ṭakatā* DB 1.38; predicate adjective to an accusative, *ḍitām* DB 1.50, *duruxtam* DB 4.44f; predicate nominative without the copula, serving as finite verb, *paraitā* DB 2.32f; substantivized

by gender, masc. *tunwā* DNb 10, neut. *katam* DSf 25, *gastā* DNa 52, *rāstam* DNb 11, *vinastahyā* DNb 18, *jīyamnām* DB 2.62.

§284. THE TENSES in OP are the present, the imperfect, the strong aorist, the sigmatic aorist, in the indicative; the present, in the subjunctive, the optative, and the imperative. There are also one perfect optative, one strong aorist imperative (and possibly a second), and one heavily restored perfect indicative.

§285. THE PRESENT TENSE OF THE INDICATIVE is used to denote a real present, as in DB 1.3f *ṭātiy Dārayawauš xšāyabiya* 'Saith Darius the King', 1.12 *adam xšāyabiya amiy* 'I am king'; also to denote that which is true without respect to time, as DZc 10 *draya tyā hacā Pārsā aitiy* 'the sea which extends from Persia', XPh 51 *martiya . . . 56 banatiy*.

With an adverbial expression the present may, as in other languages, indicate time begun in the past and extending into the present, and the imperfect similarly may express time begun in a remoter past and extending into a nearer past; the best examples are in DB 1.7f *hacā paruiyāla āmālā amahy hacā paruiyāla hya amāxam taumā xšāyabiya āha* 'from long ago we are (= have been) noble, from long ago our family was (= had been) royal (or kings)', and 9-11 *VIII manā taumāyā tyaiy paruvam xšāyabiya āha adam navama IX dwitāparanam xšāyabiya amahy* '8 of my family (there were) who were (= had been) kings; I (am) the ninth; 9 in succession we are (= have been) kings'.

In XPh 30 *astiy* 'there is' seems to have been used illogically for *āha* 'there was'. The present *kunautiy* in DSs is an historical present, of timeless connotation, for the usual aorist *adā* 'created'.

§286. THE IMPERFECT AND AORIST TENSES OF THE INDICATIVE are in OP used to express action in past time, whether in progress or definitely terminated or habitual and repeated. The two tenses are seen in the variations of the same phrase: aorist in DB 1.90 *avadā hamaranam akumā* 'then we made battle', and imperfect in DB 2.23 *avadā hamaranam akunauš* 'there he made battle', both denoting terminated action. So also the imperfect *adadā* 'created' is used in the phrases at the beginning of DPd, DNb, DSe, precisely as the aorist *adā* is used in DNa, DSf, and other inscrip-

tions of Darius and Xerxes. Action in progress appears in the main clause of DB 2.62f *Vaumisa citā māṃ amānaya Arminiyaīy yātā adam arasam Mādam* 'Vaumisa waited for me so long, until I reached Media'. There seems to be no difference of aspect between *arasam* in this clause and its compound in DB 2.65 *yabā Mādam parārasam* 'when I reached Media'. Habitual repeated action is seen in DB 1.23f *yabāšām hacāma abahya avabā akunawayatā* 'as was said to them by me, thus 'twas done'. For action begun in a remoter past and extending into a nearer past, see examples in §285.

§287. TENSE ASPECT was not a living phenomenon of OP. The difference between imperfective (in progress, habitual, repeated) and perfective (definitely terminated) may be detected by examination of the meaning of the passages, but does not correspond to any difference of form in the verbs, as is seen from examples in §286, cf. §288.

§288. THE PERFECT TENSE is virtually lacking in OP. The one certain form, *caziyā* DB 1.50, is an optative, and the passive indicative in DB 4.90 is an uncertain conjecture; in neither instance can any reason be seen for a perfect in the normal meaning of resultant state. The meaning which in English is normally expressed by the perfect tense seems to be present in all the instances where the participle is accompanied by the present copula: *astiy kartam* 'has been done' DB 4.46, 51; *kartam astiy* DNb 56; restored uncertain text, DNb 54f. Where the copula *āha* 'was' is expressed, the meaning seems to be that of the pluperfect: DB 1.62 *parābartam āha* 'had been taken away'; XPf 38 *kartam āha* 'had been made'. But it is doubtful if such distinctions would have been felt by the speaker of OP, since all past ideas seem to have been merged into one set of forms, including imperfects, aorists, and perfects, and a passive periphrastic of the past participle with or without the copula (usually without it, §§275-6).

§289. THE FUTURE is in OP expressed by forms of the subjunctive, the optative, and the imperative. The only future statement in a main clause is in DPe 24, where the subjunctive *nirasātīy* means 'will come down'. Elsewhere the future ideas in main clauses are commands and prayers, and in subordinate clauses are expressive of time relative to that of the verb on which they depend.

In some of these subordinate clauses the mood expresses a subordinated volition or wish or potentiality.

The aorist imperative *kušwa* 'do thou make' (DNb 50) is clearly imperfective in meaning; the repeated phrases 'go, smite' (DB 2.20f *paraitā . . . jālā*; etc.) are presents and are as clearly perfective.

§290. COORDINATION AND SUBORDINATION. Not infrequently the OP texts express by coordinate clauses ideas which are logically subordinate; the result is a series of short sentences, syntactically simple, independent of each other grammatically, but logically and semantically connected. Thus, for example, DB 4.46-8 *vašnā Auramazdāha apimāiy aniyāšciy vasiy astiy kartam ava ahyāyā dipiyā naiy nipištām avahyarādiy naiy nipištām mātya . . .* 'by the favor of Ahuramazda indeed, much other (work) was done by me; that (work) is not inscribed in this inscription; for the following reason it is not inscribed, lest . . .'; this could have been expressed in one complex sentence somewhat as follows: 'much other work was done by me, which has not been inscribed in this inscription for the following reason, lest . . .'. Another excellent example is found in XPf 20-25 *utā Vištāspa utā Aršāma ubā ajiwatam aciy Auramazdām avabā kāma āha Dārayavauṃ hya manā pūtā avam xšāyabiyam akunauš ahyāyā būmīyā* 'Hystaspes and Arsames both were living, then—unto Ahuramazda thus was the desire—Darius who (was) my father, him he made king in this land'; in the parallel passage DSf 13-5, *yadiy* 'when' is used instead of *aciy* 'then', and instead of *Auramazdām avabā kāma āha* (found also XPf 29f, DSf 15f), we find in DNb 37f (and elsewhere) *yabā māṃ kāma āha* 'as unto me was the desire'. In dating sentences we regularly have expressions of the type seen in DB 1.42f *Garmapadahya māhyā IX rauca-biš θakatā āha avabā xšačam agarbāyātā* 'of the month Garmapada, 9 days had passed—then he seized the kingship'; only in DB 1.38 the date is followed by a subordinated clause, *yadiy udapatātā* 'when he rose up in rebellion'. The same phenomenon is probably present where conjunctions are omitted as introductory to subordinate clauses, such as the absence of *tya* in DNb 20 and 50 (cf. DNb 39).

§291. THE COORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS are *utā* 'and', and the enclitics *-ā* 'and' and *-vā* 'or'.

I. *utā* and *-cā* connect either single words or entire clauses; if used also with the first word or clause of a series, the meaning is 'both . . . and'. In a series of three single words there is no asyndeton, except that in A³Sa 4f, A³Ha 5f, the 'and' is omitted between the first and second words. Principal clauses may or may not be connected by an 'and' (both uses in DB 1.76f), and similarly with two subordinate clauses (DSf 28f and DNb 36) and with the two parts of one subordinate clause (both uses in DB 4.73f). A series *-cā . . . -cā utā . . .* occurs DB 1.66f.

II. No special word for 'but' occurs in the OP inscriptions. However, *utā* functions to counteract a preceding negative, like Lt. *et* (DB 4.73). Note that *naiy* 'not' is not 'and not', like Lt. *neque*, though this would often be a suitable meaning (as in DB 4.73); for in many passages (as in DB 1.71) it is merely the negative to a verb, even to a verb already introduced by *utā* 'and' (DB 4.78). Yet when repeated, *naiy* is best translated 'neither . . . nor', with words and with clauses.

III. *-vā* is attached to the second of a pair of words or of subordinate clauses; in DB 1.20 it is attached to both words of a pair. In DNb 25 and 29 *yadivā* 'or if' merely brings in an alternative verb in a relative clause introduced by *tya* '(that) which' or by *yabā* 'when'.

IV. Other adverbs which show the relations between main clauses are essentially adverbs which may be used with reference outside the clause. Note that *aciy* 'then' in XPf 21 is a substitute for *yadiy* 'when' in DSf 14.

§292. THE NEGATIVE ADVERBS in OP are *naiy* and *mā*.

(a) The adverb *naiy* is used with the indicative; with the subjunctive in future relative clauses, DB 2.84, 3.86, and in future conditional clauses, DB 4.55, 4.58, 4.73, 4.78; with the optative in the conclusion of a future less vivid condition, DNb 21; with the subjunctive in a negative clause of purpose, to negative the introductory *mātya*, DB 4.49.

(b) The adverb *mā* is used with subjunctive, optative, injunctive, and imperative, in negative wishes and commands. In DPd 18-20, after *mā* and the optative, three subjects are given, each preceded by an additional *mā* intensifying the negative. The compound negative *mātya* is used with the subjunctive in principal clauses to ex-

press a negative command, DB 4.43, 4.71, and in subordinate clauses to express a negative purpose, DB 1.52, 4.48f (see a).

§293. THE SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS of OP are derivatives of the pIE relative stem, in the forms *yātū*, *yabā*, *yadātya* (also miswritten *yadātyā*), *yadiy*, *yaniy*, *yāvā*; *tya*, from the OP relative stem; and *mā*, in the form *mātya*. Except *mā*, which is treated in §292.b, these will be treated in the following sections.

Subordination is achieved also by the use of the relative *hya-/tya-* (§261); and of the interrogative *ciyākarām* 'how great, how much, how many', introducing a direct or an indirect question with the indicative.

Perhaps there should be included here also *aciy* 'then' (§291.IV); and *hakaram* 'once' (DNb 34f), used with the subjunctive as the equivalent of a future general condition ('once let there be seen . . . ' = 'if at any time there shall have been seen').

§294. THE CONJUNCTION *yātū* has the meanings 'until' (twice with correlative *citā* 'so long'), 'while', 'as long as', 'when' (with correlative *adakaīy* 'then'). It usually refers to past time, and takes the imperfect indicative; once (DNb 23) it is in a general statement, expressed in the present tense. In two passages (DB 1.25 and 1.69) the 'until' has become virtually the equivalent of 'so that'.

§295. THE CONJUNCTION *yabā* has the meanings 'as' (marked by the correlative *avabā*, once miswritten *avā*; sometimes no correlative with *yabā* *mām kāma āha*); 'when', shading into 'after' (which is marked by the correlative *pasāva* 'after that'); 'that', introducing an object clause (DB 4.44); 'so that', introducing a result clause,¹ 'because' (marked by correlative *wahyarādiy* 'on account of this', DB 4.63). In all these the time is past, and the verb is in the imperfect indicative; except that the time is present and the verb is in the present indicative, in DSe 35, 39, and the time is future and the verb is in the present subjunctive, in DNb 28f. In DNb 39 the present indicative of general timeless statement is used in two conditional clauses compared by *yabā* ('as' = 'as well as').

¹ So in DB 1.70, DSe 35, 39; *yabā* never introduces a hypothetical proposition or a purpose. Cf. Bv. TPS 1945.4-6.

§296. THE CONJUNCTION *yadātya* (XPh 35f; miswritten *yadāyā* XPh 39) 'where' and *yanīy* (XV 22) 'where' are used with the imperfect indicative; in XPh 39 there is a following correlative *avadā* 'there'.

§297. THE CONJUNCTION *yadiy* 'if, when' has several uses. In the meaning 'if', it most often takes the present subjunctive as the protasis of a future condition; the apodosis has the affirmative imperative or optative, the negative injunctive or optative, or the present subjunctive (DPe 22) as a future indicative. In DNb 20f *yadiy* introduces a future less vivid condition, with present optative in both parts. In DNb 25 and 29 *yadi-vā* 'or if' repeats *tya* '(that) which' in introducing an alternative verb; in 29 the verb is in the subjunctive with the main verb omitted, and in 25 both verbs are in the present indicative. In general conditions the 'if' easily passes into 'whenever', as in the two instances in DNb 38f, where the present indicative is used in both parts in a timeless general condition; and 'whenever' passes into 'when', used of past facts with the imperfect indicative, DB 1.38 and DSf 14.

§298. THE CONJUNCTION *yāvā* 'as long as' refers to the future in all its occurrences, and takes the present subjunctive; the verb in the clause on which it depends is also in the subjunctive, with future meaning.

§299. THE CONJUNCTION *tya* 'that' is used to introduce clauses of fact, of volition, of directly and indirectly quoted statement and question, of result; it has the present or imperfect indicative except in clauses of volition, which have the optative (DNb 8, 10, 19). For the compound *mātya*, see §292.b; for *yadātya*, §296; the phrase *yaḥā tyā* 'when that' (XPh 29) has the imperfect indicative precisely like *yaḥā* 'when'.

§300. SUBORDINATE CLAUSES in OP fall into the usual types: relative clauses, introduced by a relative pronoun (§301); substantival clauses of various types (§302); adverbial clauses, including conditional (§303), temporal (§304), and miscellaneous (modal, causal, consecutive, final, local; §305). In addition, logical subordination is often expressed by coordination, with or without an adverb indicating the logical relations (§290).

Two or more subordinate clauses which are co-

ordinate with one another have the following arrangements:

(a) Additive: the clauses may be connected by *utā* 'and', with repetition of the introductory word, as at DSf 28f; or the single clause may contain three coordinate verbs and their adjuncts, the first two asyndetic, but *utā* between the second and third (DB 4.73f, 4.77f.)

(b) Alternative: the alternative to a general relative clause is introduced by the relative with the enclitic *-vā* (DB 4.68f) when the relative is in the nominative case, but it is introduced by *yadi-vā* 'or if' (DNb 25) when the relative is in the accusative; the alternative to a general temporal clause introduced by *yaḥā* 'when' is introduced by *yadi-vā* 'or if' (DNb 29).

(c) Comparative: a general condition introduced by *yadiy* 'if' (= 'whenever') is compared with a preceding clause of the same kind by an intervening *yaḥā* 'as well as' (DNb 39).

§301. RELATIVE CLAUSES in OP are of various kinds.

(a) Most relative clauses are descriptive or restrictive, with the verb in the present or imperfect or aorist indicative; with a predicate nominative, participial or otherwise, or a predicate phrase (as in DH 4f, DB 1.15), the copula *astiy* or *ha'tiy* or *āha* may be omitted. In DB 2.84, 3.86, the present subjunctive is without apparent reason substituted for the present indicative in a restrictive clause of special (= not general) application.

(b) Relative clauses of general significance (= timeless) may have the present indicative (DNb 22-6, XPh 51-6) or the present subjunctive (DB 5.19, 5.34f), with the present indicative in the main clause; the sentence is virtually a present general condition.

(c) Relative clauses of general future meaning, depending upon an expression of command or prayer, have the verb in the subjunctive (§278.IIa).

(d) A relative clause of characteristic, with a general negative antecedent, has the optative in a potential sense (DB 1.50); the main clause contains an imperfect indicative.

§302. SUBSTANTIVE CLAUSES in OP are of several kinds.

(a) Objects clauses of fact: *tya* 'that' with imp. ind., three clauses, objects of a following *akunauš* 'made, did', DSf 28f; *yaḥā* 'how', = 'that', with

imf. ind., as object of preceding *Auramazdāha vartaiyaiy* 'I appeal to Ahuramazda', DB 4.44f.

(b) Object clause with potential optative, depending upon *atarša* 'feared', without conjunction, DB 1.51, 1.52.

(c) Substantive clause of wish, nominative as subject to *kāma* (*astiy*) 'is the desire' or appositive of *ava* in *ava kāma* 'that (is) the desire'; with optative introduced by *tya* 'that', DNb 8, 10, 19; without *tya* DNb 21.

(d) Clauses of directly quoted statement as object or subject, normally without introductory conjunction: quotations of fact, with past participle or imf. ind., depending on *xšnāsāhy* and *azdā bavātiy*, DNa 42-7; of volition, expressed by the subjunctive, depending upon *amanīyaiy*, DSI 3f; of wish, with the subjunctive or injunctive, depending upon *manīyāhaiy*, DB 4.39, DPe 20f, XPh 47; of negative command, with *mā* and the opt., depending upon *patīyazbayam*, XPh 38f; of direct question, with the imf. ind., introduced by *ciyākaram* 'how many' which is preceded by a superfluous *tya* 'that', and depending on *manīyāhaiy*, DNa 38f.

(e) Clauses of indirectly quoted statement as subject or object, normally introduced by *tya* 'that': with past ptc. as verb, as subject of *naiy azdā abava*, DB 1.32; with pres. ind. as verb, as object of *xšnāsātiy*, DB 1.52f; with pres. ind. as verb and no *tya*, indirect question introduced by *ciyākaram* 'how great' (and two other coordinate clauses without verbs) as object of *kušwā* in *azdā kušwā* 'do thou make known', DNb 50-2.

§303. CONDITIONAL CLAUSES occur as follows in OP:

(a) Future conditions occur only addressed to an idealized hearer in the second person; the protasis has the subjunctive in the second person, and the apodosis has a command or a prayer or a future statement; see §278.IIIa. General relative clauses with the subjunctive are often a virtual substitute for this form of the condition; see §278.IIb.

(b) A future less vivid condition, with optative in both parts, is found in DNb 20f, where it functions as appositive to *ava* in *naiṣatimā ava kāma* 'that again is not my desire'. The protasis has *yadiy*.

(c) For *yadi-vā* 'or if' as correlative to *tya* 'that', see §297.

§304. TEMPORAL CLAUSES in OP are of considerable variety.

(a) Introduced by 'when': to express past time, the temporal clause has imf. ind., and the main clause has the imf. ind. or a ptc. with *āha*; introduced by *yadiy*, DB 1.38, DSf 14; by *yātā*, DB 4.81; by *yabā*, DB 1.31, 91°, 2.22, 65, 3.34, DNb 28f, DSI 3, XPh 24, 32, 36; by *yabā tyā*, XPh 29. To express future time, the temporal clause has the subjunctive, and the main clause has an expression of prayer or command. Introduced by *yabā* DNb 28f, subjunctive in a general statement with omitted copula in main clause.

(b) Introduced by 'after', expressed by *yabā* preceded or followed by *pasūva*; the temporal clause has the imf. ind., and the main clause has the imf. ind. or the past ptc. without the copula: DB 1.27, 33, 72, 73, 2.32, 52, 3.3, 4.5, 5.3, 23, DNa 31f, DSf 25, XSc 3.

(c) Introduced by *yadiy* 'whenever', with pres. ind.; the main clause also has the pres. ind.: DNb 38, 39.

(d) Introduced by *yātā* 'while', with imf. ind. in both parts of the sentence: DB 2.6, 3.77.

(e) Introduced by 'as long as', with *yātā* and the imf. ind. to denote past time, the main clause having *astiy kartam*, DB 4.51; with *yāvā* and the subjunctive to denote future time, the main clause also having the imperative in a prohibition, DB 4.71, or the subjunctive in a condition, DB 4.74, 78, or in a general relative clause, DB 5.19, 35.

(f) Introduced by *yātā* 'until', with pres. ind. in both parts of the sentence in a timeless generalization, DNb 23f, and the imf. ind. in both parts to denote past time, DB 1.25, 54, 69, 2.28, 48, 63, DNa 51, DSf 24, XPh 45f.

§305. MISCELLANEOUS ADVERBIAL CLAUSES of the following types are found in OP:

(a) Modal, introduced by *yabā* 'as', with the imperfect ind. or an omitted *āha* 'was'; the main clause has the imf. ind.: DB 1.23, 63, 67, 69, 4.35, 5.17, 29, 33, DNa 37, DSj 3, DZc 11, 12. Exception, DB 4.51f *naiy astiy kartam yabā manā kartam* 'has not been done as (has) been done by me', with past ptc. and copula.

(b) Local, introduced by 'where', with imf. ind. in both parts of the sentence: with *yaniy* XV 22, *yadātya* XPh 35f, *yadāyā* XPh 39.

(c) Causal, introduced by 'because': *yabā* DB

4.63, with *imf. ind.* in both parts of sentence; *hya* DNb 33, with *pres. ind.* in both parts.

(d) Consecutive, introduced by *yadhā* 'so that', with *imf. ind.* in both parts DB 1.70, with *pres. ind.* in both parts DSe 38-41, with *pres. ind.* depending on an *imf. ind.* DSe 34-7; introduced by *hya* 'so that', with *imf. ind.* in both parts DB 4.34, with *pres. ind.* in both parts DNb 7.

(e) Volitive in a negative clause of purpose introduced by *mātya* 'lest': with *subj.* depending on potential *opt.* DB 1.52, with *subj.* depending on past *ptc.* with omitted *astiy* DB 4.48f.

§306. THE POSITION OF ADJECTIVES.

I. Attributive adjectives precede their nouns if they are demonstrative, numerical, quantitative, or month-names. Exceptions: DB 1.40 *kāra haruwa* 'the people entire', and DB 1.79f *kāra hya Bābiru-viya haruwa* 'the Babylonian people entire' (*hya* with *Bābiru-viya* only), where *haruwa* 'all' (elsewhere preceding its noun) may perhaps be an appositive; XPf 28f *Dārayawauš* (error for *-vahuš*) *puça aniyaiçiy ahaat* 'of Darius there were other sons', where the unusual position may be for emphasis.

II. Descriptive adjectives, if attributive, follow their nouns. Exceptions, (a) in a fixed phrase, DNb 23f *uradanām hadugām* 'the Ordinance of Good Regulations'; (b) with a preceding demonstrative, as in DPe 8f *hadā anā Pārsā kāra* 'with this Persian army', DPe 21 *imam Pārsam kāram* (but also DPe 22 *kāra Pārsa*, etc.); (c) for emphasis, in DNa 46 *Pārsa martiya*, DNa 43f *Pārsahyā martiyahyā*.

III. Attributive adjectives preceded by articular *hya* follow the same principles; *hya* is required if *ava-* precedes the noun, as in *avam kāram tyam hamiçiyam* 'that rebellious army' (DB 2.35, etc.). The only instance which precedes is DB 3.32 *hya aniya kāra Pārsa* 'the rest of the Persian army'.

IV. Adjectives as predicates and as appositives have the same position as nouns in the same uses (§307, §308).

§307. THE POSITION OF PREDICATE NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES. A predicate noun or adjective stands between the subject and the verb, unless the subject follows the verb; in this instance the order is predicate, verb, subject. Exceptions: DB 4.46f *aniyaçiy vasiy astiy kartam* 'much other (work) was done'; DB 4.51f *avaṭā* (miswritten *avā*) *naiy astiy kartam* 'thus it was not done'. In DNb both

positions are found, for stylistic reasons: 34 *hamaranakara amiy ušhamaranakara* 'as battle-fighter I am a good battle-fighter', 41f *asabāra uṣasabāra amiy* 'as horseman a good horseman am I', 42f *ṭanuwaniya uṣanuwaniya amiy* 'as bowman a good bowman am I', 44 *ārštika amiy uṣārštika* 'as spearman I am a good spearman'.

§308. THE POSITION OF APPOSITIVES. Appositives, whether nouns or adjectives, usually follow¹ that to which they are appositive; but the position is otherwise free. Appositives to a subject implied in the verbal ending may stand in any place; cf. DNb 41-5. Chiasmus sometimes is the result of stylistic considerations: XPh 47f *šiyāta ahanīy jīwa utā marta ariāvā ahanīy* 'happy may I be while living, and when dead blessed may I be'; DSf 12f *hya manā pitā Vištāspa utā Aršāma hya manā niyāka* 'my father Hystaspes and Arsames my grandfather', in which the appositive precedes in one instance.

An appositive is usually attached to its noun by an articular *hya* (§261.III), if the fact thus expressed is considered to be known by the hearer or reader.

§309. THE POSITION OF THE GENITIVE. A genitive used as a genitive (not in a dative use), and depending upon a noun or adjective, precedes that noun or adjective, unless the genitive is attached to its noun by the article, in which instance it follows: DB 1.4 *manā pitā* 'my father', but DB 2.27 *kāra hya manā* 'my army'. The exception is only seeming in DB 1.9f *VIII manā taumāyā tyaiy paruwam xšāyabiya āha* 'eight (there were) of our family, who were kings before'; for *amāzam taumāyā* is an appositive, equal to '(members) of our family', cf. DB 1.28 *Kabūjiya nāma Kūrauš puça amāzam taumāyā* 'Cambyses by name, a son of Cyrus, (a member) of our family'.

Other exceptions belong exclusively to governmental and religious formulas: *xšāyabiya xšāyabi-yānām* 'kings of kings', *xšāyabiya dahyānām* 'king of countries', *hya mabišta bagānām* 'the greatest of gods', *vašnā Auramazdāha* 'by the will of Ahuramazda'. It is possible that the postposition of the genitive in these phrases is a Median usage.

Enclitic genitive pronouns are somewhat freer

¹ In the phrase *asū dāruv* (DSf 41; see Lex. s.v. *dāru-*) it is uncertain which word is appositive to the other; is it 'stone that is wood', or 'wood that is stone'?

in their position; for while they normally preceded the noun which they modify, we find also DNb 25f *anw taumanišaiy* 'according to his powers', and the restored DB 5.27 [*maθ[i]šta[šām] :*] *S[ku]xa : nāma* 'the chief of them, Skunkha by name', where the *-šām* has no earlier word to which it may be attached, and space does not permit [*hyašām : maθ[i]šta [-]*] *S[ku]xa : nāma*. Cf. also §311.I end.

§310. THE WORD-ORDER IN THE SENTENCE in OP is quite free, but the normal order is subject—object—verb: DB 1.85 *kāra hya Naδitabairahyā Tigrām adāraya* 'the army of Nidintu-Bel held the Tigris'. There are the following types of exceptions:

I. The verb may come before the subject, for emphasis, as in *θātiy Dārayawauš xšāyatiya* 'Saith Darius the King'; to give substantive force to the verb 'to be', as in DB 1.48 *naiy āha martiya* 'there was not a man', and XPh 30 *asti;* in direct and indirect questions, DNa 39, cf. DNb 50-2.

II. The object may precede the subject, for emphasis, as in DB 1.41f *xšačam haw aqarbāyātā* 'the sovereignty he seized', and when the object is a resumptive pronoun and the subject is a pronoun, as in DB 1.62 *awa adam patipadam akunavam* 'that (sovereignty) I put back on its base'.

III. When there are two or more subjects or objects, the second and later subjects or objects commonly follow the verb, as in DB 4.60f, 1.57f, DSf 57f.

IV. When a verb takes two accusatives, one denoting a person and the other a thing, the order is variable; with *dā-* 'take away from', DB 1.46 (both objects follow; cf. passive in DB. 1.50, where both nouns precede); DPd 20-2 *aita adam yānam jadiyāmiy Auramazdām* 'this as a boon I beg of Ahuramazda', DNa 53f *aita adam Auramazdām jadiyāmiy*.

V. A predicate to the object of a factitive verb usually follows the object, as in DSf 3f *hya Dārayavauš Xšyām akunauš* 'who made Darius king'; but occasionally precedes, as in DSf 16f *ha[r]-uuhyāy[ā] BUy[ā] mar[tiyām] mām awar[navatā]* 'choose me as his man in all the earth'.

VI. The indirect object may stand before or after the direct object, or after the verb: DB 1.12 *Auramazdā xšačam manā frābara* 'Ahuramazda conferred the sovereignty upon me'; DB 1.19 *manā bājim abaratā* '(the provinces) bore tribute to me';

DZc 3f *hya Dārayavauš Xšyā xšačam frābara* 'who conferred the sovereignty upon King Darius'; DNa 4 *hya šiyātim adā martiyahyā* 'who created happiness for man' (and so elsewhere; but DNb 2f *hya adadā šiyātim martiyahyā* has the verb before the direct object).

VII. Other adjuncts of the sentence are free in position, standing either at the beginning or between the subject and the verb or at the end: resp. DB 1.8 *hačā paruiyata*, 1.45 *hačā paruiyata*, 1.82 *Ūvijam* and *abiy mām*. The phrase *vašnā Auramazdāha* 'by the favor of Ahuramazda' stands first in its clause in 63 of its 77 occurrences. Resumptive pronouns (*haw* and forms of *awa-*) and adverbs (*awadā*, *awathā*) stand first after a nominative phrase; *pasāwa* 'afterward' leads off its clause in 77 of its 82 occurrences, standing last in DB 1.27, 4.5, 5.3, XSc 3, before *yathā* 'when', while in DSe 48 the text is uncertain. Other adjuncts are variable in position; thus the goal may precede or follow the verb: DB 2.3 *pasāwa adam Bābirum ašiyavam* 'afterward I set forth to Babylon', DB 2.30 *awam adam frāšayam Arminam* 'him I sent forth to Armenia'.

VIII. Subordinate clauses may stand either before or after the main clause; the order of the elements in them is the same as the order in main clauses, though the verb is more likely to stand in final position. Occasionally a word belonging to the clause stands before the relative or conjunction which introduces it: DB 4.37 *tuam hā xšāyatiya hya aparam āhy* 'thou who shalt be king hereafter', 4.67f, 4.87, cf. especially DNb 21f, 24f. In one phrase an adjective belonging to the antecedent is incorporated within the relative clause: DB 2.31, 2.51 *kāra hya hamičiya manā naiy gaubatiy* 'the rebel army which does not call itself mine', cf. DB 2.84 *kāram hamičiyam hya manā naiy gaubātaiy*.

§311. THE POSITION OF ENCLITIC WORDS. The enclitics of OP may be divided into four groups: (1) pronominal forms *-mai* *-mā* *-ma*, *-taiy*, *-šaiy* *-šim* *-šām* *-šiš*, *-dim* *-diš*; (2) adv. *patiy*, conj. *tya*; (3) conj. *-ā*, *-vā*, adv. *apiy* *-ciy* *-diy*; (4) postpositions (see §133 for others in fixed combinations; §134-§139 for phonetic phenomena).

Some enclitic words are occasionally written as separate words; thus *diš* DB 4.34, 35, 36, *taiy* DNb 58 (*mā taiy*, but *mā-taiy* DNb 52, 55), *tya* in *yathā tyā* XPh 29 despite *yadā-tyā* XPh 35f and

mā-tya DB 1.52, 4.43, 48, 71, *patiy* in *ima pati-maiy* DNb 32f despite *nai-pati-mā* DNb 20. Regular orthotone *mām* is written with the preceding in *mā-tya-mām* DB 1.52. On adv. *patiy*, see II; on *apiy*, see III; on the postpositions, see IV.

I. The enclitic pronouns are attached to the first word of their sentence or clause or phrase, even though this be *utā* 'and': DB 1.25 *Auramazdā-maiy upastām frābara* 'Ahuramazda bore me aid'; DPh 8 *tya-maiy Auramazdā frābara* '(the kingdom) which Ahuramazda conferred upon me'; DPh 9f *mām Auramazdā pātūw utā-maiy viḍam* 'me may Ahuramazda protect, and my royal house'. But the phrase *vašnā Auramazdāha* does not count in fixing the position of an enclitic: DB 1.13f *vašnā Auramazdāha adam-šam xšāyahiya āham* 'by the favor of Ahuramazda I was king of them'; except in two partly restored passages, see under III. An enclitic in a dependent clause is sometimes attached to *utā* preceding a conjunction or relative: DB 4.73f *utā-taiy yāvā taumā ahatiṣ* 'and as long as strength shall be unto thee'; XPa 15 *uta-maiy tyā pitā akunauš* 'and what my father built', but also XPa 19f *utā tyā-maiy piḡa kartam* 'and what was built by my father'; DNb 28f *yadā-maiy tyā kartam vaināhy* 'when thou shalt see what was built by me'. An attributive enclitic genitive normally precedes the word which it modifies (cf. §309); but the meaning sometimes governs the position, as in A^sSa 3 *apan^oyāka-ma* 'my grandfather's grandfather', A^sSa 4 [*xyā*]kama (for *-am-ma*, §138.I) 'my grandfather', both with *-m^o* for *-m^oiy^o* = *-maiṣ* (§52.I). The abl. *-ma* is found only in *hacā-ma* 'from me', standing anywhere in its clause. These formulations are violated in three heavily restored passages, but the available space and the other versions favor these restorations: DSf 20 [*awa uḇaramaiy* (= *-am-maiy*) *akunauš*] 'that he made successful for me'; DSf 23 [*hucā-ciṣ*] *dūradāša [arjanam-šaiy abariya]* 'from afar its ornamentation was brought'; DNb 54f *tyā parta[m-taiy as]tiy* 'what is communicated to thee' (this restoration is highly conjectural).

II. The adverb *patiy*, when enclitic, was attached to the first word of its clause (for DNb 32f, see V), but also in an equal number of passages is orthotone and leads its clause. The conjunction *tya*, when enclitic, stands immediately after a conjunction which leads its clause (*mā-tya*, *yadā-tya*, *yadā tyā*).

III. The conjunctions *-cā* and *-vā* are attached to the word which they introduce, which of necessity is the first word in the word-group concerned; *apiy*, either directly attached or as separate word, emphasizes the preceding *dūraiṣ* 'far off', which never begins a clause (for a restored instance, see Lex. s. v.); *-ciy* is attached to the word which it emphasizes, wherever it stands; the rather doubtful *-diy* also is attached to the word which it emphasizes, which stands first in DB 4.69 and second in A^sSd 3.

IV. The postpositions are *upariy* (§269; only once postposed, as separate word); *parā*, only in *ava-parā*; *rūdiy*, in *awahya-rūdiy* and separately; *patiy*, as enclitic postposition, as separate postposition, and also as preposition; *-ā*, as formative of the locative case; *hacā* once (DB 1.50), separately, governing a preceding enclitic. Position in the clause varies.

V. When two enclitics stand in succession, they are attached to the first word of the sentence or clause, and the pronominal enclitic stands last. There are the following occurrences:

DNb 20 *nai-pati-mā*; with separation, DNb 32f *ima pati-maiy*.

DNb 27f *awākaram-ca-maiy*; DNb 51, 51f *ciyā-karam-ca-maiy*.

DB 1.52 *mā-tya-mūm*, where the regular orthotone acc. *mām* is used as an enclitic instead of the unaccented form *-mā*.

§312. THE NAMING PHRASES. It is a feature of OP style, that at the first mention of a person (other than of the ruling king) or of a place (other than of a governmental province) the name of that person or place should be followed by *nāma* or *nāmā*; there are a few exceptions, as in DSf 12f, where the names of Arsames and Hystaspes lack *nāma*, and in DB 3.11 and 5.4, where the province-names *Marguš* and *Uvja* are accompanied by *nāmā*. These phrases are always¹ in the nominative case, whether or not that is their function in the sentence; they are usually followed by a resumptive pronoun or adverb. The form *nāma* is used unless there is a following generic term of feminine gender (*lahyāuš*, *didā*), when *nāmā* is

¹ The only exception is A^sHc 14f *Višāspahyā nāma puḡa* 'son of Hystaspes by name', where *nāma* modifies the genitive and is not followed by a generic word; the cast of the sentence eliminates the possibility of a resumptive pronoun.

used as though itself also a feminine; for case formation, see Lex. s.v. *nāman*-. Typical examples: DB 2.29f *Dādaršiš nāma Arminiya manā badaka avam fraišayam Arminam* 'Dadarshi by name, an Armenian, my subject—him I sent forth to Armenia.'

DB 1.58f *Sikayauvališ nāmā didā Nisāya nāmā dahyāuš Mādaiy avadašim avājanam* 'a fortress by name Sikayauvati, a district by name Nisaya, in Media—there I smote him.'

These phrases are perhaps based on similar phrasings in Aramaic, which suggest this manner of expression, if indeed they are not caused merely by the difficulty of expressing clearly by case endings such a statement as that just cited, with an accumulation of locatives the relation of which to each other might be obscure: 'in the fortress Sikayauvati in the district Nisaya in Media' (the same difficulty was met in expressing genealogical lines with a string of genitives; note the substitutes in DB 1.4-6 and A³Sa).

I. With names of persons, 41 occurrences (9 in a list, DB 4.8-29, and 6 in another list, DB 4.83-6). The resumptive is *haw*, *hawam* (DB 1.29), *avam*, *abiy avam* (DB 3.56f). In some passages the phrase has *āha* 'was' and makes a complete sentence (DB 1.30, 36; 4.8; XPf 18, 19); in three of these (DB 1.30; XPf 18, 19) the continuation precludes reference by resumptive pronoun. There is also no resumptive in Sa, where the name-phrase is the entire inscription, nor in the corrupt A³Pa 19f, where *nāma* is used twice with genitives (one a nominative form in genitive function). Further, the *nāma*-subject in DB 2.8f and 3.22 is not repeated by a pronoun before the verb, because a *nāma*-phrase of place intervenes, which has its own resumptive *avadaš* in each passage. The six helpers of Darius (DB 4.83-6) are not followed by resumptives, because they stand in a list appositive to a preceding substantive, and are not further mentioned. Typical phrasings are those of DB 2.29f (quoted above) and of 1.77f *I martiya Bābiruviya Naditabaira nāma Ainairahyā puça haw udapatatā Bābiraw* 'One man, a Babylonian, Nidintu-Bel by name, son of Ainaira—he rose up in Babylon.' A preceding *I martiya*, as in this passage, is the only generic term used for persons. The most interesting example is DB 3.12-4, where the nominative *nāma*-phrase stands after the verb and functions as direct object, without resump-

tive: *pasāva adam fraišayam Dādaršiš nāma Pārša manā badaka Bāztriyā xšaçaṇpāwā abiy avam* 'Afterward I sent forth a Persian by name Dadarshi, my subject, satrap in Bactria, against him (= Frada).'

II. With names of places, 32 occurrences. The common sequence is typified by DB 2.39 *Tigra nāmā didā Armāniyaiy avadā hamaranam akunawa* 'A stronghold by name Tigra, in Armenia—there they made battle.' A more elaborate phrase is in DB 1.58f, quoted above. After the place name and *nāma* or *nāmā* follows a generic name, then commonly but not always a locative stating the governmental province in which the place is located (replaced in DB 1.92 by *anw Ufrātuwā* 'beside the Euphrates'), and then a resumptive adverb. The generic names are *dahyāuš* 'district, province', *didā* 'fortress, stronghold', *vardanam* 'town', *āvahanam* 'village', *kaufa* 'mountain', *rauta* 'river'. The resumptive adverbs are *avadaš* 'there', *hacā avadaša* 'from there' (DB 1.37, 3.79; DSf 47), *hacā awanā* 'from that (mountain)' (DSf 31), *avaparā* 'along there' (DB 2.72). The aberrant example is DZc 9 *hacā Pīrāva nāma rauta* 'from a river by name Nile', where the nominative phrase functions as an ablative depending on *hacā*.

§313. THE ARTAXERXES GENEALOGIES take a form not found in earlier inscriptions; type, 'A son of B son of C son of D, an Achaemenian'. Since 'Achaemenian' applies to 'A', it is clear that the intervening phrases are dependent phrases (not independent sentences, as they are sometimes translated). This makes a difficulty in OP, for a succession of genitives from 'B' to 'D' would hardly be intelligible; therefore the appositive *puça* 'son' is always in the nominative, as are other embarrassing appositives (cf. §257, §312).

I. Inscriptions A¹I, A³Sa, A³Sc, A²Ha, A²He have genealogies of the type found in A³Sa 1-3: *Artaxšaça... Dārayavaušahyā XŠhyā puça Dārayavaušahyā Artaxšaçaṇhyā XŠhyā puça Artaxšaçaṇhyā Xšayārcāhyā XŠhyā puça Xšayārcāhyā Dārayavaušahyā XŠhyā puça D[āra]yavaušahyā V³tāspahyā puça Hazamān²šiya*.¹ In this the first phrase of parentage is grammatically correct; in the second, the gen. *Dārayavaušahyā* is repeated as a basis for clarity, and the appositive *puça* is in the nom. (see above), with proper depending

¹ The neologisms in the passage are treated in §57.

genitives; further phrases are of the type of the second. At the end, 'Achaemenian' is appositive to the initial 'Artaxerxes'. We may imitate this scheme in English, as follows: 'Artaxerxes, . . . son of Darius the King, of Darius (who was) son of Artaxerxes the King, of Artaxerxes (who was) son of Xerxes the King, of Xerxes (who was) son of Darius the King, of Darius (who was) son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenian.'²

II. The inscriptions A²Sb, A²Sd, A²Hb, AsH, A³Pa have a different scheme, in which the nominative of the royal name replaces the genitive. Only A³Pa is truly cogent, for the others have only these slightly varying versions of 'son of Darius the King': A²Sb *Dārayavauš XŠyā puça*, A²Sd *Dārayavauš XŠāhyā puça*, A²Hb *Dārayavauš XŠ puçā*; and 'son of Ariaramnes the King', in AsH *Ariyāramna xšāyabiyahyā puça*. But A³Pa has a full lineage from Artaxerxes III back to Arsames, and uses the nominative for all royal names except for Hystaspes, also replacing the genitive of 'king' by nom. *xšāyabiya*, like XŠ in A²Hb. Apparently OP had by this time become virtually a dead language employed only in writing ceremonial official records, its spoken form having suffered a wearing down of the endings (seen very clearly in Pahlavi). With the loss of the genitive ending it was natural to employ the nominative as a general case, as it had already been thus used in appositions. The gen. *V³šāspahyā* probably persisted because in the earlier inscriptions available to the scribes of Artaxerxes I and later the name of Hystaspes occurred much more frequently in the genitive than in the nominative, and the scribes therefore used the familiar form in the inscriptions which they composed.

Another use of the nominative as genitive is seen in A²Sa 4 [*vašnā* : *AM* : *Ana*]^h*ta* [: *u*]*kā* : [*M³θra*] 'by the favor of Ahuramazda, Anaitis, and Mithras' (so also in A²Ha, restored), where the occurrence of the same forms as nominatives in lines 4f sets a model; though the position of the gaps makes it possible to restore the genitive endings in A²Sa, their insertion would make the line unduly long.

§314. ANACOLUTHON is the use of a grammatical element in a form which does not find its justifi-

cation in the remainder of the sentence. This occurs in OP in connection with *nāma*-phrases (§312) with genealogies (§313), with relative clauses, and occasionally elsewhere.

(a) A relative clause may have a preceding general antecedent in the nominative,¹ and a following resumptive pronoun in the logical case: DB 1.21f *martiya hya agriya āha awam ubartam abaram*, where the nom. *martiya* is resumed and set in proper syntactical relation by the acc. *awam*; DN^a 48-50 *aita tya kartam awa visam vašnā Auramazdāha akunavam*, where acc. *awa* repeats the presumably nom. *aita*;² DN^b 16f *martiya hya hataxšataiy anu-dim* [*ha*]*kartahyā awaā-dim paribarrāmiy*, where nom. *martiya* is resumed by acc. *-dim* (expressed twice).

(h) In AmH the misuse of cases seems to rest upon *iyam dahyāuš Pārsā* (for *Pārsā*, §53) 'this country Persia' in line 5, after which the resumptive *awim* is lacking in 6 as object of *frābara* in 7. From *iyam dahyāuš Pārsā* comes the nominative for locative in line 2, *xšāyabiya Pārsā* 'king in Persia', and in lines 8f *xšāyabiya iyam dahyāuš* 'king in this country'.

(c) A relative and its antecedent are both omitted in XPh 30-2 *astiy alar aitā dahyāva tyaīy upariy nipištā ayauda* 'there is (= 'was', §285) among these provinces which (are) inscribed above (one which) was in turmoil'.

§315. FEATURES OF OP STYLE. While OP had no developed literary style, and probably many of its fashions of expression are taken over direct from Aramaic, lingua franca of the ancient Orient, still there are some peculiarities which may be listed as stylistic: the use of the naming phrases (§312), anacoluthon and its phenomena of resumptive pronouns and adverbs (§314), asyndeton between main clauses and between coordinate parts of subordinate clauses (§290, §291), certain types of omissions (§§275-6), chiasmus (§317), riming phrases (§318), the use of the neuter singular as predicate to a masculine (§259), the repetition of *mā* with successive subjects in a pro-

¹ More commonly without the preceding antecedent, as in DB 4.50f *tyaīy paruvā xšāyabiya yātā āha awaišām awā* (= *awaā*, §52.VI) *naiy astiy kartam* 'who (were) the former kings, as long as they were, by them thus has not been done . . .'. ² But in XPh 43-5 *aita tya adam akunavam visam vašnā Auramazdāha akunavam* I take *aita* as acc., since a resumptive *awa* is lacking.

² Cf. J. R. Ware, TAPA 55.56-7; a different view on the syntax of these genealogies is expressed by E. H. Starrevant, JAOS 48.66-73.

hibition (§292.b), abnormal position of adjectives (§306), variation in order of predicate noun and the copula (§307).

§316. STYLISTIC OMISSIONS occur in OP, especially of the copula when there is a predicate adjective or phrase; cf. §275, §276. Examples: DB 1.5f *Cišpāiš pilā* (sc. *āha*) *Hazāmaniš*; 1.9 *VIII manā taumāyā* (sc. *āha*) *tyaiy* . . .; 1.10 *adam* (sc. *amiy*) *navama*; 1.13 *imā* (sc. *ha'tiy*) *dahyāwa tyaiy* . . .; 1.15 *tyaiy drayahyā* (sc. *ha'tiy*); or possibly *dāraya'tiy*, cf. XPh 23f; 1.27 *ima* (sc. *astiy*) *tya manā kartam* (sc. *astiy*).

The pronoun 'that' is omitted before an immediately following relative, as in DB 1.27 *ima tyā manā kartam* 'this (is that) which (was) done by me'.

Another type of stylistic omission is found when a clause is repeated, and one or more words of the prior clause are not repeated in the second, but are to be understood from the prior clause. Thus DNb 35-7 *yaciy vaināmiy hamīciyam yaciy naiy vaināmiy* (sc. *hamīciyam*) 'whatever I see (to be) rebellious, whatever I see (to be) not (rebellious)'; and similarly in DNb 38-40.

§317. CHIASMUS, or change of order in corresponding pairs so as to give the sequence a-b--b-a, suits the shift in emphasis which attends the repetition; it occurs several times in the OP texts. DSf 12f *hya manā pilā Vištāspa utā Aršāma hya manā* [*nīyāka*] 'my father Hystaspes and Arsames

my grandfather'. DSf 36f *tya ida akariya* comes at the end of its sentence, 38 *hya idā karta* comes immediately after the subject, 40 *hya idā karta* comes at the end of its sentence. XPh 47f *šiyāla ahaniy jiva utā marta artāvā ahaniy* 'happy may I be while living, and when dead blessed may I be'; but there is no such variation in the order when the ideas are repeated in 54-6. On DNb 34, 41-4, see §307.

§318. RIMING PHRASES are sometimes used in OP for the expression of semantic coordinates, even though the coordinate words are of different grammatical forms; but we must not assume that the OP vowels gave as precise rimes in pronunciation as they do in writing. The following examples may be cited:

DB 1.20 *xšapa-vā rauca-pati-vā* 'by either night or day', in which *xšapa-* is gen. and *rauca-* is acc.

DPe 13f *tyaiy uškahyā utā tyaiy drayahyā* 'those which are of the mainland and those which are beside the sea', where a gen. in **ahyā* is paired with a loc. in **ahi* + *-ā*.

DB 4.56 (and 4.75) *utātaiy taumā vasiy biyā utā dargam jivā* 'and may family be unto thee in abundance, and do thou live long', where opt. *biyā* rimes with inv. **jivā*.

DNa 44f *parāgmatā*, nom. sg. fem. of the past participle, and 47 *patiyajātā*, 3d sg. imp. ind. mid., occur at the ends of successive corresponding sentences.

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PART II. THE TEXTS

This part contains first a summary description of the inscriptions, with their special bibliography; certain inscriptions extant in Elamite or in Akkadian or in both, but not in OP, are listed in

the bibliography, but only to explain a gap in the alphabetic labeling of the OP inscriptions.

Then follow the OP texts, each attended by notes of critical and exegetical nature, if needed, and by translation.

DESCRIPTION AND BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

Bibliographical items of 1906 and earlier are given only for special reasons, but may be traced in Wb. KIA and elsewhere.

AmH = **ARIARAMNES, HAMADAN**: A slightly incomplete OP text in 10 lines, on a gold tablet; there is no evidence that the lost part of the tablet held Elam. and Akk. versions. Hz. AMI 2.117-27 (1930), 4.132-9 (1932), 8.17-35 (1938), ApI 1-2 No. 1 (1938); Hz. Die Goldtafel des Ariyaramna, in Berliner Museen, Berichte aus den preussischen Kunstsammlungen 52.3.52-5, with plate (1931); HHSchaeder, SbPAW 1931.635-45, 1935.494-8; WBrandenstein, WZKM 39.13-9 (1932); Bv. Gr. §3 (1931); RGKent, JAOS 56.215 (1936); Sen, OPI 176-7 (1941); Sidney Smith, Isaiah Chapters XL-LV 122-3 (1944); RGKent, JAOS 66.206-12 (1946). See also §18, with note 2.

AsH = **ARSAMES, HAMADAN**: OP only, 14 lines, on a gold tablet in three pieces, complete except for lower right corner; about 9 x 13 cm.; found at Hamadan; see §18, with note 2. Sidney Smith, Isaiah Chapters XL-LV 122 (1944); RGKent, JAOS 66.209-12 (1946); AUPope, The Illustrated London News, July 17 1948, pp. 58-9. On exhibition at the Musée Cernuschi (Paris), in the summer of 1948, where it was No. 54 of the Catalogue Illustré (no date).

CMA = **CYRUS, MURGHAB A**: 5 or more copies of a trilingual inscription, OP two lines, Elam. and Akk. one line each, on columns and pillars of the palace. Wb. ZDMG 48.653-65 (1894), KIA xxviii-xxix, lxvii-lxix, 126-7 (1911); Hz. Klio 8.60 (1906); Jn. Persia Past and Present 281-2 (1908); Tm. Lex. 55-6 (1908); Sen, OPI 1 (1941); RGKent, JAOS 66.209 (1946).

CMB = **CYRUS, MURGHAB B**: A number of

small fragments of a trilingual inscription, OP at least 6 lines, Elam. and Akk. 4 lines each, which stood above the royal figure in the doorways of the palace. Hz. ApI 2-4 No. 3 and Plate 2 (1938); Sen, OPI 239 (1941); RGKent, JAOS 66.209 (1946).

CMc = **CYRUS, MURGHAB C**: A trilingual inscription, each version in one line, on the folds of the king's garments in three doorways of the palace; the OP text now entirely destroyed. Hz. AMI 1.14-6 (1929); ApI 2 No. 2 and Plate 1 fig. 2 (1938); RGKent, JAOS 66.209 (1946).

DB = **DARIUS, BEHISTAN**: The inscription of Behistan, trilingual, is inscribed on the face of a gorge in the cliff rising on the left-hand side of the main caravan route from Baghdad to Teheran, about 65 miles before reaching Hamadan. Here, at the height of about 225 feet (obliquely 322 feet) above the road, the last 100 feet being steep and difficult rock-climbing—the final portion being in part cut smooth by Darius's orders, to prevent access by vandals—sculptures and accompanying inscriptions are engraved in the natural rock. The panel of the sculptures contains at the left the standing figure of Darius, with two attendants behind him; his right foot is firmly planted on the prostrate figure of Gaumata. Beyond Gaumata stand in line the captive rebels, 9 in number, with hands tied behind their backs and a rope around their necks linking them together. Above, there is a figure of the God Ahuramazda. The inscriptions in OP, Elam., and Akk. occupy the free parts of the panel and its lower margin, as well as the spaces below, to right, to left, and diagonally below to the left. These have suffered both from erosion by water torrents and by limestone incrustations deposited by water in and over the engraved characters. Further damage was suffered

by the sculptures in both World Wars, when soldiers marching past on the highway below used the figures as targets for potshots.

Behistan is a much used but not recorded spelling which is intermediate between the OP **baga-stāna*—'Place of the God', for which Greek has *βαγίστανον* (Diodorus 2.13), and the *Behistūn* of the medieval Arabic Geographers, the Modern Persian *Bisūtūn* or *Bisutūn* (or even *Bīstūn*, without the anaptyctic vowel; understood by popular etymology as 'without columns'). The inscription was first reached and copied by Lieutenant (afterward Major General Sir) Henry C. Rawlinson in 1836-47; again in 1903, by Professor A. V. Williams Jackson of Columbia University, who was able to make only a partial examination, but did make the first photographs taken from the narrow ledge below the inscriptions; by L. W. King and R. C. Thompson of the British Museum in 1904; and finally by Professor George G. Cameron of the University of Michigan in 1948, who made a thorough examination of the entire inscription, including the Elamite text to the right of the sculptured panel, which had previously been pronounced completely illegible.

The Great Inscription: the OP text is in 5 columns, beneath the panel of sculptures; containing 96, 98, 92, 92, 36 lines respectively. Column 5 is at the right and is a later addition. The Elam. text is in two copies; one copy, in 4 columns totaling 323 lines, stands to the right of the sculptures, the final addition to which has cut into the first column (this is the supposedly illegible inscription, formerly dubbed 'supplementary texts', now for the first time read by Cameron). The second Elamite copy is in 3 columns, to the left of the OP text; containing 81, 85, 94 lines respectively, the equivalent of the first 4 OP columns, to the end of §69. A short column of 10 lines, in the upper left of the sculptured panel, is the Elam. equivalent of OP §70. The Akk. text is in a single column, running past an obtuse-angled corner so as to cover two faces of the rock to the left of the sculptured panel, and translates OP §1-§69; it contains 112 lines (lines 1-35 on front face only, lines 36-112 on the two faces of the rock).

The 11 small inscriptions have to do with Darius and his captive foes; they are placed as close as space permits, to the person whom they label.

Insc. a has to do with Darius; the OP version has 18 lines, the Elam. 10, there is no Akk. Inscriptions b-j are all trilingual; the OP texts run from 6 to 12 lines each, the Elam. 2 to 8, the Akk. 3 to 4. Insc. k, in OP and Elam., was like OP Column 5 added later, and has 2 lines in each language.

A dolerite block from Babylon contains part of a duplicate copy of the Akkadian version, corresponding to lines 55-8 and 69-72.

Fragments have also been found of an Aramaic version, on papyrus documents from Elephantine.

Rawlinson, JRS vols. 10-11 (1846, 1849); vol. 12, i-civ (1851). Jn. JAOS 24:77-95 (1903) = Persia Past and Present 186-212 (1906). KT, The Sculptures and Inscriptions of Darius the Great on the Rock of Behistūn in Persia (London, 1907). Tm., The Behistan Inscription of King Darius (Vanderbilt Univ. Studies I, Nashville, 1908). Wb. and WBang, Die Altpersischen Keilinschriften in Umschrift und Übersetzung, fasc. 1 pp. 4-5, 12-33 (Leipzig 1893), fasc. 2 pp. x-xvi (Leipzig 1908). Tm., Ancient Persian Lexicon and Texts 2-36 (Nashville 1908). A. Hoffmann-Kutschke, Die alt-p. Keilinschriften d. Grosskönigs Dārajawausch d. Ersten am Berge Bagistān, bei Behistun (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer 1908 and 1909). Wb. Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden xi-xiv, 8-79 (Leipzig 1911). FMEPereira, Inscrição de Dario o Grande, Rei da Persia, no Rochedo de Bisutun (Coimbra 1913). Shapurji Kavasji Hodivala, Cuneiform Inscriptions transcribed into Sanskrit and Avestan: Behistan Inscriptions, in JCOI 19:58-158 (1931). FWKönig, Relief und Inschrift des Königs Darius I am Felsen von Bagistan (Leiden 1938). Sen, OPI 2-88 (1941). GGCameron, Life May 23 1949 pp. 149-52, National Geographic Magazine (shortly to appear), Journal of Cuneiform Studies (shortly to appear).

On Column 5 only: WHinz, ZDMG 93:364-75 (1939); Wb. ZfA 46:52-82 (1940); WHinz, ZDMG 96:331-43 (1942); Kent, JNES 2:105-14 (1943), 3:233-4 (1944); Weilers, JNES 7:106-10 (1948).

On the Aramaic version: ESachau, Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus einer jüdischen Militär-Kolonie zu Elephantine, 187-205 and Plates 52 and 64-6 (Leipzig 1911); ECowley, Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C., pages 248-71 (Oxford 1923).

DPa = DARIUS, PERSEPOLIS A: Trilingual, six

lines each, several times on doorposts of the inner room of the palace, above figures of Darius and his attendants. Tm. Lex. 35-6 (1908); Wb. KIA xvi, 80-1 (1911); Sen, OPI 89 (1941).

DPb = DARIUS, PERSEPOLIS B: OP only, in one line, on the garment of Darius; now in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Tm. Lex. 35-6 (1908); Wb. KIA xvi, 80-1; Sen, OPI 89 (1941).

DPc = DARIUS, PERSEPOLIS C: Trilingual, one line only, repeated 18 times on the window cornice of the same room of Darius's palace. Tm. Lex. 35-6 (1908); Wb. KIA xvi, 80-1 (1911); Hz. ApI 22-3 No. 9; Sen, OPI 89-90 (1941).

DPd = DARIUS, PERSEPOLIS D: OP only, 24 lines, on the south retaining wall of the palace. Tm. Lex. 36-8 (1908); Wb. KIA xvi, 80-3 (1911); Sen, OPI 90-2 (1941).

DPe = DARIUS, PERSEPOLIS E: OP only, 24 lines, on the south retaining wall of the palace. Tm. Lex. 37-8 (1908); Wb. KIA xvi, 82-3 (1911); Sen, OPI 92-5 (1941).

DPf and **g** = DARIUS, PERSEPOLIS F and G: Elam. and Akk. respectively, 24 lines each, without OP text. Wb. KIA xvi, 82-7 (1911).

DPh = DARIUS, PERSEPOLIS H: Trilingual, on two gold and two silver plates; now in Teheran. OP 10 lines, Elam. 7, Akk. 8; same text as DH. New York Times, Feb. 9, 1936, 2d news section, page 8; Univ. of Chicago Mag. 28.4.23-5, Feb. 1936; Hz. ApI 18-9 No. 6 and Plate 6 (1938).

DPI = DARIUS, PERSEPOLIS I: Trilingual, one line each, on doorknob of artificial lapis lazuli. Hz. ApI 23 No. 10 and Plate 7 (1938); EFSchmidt, The Treasury of Persepolis 62-3 (1939); Sen, OPI 252 (1941).

DN = DARIUS, NAQŠ-I-RUSTAM: Some miles north of Persepolis, on the south face of a steep ridge known as Husain Kūh or 'Mountain of Husain', there are four gigantic niches, cut in the shape of Greek crosses, and serving as entrances to the tombs lying in the rock behind them. The second from the east is the tomb of Darius I, and bears inscriptions.

The entire niche is about 73 feet high; the cross-beam is 20 feet high and 36 feet wide, and is divided by columns into five panels, thus giving

the appearance of the front of a Persian palace. The central panel contains the doorway to the tomb behind. The upper part of the cross is occupied by a throne platform, supported by 30 throne-bearers in two lines; Darius stands on a basis of three steps, facing right toward an altar, while beyond the altar there floats in the air the figure of Ahuramazda. At the extreme left of the field are three attendants of Darius, arranged vertically one above the other, the lowest one being on a level with the lower line of throne-bearers.

The inscription Naqš-i-Rustam **a** is inscribed behind the figure of Darius; first OP in 60 lines, then a second column of Elam. in 48 lines, finally, outside the niche on the adjacent rock the Akk. in 36 lines. Inscription **b** stands on the two sides of the door in the center of the crossbeam: OP in the panel to its left, in 60 lines; Elam., 43 lines, in the panel to the right, with an Aramaic version in 25 lines at the bottom; in the last panel to the right, the Akk. version in 39 lines, with the space of one line vacant between lines 31 and 32. Inscription **c**, trilingual, 2 lines for each language, is attached to Darius's spear-bearer, the topmost figure of the three at the left margin behind the king; **d**, trilingual, the OP filling 2 of the 5 lines of text, is attached to his bow-bearer, standing beneath the spear-bearer. Inscriptions **i** to **xxx**, trilingual, attach to the throne-bearers, but not all of them are legible.

Tm. Lex. 43-8 (1908); Wb. Grab, in AbkSGW 29.1.1-54 and 8 Plates (1911); Wb. KIA xvii-xx, 86-99 (1911); Tm. The Grave of King Darius at Naksh-i-Rustam, in Madrasa Jubilee Volume 168-72 (1914); Hz. ZDMG 80.244 (1926; on Aramaic version), AMI 3.8 (1931), ApI 4.13 No. 4 and Plates 3-5 (1938; some fragments of a second copy of DNb, found at Persepolis, on Plate 5); Kent, Lg. 15.160-77 (1939); Sen, OPI 96-107, 240-51 (1941); Kent, JNES 4.39-52, 232-3 (1945); Bv. TPS 1945.39-50 (1946); GGCameron, Persepolis Treasury Tablets 29 (1948; on Aramaic version); Hinz, Orientalia [Rome] 1950 No. 4 (shortly to appear).

DSa = DARIUS, SUSA A: OP only, on two broken clay tablets, in 5 lines; one copy in the Louvre, Paris. Tm. Lex. 47-8 (1908); Wb. KIA xx, 98-9 (1911); Scheil 21.52 No. 11 (1929); Bv. BSLP 30.1.63-4 (1930); Kent, JAOS 51.217-8

(1931), 58.326 (1938); Brd. WZKM 39.19-21 (1932); Sen, OPI 116, 131 m (1941); Hinz, ZDMG 95.222-5 (1941).

DSb = DARIUS, SUSA B: Two clay tablets, one complete and the other badly mutilated, with an OP inscription in 11 lines. One tablet is in the Louvre, Paris. Tm. Lex. 47-8 (1908); Wb. KIA xx, 98-9 (1911); Scheil 21.48-9 No. 8 (1929); Kent, JAOS 51.216 (1931); Brd. WZKM 39.22-3 (1932); Sen, OPI 117, 127 e, 129 j (1941); Hinz, ZDMG 95.225-6 (1941); Kent, JAOS 67.31, 152 (1947).

DSc = DARIUS, SUSA C: Trilingual, each version in one line, on the base of a column; two copies, of which one is in the Louvre, Paris. Wb. KIA xx, 98-9 (1911); Scheil 21.35-6 No. 2 (1929); Kent, JAOS 51.212 (1931); Brd. WZKM 39.23-4 (1932); Sen, OPI 127 d (1941); Hinz, ZDMG 95.226 (1941).

DSd = DARIUS, SUSA D: Parts of 2 OP copies and of 2 Elam. copies, on columns. Wb. KIA xx, 98-9 (1911); Scheil 21.38-9 No. 4 (1929); Kent, JAOS 51.213 (1931); Brd. WZKM 39.24-5 (1932); Sen, OPI 127 f (1941); Hinz, ZDMG 95.226-7 (1941).

DSe = DARIUS, SUSA E: On Restoration of Order in the Empire; 10 OP fragments, representing several copies; 3 Elam. fragments; one nearly complete Akk. copy and two partial Akk. copies, all on tablets. Our text is arranged according to an OP copy having 52 lines. CBezold, ZfA 25.393-4 (1911); Wb. AbkSGW 29.136-8 (1911); KIA xx, xxix, 99-101, 130 inc. b (1911); Scheil 21.61-4 No. 15 (1929); Kent, JAOS 51.221-2 (1931); Brd. WZKM 39.25-7 (1932); Scheil 24.116-25 (1933); Kent, JAOS 54.40-50 (1934); Wb. ZDMG 91.80-6 (1937), ZfA 44.150-69 (1938); Kent, JAOS (58.112-21, 324 (1938); Hz. API 19-21 No. 7 (1938); Sen, OPI 132-4 q (1941); Hinz, ZDMG 95.227-33 (1941).

DSf = DARIUS, SUSA F: On the Building of the Palace; trilingual, with fragments of many copies on clay and marble tablets, and on the glazed tiles of the frieze of the great hall. Our text is arranged according to the best preserved copy, a much broken baked clay tablet, with 58 lines: 27 on the front face, 3 on the lower edge, 27 on the reverse, 1 on the top edge. Scheil 21.31-34 No. 1

and 53-6 No. 12 (1929); König, Burghau, in MVAG 35.1.1-76 and 16 plates (1930); RBleichsteiner, WZKM 37.93-104 (1930); Hz. AMI 3.29-124 (1931); Wb. AfOF 7.39-44 (1931); Kent, JAOS 51.193-212, 218-20 (1931); Brd. WZKM 39.28-39 (1932); Schaefer, Arch. Anz., Beibl. z. Jb. d. DAI 47.269-74 (1932); Kent, JAOS 53.1-23 (1933); Scheil 24.105-15 (1933); Kent, JAOS 54.34-40 (1934); Hz. API 13-7 No. 5 (1938); Sen, OPI 118-27, 132 n2 (1941); VIAbayev, Iranskije Yazyki 1.127-33 (Izd. Ak. Nauk, Iranica vol. 3; Moscow-Leningrad, 1945); Hinz, JNES 9.1-7 (1950).

DSg = DARIUS, SUSA G: Parts of 2 OP and 3 Akk. copies, on columns; every copy in 3 lines. Scheil 21.40-1 No. 5 (1929); Kent, JAOS 51.213-4 (1931); Brd. WZKM 39.39-40 (1932); Sen, OPI 127-8 g (1941); Hinz, ZDMG 95.236-8 (1941).

DSH = DARIUS, SUSA H: A two-line fragment, Scheil 21.41 infra; recognized by Kent as identical with D^{Sa}, q.v.

DSi = DARIUS, SUSA I: Bilingual, OP in 4 lines, Elam. in 6 lines, on a column. Scheil 21.42-3 No. 6 (1929); Kent, JAOS 51.214 (1931); Brd. WZKM 39.43-4 (1932); Sen, OPI 128 h (1941); Hinz, ZDMG 95.238-9 (1941).

DSj = DARIUS, SUSA J: Trilingual, OP in 6 lines, Elam. and Akk. each in 5 lines, on a column. Scheil 21.44-7 No. 7 (1929); Kent, JAOS 51.214-6 (1931); Wb. AfOF 7.45 (1931); Brd. WZKM 39.44-52 (1932); Hz. API 21-2 No. 8 (1938); Sen, OPI 128-9 i (1941); Hinz, ZDMG 95.239-42 (1941).

DSk = DARIUS, SUSA K: OP only, in 5 lines, stamped on a baked clay brick. Scheil 21.50 No. 9 (1929); Kent, JAOS 51.216-7 (1931); Brd. WZKM 39.53 (1932); Sen, OPI 130 (1941); Hinz, ZDMG 95.242 (1941).

DSL = DARIUS, SUSA L: OP only, in 5 lines, stamped on a baked clay brick. Scheil 21.51 No. 10 (1929); Bv. BSLP 30.1.64-5 (1930); Kent, JAOS 51.217 (1931); Brd. WZKM 39.54-5 (1932); Sen, OPI 130-1 (1941); Hinz, ZDMG 95.242-3 (1941).

DSm = DARIUS, SUSA M: Trilingual, on enameled bricks forming a frieze in one of the

halls; one line only to the brick, and the fragments very limited in quantity. Scheil 21.53-6 No. 12 (1929); Brd. WZKM 39.55-8 (1932); Sen, OPI 131 n 1 (1941).

DSn = DARIUS, SUSA N: Trilingual, small fragments of an inscription on the garment of a statue; OP in 2 lines. Scheil 21.57-8 No. 13 and Plate 13 (1929); Kent, JAOS 51.220-1 (1931); Brd. WZKM 39.58-9 (1932); Sen, OPI 132 o (1941); Hinz, ZDMG 95.243-4 m (1941).

DSo = DARIUS, SUSA O: Bilingual, on a marble plaque; OP in 4 lines, Akk. in 5 lines. Scheil 21.59-60 No. 14 (1929); Kent, JAOS 51.221 (1931); Brd. WZKM 39.59-60 (1932); Sen, OPI 132 p (1941); Hinz, ZDMG 95.255-7 D³Sd (1941).

DSp = DARIUS, SUSA P: OP fragment in 3 lines, on a marble plaque. Scheil 21.65 No. 16 A (1929); Kent, JAOS 51.222-3 (1931); Brd. WZKM 39.61-2 (1932); Sen, OPI 135 ra (1941); Hinz, ZDMG 95.244 n (1941).

DSq = DARIUS, SUSA Q: Two fragments of OP in 2 lines, on a marble plaque. Scheil 21.65 No. 16 B (1929); Kent, JAOS 51.223 (1923); Brd. WZKM 39.63 (1932); Sen, OPI 135 rb (1941); Hinz, ZDMG 95.245 o (1941).

DSr = DARIUS, SUSA R: OP only in 4 lines, on a marble plaque. Scheil 21.66 No. 16 C; recognized by Wb. ZDMG 91.643-8 as being part of a copy of A³Sd, q.v.

DSs = DARIUS, SUSA S: OP only, in 7 lines, on a marble plaque. Scheil 21.66 No. 16 D (1929); Kent, JAOS 51.223-4 (1931); Brd. WZKM 39.65-6 (1932); Sen, OPI 135-6 rd (1941); Hinz, ZDMG 95.245-8 p (1941).

DS^t = DARIUS, SUSA T: OP only, in 10 lines, of which 2 lines are entirely lost; on the two sides of a marble plaque. Scheil 21.67 No. 16 E (1929); Kent, JAOS 51.224 (1931); Brd. WZKM 39.66-8 (1932); Sen, OPI 136 re (1941); Hinz, ZDMG 95.248-9 q (1941).

DSu, v, w, x = DARIUS, SUSA U, V, W, X: In Elamite (u and x) or in Akkadian (v and w). Scheil 21.68-76 Nos. 17-21 (1929); Brd. WZKM 39.68-74 (1932). But DSx (Scheil Nos. 20-1) is in reality part of two Elam. copies of DSe; Wb. ZDMG 91.80-6 (1937); Kent, JAOS 58.112, 118-21 (1938).

DSy = DARIUS, SUSA Y: On the base of a column; trilingual, the OP in 3 lines. Here printed from a carbon rubbing courteously furnished by Director André Godard, of the Archaeological Museum of Teheran. A fragmentary copy (OP and Akk.) is correctly restored by Scheil 21.37 No. 3 (1929), cf. Kent, JAOS 51.213 (1931); it was wrongly identified with DSb by Brd. WZKM 39.12 (1932). Kent, JAOS 67.30-2 (1947).

DZa, b, c = DARIUS, SUEZ A, B, C: On a granite stele, not far from the 33d kilometer-stone from Suez, slightly to the west of the modern canal. Insc. a is the name of Darius in a cartouche; two copies. Insc. b is trilingual: OP 6 lines, Elam. 4 lines, Akk. 3 lines. Insc. c records Darius's opening of a canal from the Red Sea to the Nile: OP 12 lines, and below it the Elamite, of which 7 lines are preserved in part, while the Akk., presumably standing below the Elam., is entirely lost. On the reverse of the stele is a longer inscription in hieroglyphic Egyptian, presumably recording in fuller form the opening of the canal.

Tm. Lex 49-52 (1908); Wb. KIA xxi-xxii, 102-5 (1911); Sen, OPI 108-11 (1941); Kent, JNES 1.415-21 (1942). On a small fragment of a duplicate copy: Scheil, BIFAO 30.292-7 (1930); Brd. WZKM 39.76 (1932); Sen, OPI 111 (1941).

DE = DARIUS, ELVEND: Trilingual, each version in 20 lines, in a niche cut in the face of Mt. Elvend, one hour's riding time southwest of Hamadan; probably cut not in Darius's time, but simultaneously with XE, by orders of Xerxes, cf. HHSchaeder, SBPAW 1931.644, and AVWJackson, Persia Past and Present 172 (1906). Tm. Lex. 51-3 (1908); Wb. KIA xx, 100-3 (1911); Sen, OPI 113 (1941).

DH = DARIUS, HAMADAN: Trilingual, in duplicate on a gold and a silver plate; now in Teheran. OP 8 lines, Elam. 7 lines, Akk. 8 lines. The two copies vary slightly in the line-division; our text follows the gold plate. The text is repeated in DPh. JMUwalla, Jame Jamshed, Sept. 30, 1926; HZ. DLZ 47.2105-8 (Oct. 16, 1926); SSmith, JRAS 1926.433-6; CDBuck, Lg. 3.1-5 (1927); LHGray, JRAS 1927.97-101; JMUwalla, JCOI 10.1-3 (1927); Wb. ZfA 37.291-4 (1927); ESchwentner, ZfI 6.171-3 (1928); HZ. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India

No. 34, 7 + iii pp. (1928); LDBarnett, JRAS 1930.452; Kent, JAOS 51.229-31 (1931); Brd. WZKM 39.74-6 (1932); HZ. ApI 18-9 No. 6 and Plate 6 (1938); Sen, OPI 114-5 (1941).

XPa = XERXES, PERSEPOLIS A: Trilingual, each version in 20 lines, in 4 copies designated aa, ab, ac, ad, differing only slightly in line division, engraved on the inner walls of the great doorway; our text follows aa. Tm. Lex. 38-40 (1908); Wb. KIA xxiii, 106-9 (1911); Sen, OPI 138-40 (1941).

XPb = XERXES, PERSEPOLIS B: OP only, in 30 lines, on the north side of the colonnaded hall of Xerxes; also trilingual on the east side of the same, OP 30 lines, Elam. 18, Akk. 19. Tm. Lex. 39-40 (1908); Wb. KIA xxiii-xxiv, 108-11 (1911); HZ. ApI 24-6 No. 13 and Plate 9 (1938); Sen, OPI 140-1 (1941).

XPc = XERXES, PERSEPOLIS C: Trilingual, in triplicate; copy ca on the standing west pillar of the portico of Darius's palace, OP 15 lines, Elam. 14 lines, Akk. 13 lines; copy cb on the south boundary wall of the terrace on which the palace stands, each version in 25 lines; copy cc on the fallen east pillar of the portico, number of lines as in ca, but line-divisions slightly different. Tm. Lex. 40-2 (1908); Wb. KIA xxiv, 110-3 (1911); Sen, OPI 141-2 (1941); on copy cc, data by courtesy of E. F. Schmidt.

XPd = XERXES, PERSEPOLIS D: Trilingual, in quadruplicate; two identical copies da, on the pillars at the northeast and the northwest corners of the hall of Xerxes' palace, OP 19 lines, Elam. 12 lines, Akk. 11 lines; two identical copies db, on the walls beside the steps at the east and the west of the front terrace, OP 28 lines (with slight differences in line-divisions), Elam. 23 lines, Akk. 22 lines. Tm. Lex. 41-2 (1908); Wb. KIA xxiv-xxv, 112-5 (1911); Sen, OPI 142-3 (1941).

XPe = XERXES, PERSEPOLIS E: Trilingual, in duplicate (see below), each version 4 lines, with slightly differing line-divisions in OP; ea on a post of the north door, above the sculptured figure of the king; eb on a post of the east door, also above the king's figure. There are also numerous other copies of this inscription inside and outside the doors and windows, frequently in one-line and two-line arrangements (Cameron's data). Tm.

Lex. 41-2 (1908); Wb. KIA xxv, 114-5 (1911); Sen, OPI 143 (1941).

XPf = XERXES, PERSEPOLIS F: The Accession of Xerxes, bilingual, OP 48 lines, Akk. 38 lines; a limestone tablet simulating a clay tablet, found under the wall at the southeast corner of the southeast palace, now shown to be the harem of Darius and Xerxes. HZ. AMI 4.117-32 (1932), Oriental Inst. Series, Stud. in Ancient Or. Civilization No. 5 (Chicago, 1932); Bv. BSLP 33.2.144-56 (1932); Wb. ZfA 41.318-21 (1933); Kent, Lg. 9.35-46 (1933); Schaefer, SbPAW 1935.496-506; JCTavadia, JCOI 27.137-8 (1935); HZ. AMI 8.35-46 (1937), ApI 35-8 No. 15 and Plates 13-4 (1938); Sen, OPI 143-6 (1941).

XPg = XERXES, PERSEPOLIS G: An ornamental plaque in colored enameled bricks, intended to be placed on the wall of the palace, and found in fragmentary condition; 2 copies of the OP, in 14 lines, a number of fragments of the Akk. version, and a very few of the Elamite. Ill. London News, April 8, 1933 (colored illustration on page 488); Bv. BSLP 34.1.32-4 (1933); Kent, Lg. 9.229-31 (1933); HZ. ApI 38-41 No. 16 and Plate 15 (1938); Sen, OPI 147 (1941).

XP h = XERXES, PERSEPOLIS H: The Daiva Inscription: Trilingual, on stone tablets, found in the building on the southeast corner of the terrace; 2 OP copies, one complete in 60 lines, the other stopping in the middle of line 51; 1 Elam. copy in 50 lines, 1 Akk. copy in 50 lines. New York Times, Feb. 9, 1936; Univ. of Chicago Mag. 28.4.23-5 (Feb. 1936); EFSchmidt, Ill. London News, Feb. 22, 1936, page 328; Kent, JAOS 56.212-5 (1936); Afof 11.91 (1936); HZ. AMI 8.56-77 (1936), RHRel. 113.21-41 (Jan.-Feb. 1936); HHartmann, OLZ 40.145-60 (1937); Kent, Lg. 13.292-305 (1937); HZ. ApI 27-35 No. 14 and Plates 10-3 (1938); Wb. Symbolae Koschaker 189-98 (1938; on the Elamite version); Levy, Revue historique 185.105-22 (1939); EFSchmidt, The Treasury of Persepolis 12-5 (1939); Sen, OPI 148-56 (1941); VIAbayev, Iranskie Yazyki 1.134-40 (Izd. Ak. Nauk, Iranica vol. 3; Moscow-Leningrad, 1945).

XPi = XERXES, PERSEPOLIS I: on a doorknob (or similar object) of artificial lapis lazuli, from the harem building; OP and Elamite, each in 1

line. Hz. ApI 23-4 No. 11 and Plate 7 (1938); Sen, OPI 254 (1941).

XPj = XERXES, PERSEPOLIS J: Trilingual, each version in one long line, on the bases of at least five columns; found in small fragments. Cameron reports finding many fragments other than those which Hz. records. Hz. ApI 41-2 No. 17 (1938); Sen, OPI 254 (1941).

XPk = XERXES, PERSEPOLIS K: OP and Elam., each in one line, on the garment of the king's figure in the eastern part of the middle door of the tacara. Hz. ApI 42 No. 18 (1938); Sen, OPI 255 (1941).

XSa = XERXES, SUSA A: Trilingual, each version in 2 lines, on the base of a column; now in the Louvre, Paris. Tm. Lex. 1 (1908); Wb. KIA xxv, 114-5 (1911). A second copy is given by Scheil 21.81 No. 23 (1929); Kent, JAOS 51.225 (1931); Brd. WZKM 39.79 (1932); Sen, OPI 160 a, b (1941).

XSb = XERXES, SUSA B: Akk., on column base. Scheil 21.82-3 (1929); Brd. WZKM 39.79-80 (1932).

XSc = XERXES, SUSA C: OP only, in 5 lines, on a fragmentary marble tablet. Scheil 21.86 No. 26 (1929); Kent, JAOS 51.226 (1931); Brd. WZKM 30.80-1 (1932); Sen, OPI 160 c (1941).

XE = XERXES, ELVEND: To the right of Darius's inscription; trilingual, each version in 20 lines. Tm. Lex. 52-4 (1908); Wb. KIA xxv, 116-7 (1911); Sen, OPI 157 (1941).

XV = XERXES, VAN: Trilingual, each version in 27 lines, in a rectangular niche high on the precipitous rocky wall of the castle. Tm. Lex. 53-4 (1908); Wb. KIA xxv-xxvi, 116-9 (1911); Sen, OPI 158-9 (1941).

XH = XERXES, HAMADAN: OP only, in one line, on a fragment of a silver pitcher. Hz. AMI 2.115-6 (1930); Brd. WZKM 39.83 (1932); Hz. ApI 43 No. 19 (1938); Sen, OPI 161 (1941).

A¹Pa = ARTAXERXES I, PERSEPOLIS A: OP and Akk. The OP is a small fragment of 11 lines with a left edge, on a marble block found in the court before the south front of the palace; Hz. ApI 44-5 No. 21 (1938); Sen, OPI 256 (1941). The Akk. is a fragment of 14 lines with a left edge; Wb. KIA xxvi, 121 (1908); Hz. ApI 43-4 No. 20 and Plate 15 (1938). The two are combined

and the OP reconstructed by Kent, JNES 4.228-32 (1945); cf. also Cameron, Persepolis Treasury Tablets 16-7 (1948). The complete OP inscription had 24 lines, the complete Akk. had 18 lines. A second Akk. inscription, relevant to the same matters, is undamaged: Hz. ApI 45-6 No. 22 and Plate 16 (1938).

AI = ARTAXERXES I, INCERTO LOCO: OP only, in one line, identical inscription on four silver dishes. Hz. AMI 7.1-8 and 4 Plates (1935); Schaefer, SbPAW 1935.489-96; Hz. AMI 8.6-17, 46-51 (1937); Bv. JAs. 228.233-4 (1936); Kent, JAOS 56.215 (1936), 58.327 (1938); Hz. ApI 46 No. 23 (1938); Sen, OPI 178 (1941).

D²Sa = DARIUS II, SUSA A: OP only, in 3 lines on the base of a column; a fragmentary Akk. inscription of different content stands on the same column. Scheil 21.82-3 No. 24 (1929); Kent, JAOS 51.227-8 (1931); Brd. WZKM 39.83-5 (1932); Sen, OPI 162 b (1941); Hinz, ZDMG 95.249-51 (1941). Another fragmentary inscription, named Dar. Susa h by Brd., was published separately by Scheil 21.41 infra (1929), Kent JAOS 51.226-7 (1931), Brd. WZKM 39.40-2 (1932), Sen OPI 162 a (1941), but is now recognized by Kent, JNES 1.421-3 (1942), as part of another copy of this inscription; given as D²Sc by Hinz, ZDMG 95.253-5 (1941).

D²Sb = DARIUS II, SUSA B: Bilingual, OP 4 lines, Akk. 5 and 6 lines, two copies of each on the base of a column. Scheil 21.84-5 No. 25 (1929); Kent, JAOS 51.225 (1931); Brd. WZKM 39.85-8 (1932); Sen, OPI 163 (1941); Hinz, ZDMG 95.251-2 (1941).

A²Sa = ARTAXERXES II, SUSA A: Trilingual, each version in 5 lines, on the bases of 4 columns. Tm. Lex. 47-50 (1908); Wb. KIA xxvii, 122-5 (1911); Scheil 21.94-5 No. 29 (1929), giving two fragments of another Akk. copy in 7 lines; Brd. WZKM 39.88-9 (1932); Sen, OPI 166-7 (1941).

A²Sb = ARTAXERXES II, SUSA B: Trilingual, each version in one line, on the base of a column; now in the Louvre, Paris. Tm. Lex. 49-50 (1908); Wb. KIA xxvii, 124-5 (1911); Sen, OPI 167 (1941).

A²Sc = ARTAXERXES II, SUSA C: OP only, in 7 lines, on a stone tablet now in the Louvre, Paris.

Tm. Lex. 49-50 (1908); Wb. KIA xxvii, 124-5 (1911); Sen, OPI 167 (1941).

A²Sd = ARTAXERXES II, SUSA D: Trilingual, each version in 4 lines, on the base of a column; further fragments of two more OP copies, two more Akk. copies, and one more Elamite copy were later published. Scheil 21.91-3 No. 28 (1929); Kent, JAOS 51.228-9 (1931); Brd. WZKM 39.89-92 (1932); Scheil 24.126-8 (1933); Kent, JAOS 54.50-2 (1934); Sen, OPI 168 (1941). Wb. ZDMG 91.643-51 (1937) recognized the identity of his Frag. inc. a (KIA xxix, 130 [1911]; Mordtmann, ZDMG 14.555-6 [1860]; Sen, OPI 175 c [1941]) with Scheil's No. 16 C (21.66; Kent, JAOS 51.223 [1931]; Brd. WZKM 39.63-4 [1932]; Sen, OPI 175 b [1941]), and that this belonged to A²Sd. Copy da is that published by Scheil 21.91-3; db and dc those published by Scheil 24.128; dd the fragment recognized by Wb. Our copy has the line-division of da.

A²Ha = ARTAXERXES II, HAMADAN A: Trilingual, OP 7 lines, Elam. and Akk. 5 lines each, on a fragment of a column base; reported to be in private possession in England. Tm. Lex. 54-5 (1908); Wb. KIA xxviii, 126-7 (1911); Sen, OPI 164-5 (1941).

A²Hb = ARTAXERXES II, HAMADAN B: OP only, in one long line on the base of a column. *Hz. Altorient. Stud. B. Meissner gewidmet* = *Mitteil. d. altorient. Ges.* 4.85-6 (1928); Kent, JAOS 51.231-2 (1931); Brd. WZKM 39.92-4 (1932); *Hz. ApI* 50 No. 25 (1938); Sen, OPI 165 (1941).

A²Hc = ARTAXERXES II, HAMADAN C: OP only, in 20 lines on a gold tablet, about 13 x 13 cm.; found at Hamadan; see §18 n2. AUPope, *The Illustrated London News*, July 17 1948, pp. 58-9. On exhibition at the Musée Cernuschi (Paris), in the summer of 1948, where it was No. 53 of the *Catalogue Illustré* (no date).

A²P = ARTAXERXES II OR III, PERSEPOLIS: Trilingual, labeling the throne-bearers of the south tomb. Davis, *JRAS* 1932.373-7 and Plates 2-3; *Hz. ApI* 46-50 No. 24 (1938); Sen, OPI 172-3 (1941).

A³Pa, b, c, d = ARTAXERXES III, PERSEPOLIS A, B, C, D: OP only, 4 copies with identical text

but differing line-division; a, c, d on the north wall of the terrace of the palace of Artaxerxes, originally 26 lines each; b, in 35 lines, beside the stairway on the west side of the palace of Darius. Tm. Lex. 42-4 (1908); Wb. KIA xxix, 128-9 (1911); Photographs of Casts of Persian Sculptures of the Achaemenid Period, mostly from Persepolis, London, British Museum, 1932 (Plate 6 shows this inscription very legibly); Sen, OPI 170-1 (1941). The portion of copy c which was missing when Stolze took his photographs was found by the University of Chicago Expedition in 1939 (Cameron's data). Our text has the line division of copy a.

Wa = DARIUS, WEIGHT A: Trilingual, OP 8 lines, Elam. 7 lines, Akk. 5 lines, on a blunted pyramid of dark green diorite, 5.1 cm. high, 4.4 cm. long, 4.1 cm. wide; weighing 166.724 grams. It is now in the British Museum, London. Tm. Lex. 56-7 (1908); Wb. KIA xxii, 104-5 (1911); Sen, OPI 137 (1941).

Wb = DARIUS, WEIGHT B: Trilingual, OP 9 lines, Elam. 6 lines, Akk. 4 lines, on a blunted pyramid of dark green diorite (height 10.5 cm., base 10.9 by 10.7 cm.), weighing 2222.425 grams; found in a tomb a day's journey from Kerman, and often called Darius Kerman; now in the Asiatic Museum, Leningrad. *Jn. JAOS* 27.193-4 and 3 plates (1906), reprinted in *Persia Past and Present* 184 and 3 plates (1906); Tm. Lex. 51-2 (1908); Scheil, *Rec. de Trav.* 31.137 (1909); Wb. *Bull. de l'Acad. Imp. des Sci. de St. Pet.* 1910.481 ff; Wb. KIA xxii-xxiii, lxxiv-lxxv, 104-5 (1911); Sen, OPI 112 (1941).

Wc = DARIUS, WEIGHT C: Trilingual, OP 10 lines, Elam. 7 lines, Akk. 4 lines, on a blunted pyramid of grayish-green diorite weighing 9.950 kg. (original weight slightly greater, since some chips have been broken from the base), found in the southern part of the Treasury at Persepolis. *Hz. ApI* 24 No. 12 and Plate 8 (1938); Schmidt, *Treasury of Persepolis* 62-3 including plate (1939); Sen, OPI 253 (1941).

Wd = DARIUS, WEIGHT D: OP 10 lines, Elam. 6 lines (the last continuing around the right face), Akk. 5 lines (on the right face; damaged), on a blunted pyramid of grayish-green diorite weighing 4.930 kg. (original weight slightly greater, since

some damage has been suffered); found 1936 in the Treasury at Persepolis. Publication here by special permission of E. F. Schmidt.

SDa = **DARIUS, SEAL A**: Trilingual, each version in one line, on a crystal cylinder, now in the British Museum. Tm. Lex. 55-6 (1908); Wb. KIA xxiii, 106-7 (1911); HFrankfort, *Cylinder Seals* Pl. xxxvii d (1939); Sen, OPI 137 (1941).

SDb, SXa, SXb, SXc = **DARIUS, SEAL B**, trilingual, each version in one line; **XERXES, SEAL A, B, C, OP** only, in two lines (second line of c illegible); several copies of each. Seal impressions (not seals) on tablets found in the Persepolis Treasury by The University of Chicago Expedition. EFSchmidt, *The Treasury of Persepolis* 39 (1939); GGCameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets* 55-8 (1948).

Sa = **SEAL A**: OP in 7 lines, now in the British Museum. Tm. Lex. 55-6 (1908); Wb. xxx, 130-1 (1911); Sen, OPI 174 (1941).

Sb = **SEAL B**: OP in 3 lines, the second illegible; in the British Museum. Tm. Lex. 56-7 (1908); Wb. KIA xxx, 130-1 (1911); Sen, OPI 174 (1941).

Sc, Sd = **SEAL C** and **SEAL D**: OP only, on oval gems with Sasanian heads, the characters being in front of and behind the heads; present location of these seals unknown. Tm. Lex. 56-7 (1908); Wb. xxx, 130-1 (1911); Sen, OPI 174 (1941).

Se = **SEAL E**: OP only, in 3 lines; in the Musée des Armures, Brussels. Tm. Lex. 56-7 (1908); Wb. KIA xxx, 130-1 (1911); Sen, OPI 174 (1941).

Sf = **SEAL F**: OP only, in 4 lines, of which the fourth is lost and all of the third except parts of the first two characters; in a cartouche on an Egyptian roll-seal. H. H. von der Osten, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mr. Edward T. Newhall* no. 453, pages 66 and 166, and plate 31 (Univ. of Chicago, Oriental Institute Publ., vol. 22; 1934); A. Goetze, *Berytus* 8.100 (1944).

XVs = **XERXES, VASES**: Of alabaster, bearing the king's name in OP, Elam., Akk., and Egyptian hieroglyphics. Vase a, in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; Vase b, from Halicarnassus, in the British Museum; Vase c, in the University Museum, Philadelphia; some fragments found by Loftus at Susa

are in the British Museum, and other fragments found by Dieulafoy in 1854-5 at Susa, and some found by the expedition of de Morgan, are at the Louvre. Tm. Lex. 56-8 (1908); Wb. KIA xxvi, 118-9 (1911); Sen, OPI 161 (1941).

AVs = **ARTAXERXES, VASES**: In four languages, like those of Xerxes, which is why they are assigned to Xerxes's son rather than to a later Artaxerxes. Vase a, of gray porphyry, in the Treasury of St. Mark's, Venice; Vase b, in the University Museum, Philadelphia; Vase c, in the Imperial Museums, Berlin; some fragments also were found at Susa by the expedition of de Morgan. Tm. Lex. 56-8 (1908); Wb. KIA xxvii, 120-1 (1911); Sen, OPI 169 (1941). Vase d, acquired in 1910 at Aleppo by Noël Giron, who published it in *Rev. d'Ass.* 18.143-5 (1921).

SPURIOUS INSCRIPTIONS:

Spur. a: From Tarku. Wb. Gdr. IP 2.62 §25 (1895).

Spur. b, c, d, e: Four baked clay tablets secured by Chantre near Caesarea; OP only. Tablets b, c, d contain on the recto more or less badly written copies of DPa, and on the verso copies of XPe. Tablet e has on the recto 3 lines of the same, then a mixture of OP signs and similar but meaningless signs on the balance of the recto and all of the verso. The tablets are now in the Musée Asiatique de Paris (Musée Guimet). Ménant, *Comptes-Rendus de l'Ac. d. Inscr.*, 4th series, 23.126-41 (1895); Wb. Gdr. IP 2.62 §25 (1895).

Spur. f: OP only, on a glazed tile inscribed on both sides, bought by Sayce at Saqqara. Sayce, *AOF* 8.225 (1933); Wb. ZDMG 91.87 (1937); Kent, *JAOS* 56.215-6 (1936), 58.327-9 (1938); Sen, OPI 179 (1941).

Spur. g: OP only, in 14 lines interrupted by figures in hollow relief, on a red brick tablet in a small private museum in Philadelphia. Dyen, *JAOS* 56.91-3 (1936); Eilers, *ZDMG* 91.407-20 (1937); Kent, *JAOS* 58.327 (1938); Sen, OPI 180 (1941).

Spur. h, a jesting composition in OP by Weissbach, *ZDMG* 91.644; listed here only because it was misunderstood by Sen to be a genuine OP text (his *Frag.* a on page 175).

THE TEXTS WITH NOTES AND TRANSLATION

AmH = ARIARAMNES, HAMADAN.

- 1 Ariyāramna : xšāyaθiya : vazraka : xšāyaθ
- 2 iya : xšāyaθiyānām : xšāyaθiya : Pārsā
- 3 : Cīspaiš : xšāyaθiyahyā : puça : Haxāmanīšah
- 4 yā : napā : θātiy : Ariyāramna : xšāyaθiya
- 5 : iyam : dahyāuš : Pārsā : tya : adam : dārayā
- 6 miy : hya : uvaspā : umartiyā : manā : бага
- 7 : vazraka : Auramazdā : frābara : vašnā : Au
- 8 ramazdāha : adam : xšāyaθiya : iyam : da
- 9 hyāuš : amiy : θātiy : Ariyāramna
- 10 : xšāyaθiya : Auramazdā : manā : upastā
- 11 m : *baratuw*

TRANSLATION OF AmH:

§1. 1-4. Ariaramnes, the Great King, King of Kings, King in Persia, son of Teispes the King, grandson of Achaemenes.

§2. 4-9. Saith Ariaramnes the King: This country Persia which I hold, which is possessed of good horses, of good men, upon me the Great God Ahuramazda bestowed (it). By the favor of Ahuramazda I am king in this country.

§3. 9-11. Saith Ariaramnes the King: May Ahuramazda bear me aid.

AsH = ARSAMES, HAMADAN.

- 1 Aršāma : xšāyaθiya : vazraka : x
- 2 šāyaθiya : xšāyaθiyānām : x
- 3 šāyaθiya : Pārsā : Ariyāramna : xš
- 4 āyaθiyahyā : puça : Haxāmanīšiya
- 5 : θātiy : Aršāma : xšāyaθiya : Au
- 6 ramazdā : бага : vazraka : hya : maθiš
- 7 ta : bagānām : mām : xšāyaθiya
- 8 m : akunauš : hauv : dahyāum : P
- 9 ārsam : manā : frābara : tya : ukāram
- 10 : uvaspam : vašnā : Auramazdāha : im
- 11 ām : dahyāum : dārayāmiy : mām :
- 12 Auramazdā : pātuv : utāmai : v

DB = DARIUS, BEHISTAN.

TEXT OF DB, COLUMN I:

- 1 : adam : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : vazraka : xšāyaθiya : xšāyaθiy
- 2 ānām : xšāyaθiya : Pārsaiy : xšāyaθiya : dahyūnām : V'št
- 3 āspahyā : puça : Aršāmahyā : napā : Haxāmanīšiya : θātiy :
- 4 Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : manā : pitā : V'štāspa : V'štāspahyā : pitā : Arš
- 5 āma : Aršāmahyā : pitā : Ariyāramna : Ariyāramnahyā : pitā : Cīspīš : Cīsp
- 6 āiš : pitā : Haxāmanīš : θātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : avahyarā

13 iθam : utā : imām : dahyāum : tya :

14 adam : dārayāmiy : hauv : pātuv

TRANSLATION OF AsH:

§1. 1-4. Arsames, the Great King, King of Kings, King (in) Persia, son (of) Ariaramnes the King, an Achaemenian.

§2. 5-14. Saith Arsames the King: Ahuramazda, great god, the greatest of gods, made me king. He bestowed on me the land Persia, with good people, with good horses. By the favor of Ahuramazda I hold this land. Me may Ahuramazda protect, and my royal house, and this land which I hold, may he protect.

Cma = CYRUS, MURGHAB (PASARGADAE) A.

1 adam : Kūruš : xšāya

2 θiya : Haxāmanīšiya

TRANSLATION OF Cma: I am Cyrus the King, an Achaemenian.

Cmb = CYRUS, MURGHAB B.

1 Kūruš : xšāyaθiya : vazraka : Kabūjiya

2 hyā : xšāyaθiyahyā : puça : Haxāmanīšiya :

3 θātiy : yaθā ...

4 ... akutā ...

NOTE TO Cmb: The other versions show that the inscription mentioned the sculptured figure in the doorway below, with a prayer to Ahuramazda for protection; but further reconstruction is as yet impossible. Not all the fragments given in Herzfeld's Plate belong to the same inscription; one such fragment contains clearly the word *vīθiθyā* 'in the palace'.

TRANSLATION OF Cmb: Cyrus the Great King, son of Cambyses the King, an Achaemenian. He says: When ... made ...

Cmc = CYRUS, MURGHAB C.

Kūruš : xšāyaθiya : vazraka : Haxāmanīšiya

TRANSLATION OF Cmc: Cyrus the Great King, an Achaemenian.

- 7 diy : vayam : Haxāmanišiyā : ſahyāmahy : hacā : paruviyata : āmātā : ama
 8 hy : hacā : paruviyata : hyā : amāxam : taumā : xšāyaθiyā : āha : 0
 9 ātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : VIII : manā : taumāyā : tyaiy : paruvam
 10 : xšāyaθiyā : āha : adam : navama : IX : duvitāparanam : vayam : xšāyaθi
 11 yā : amahy : θātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : vašnā : Auramazd
 12 āha : adam : xšāyaθiya : amiy : Auramazdā : xšačam : manā : frābara : 0
 13 ātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : imā : dahyāva : tyā : manā : patiyāiša : vaša
 14 ā : Auramazdāha : adamšām : xšāyaθiya : āham : Pārša : Ūvja : Bābiruš : A
 15 ſurā : Arabāya : Mudrāya : tyaiy : drayahyā : Sparda : Yauna : Māda : Armina : Kat
 16 patuka : Parſava : Zraka : Haraiva : Uvārazmiy : Bāxtriš : Suguda : Gadāra : Sa
 17 ka : Ōtaguš : Harauvatiš : Maka : fraharavam : dahyāva : XXIII : θātiy : Dāra
 18 yavauš : xšāyaθiya : imā : dahyāva : tyā : manā : patiyāiša : vašnā : Au
 19 ramazdāha : manā : badakā : āhatā : manā : bājim : abaratā : tyāšām : hacāma
 20 : aſahya : xšapavā : raucapativā : ava : akunavayatā : θātiy : Dārayava
 21 uš : xšāyaθiya : atar : imā : dahyāva : martiya : hya : agriya : āha : avam : u
 22 bartam : abaram : hya : arika : āha : avam : ufrastam : aparsam : vašnā : Auramazdā
 23 ha : imā : dahyāva : tyānā : manā : dātā : apariyāya : yaθāšām : hacāma : aſah
 24 ya : avaθā : akunavayatā : θātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : Auramazdā
 25 maiy : ima : xšačam : frābara : Auramazdāmai : upastām : abara : yātā : ima : xšačam :
 26 hamadārayaiy : vašnā : Auramazdāha : ima : xšačam : dārayāmiy : 0ā
 27 tiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : ima : tyā : manā : kartam : pasāva : yaθā : xš
 28 āyaθiya : abavam : Kabūjiya : nāma : Kūrauš : puča : amāxam : taumāy
 29 ā : hauvum : idā : xšāyaθiya : āha : avahyā : Kabūjiyahyā : brā
 30 tā : Barđiya : nāma : āha : hamātā : hamapitā : Kabūjiyahyā : pasāva : Ka
 31 būjiya : avam : Bardiyam : avāja : yaθā : Kabūjiya : Bardiyam : avāja : kārahy
 32 ā : naiy : azdā : abava : tyā : Barđiya : avajata : pasāva : Kabūjiya : Mudrāyam
 33 : ašiyava : yaθā : Kabūjiya : Mudrāyam : ašiyava : pasāva : kāra : arika : abava
 34 : pasāva : drauga : dahyauvā : vasiy : abava : utā : Pāršaiy : utā : Māda : ut
 35 ā : aniyūvā : dahyūvā : θātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : pa
 36 sūva : I martiya : maguš : āha : Gaumāta : nāma : hauv : udapatatā : hacā : Paiši
 37 yāuvādāyā : Arakadriš : nāma : kaufa : hacā : avadaša : Viyaxnahya : māh
 38 gā : XIV : raucabiš : ſakatā : āha : yadiy : udapatatā : hauv : kārahyā : avaθā
 39 : odorujiya : adam : Bardiya : amiy : hya : Kūrauš : puča : Kabūjiyahyā : br
 40 ātā : pasāva : kāra : haruva : hamičiya : abava : hacā : Kabūjiyā : abiy : avam :
 41 ašiyava : utā : Pārša : utā : Māda : utā : aniyā : dahyāva : xšačam : hauv
 42 : agarbāyatā : Garmapadahya : māhyā : IX : raucabiš : ſakatā : āha : avaθā : xša
 43 čam : agarbāyatā : pasāva : Kabūjiya : uvāmaršiyuš : amariyatā : θātiy
 44 : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : aita : xšačam : tyā : Gaumāta : hya : maguš : adin
 45 ā : Kabūjiyam : aita : xšačam : hacā : paruviyata : amāxam : taumāyā : ā
 46 ha : pasāva : Gaumāta : hya : maguš : adinā : Kabūjiyam : utā : Pāršam : utā
 47 : Mādam : utā : aniyā : dahyāva : hauv : āyasatā : uvāipašiyam : akutā : hau
 48 v : xšāyaθiya : abava : θātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : naiy : āha : martiya :
 49 naiy : Pārša : naiy : Māda : naiy : amāxam : taumāyā : kašciy : hya : avam : Gau
 50 mātām : tyam : magum : xšačam : ditam : caxriyā : kārašim : hacā : daršam : a
 51 tarsa : kāram : vasiy : avājaniyā : hya : paranam : Bardiyam : adānā : avahyar
 52 ādiy : kāram : avājaniyā : mātymām : xšnāsātīy : tyā : adam : naiy : Bard
 53 iya : amiy : hya : Kūrauš : puča : kašciy : naiy : adaršnauš : cišciy : ſaštana
 54 iy : pari : Gaumātām : tyam : magum : yātā : adam : arasam : pasāva : adam : Aura
 55 maz(d)ām : patiyāvahyaiy : Auramazdāmai : upastām : abara : Bāgayādaiš :
 56 māhyā : X : raucabiš : ſakatā : āha : avaθā : adam : hadā : kamnaibiš : martiyaibi

- 57 š : avam : Gaumātam : tyam : magum : avājanam : utā : tyaišaiy : frataṃā : mar
 58 tiyā : anušiyā : āhata : Sikayauvatiš : nāmā : didā : Nisāya : nā
 59 mā : dahyauš : Mādaiy : avadašim : avājanam : xšačamšim : adam : adinam : va
 60 šnū : Auramazdāha : adam : xšāyaθiya : abavam : Auramazdā : xšačam : manā : fr
 61 ābara : θātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : xšačam : tyā : hacā : amāxam : ta
 62 umāyā : parābartam : āha : ava : adam : patipadam : akunavam : adamšim : gāθa
 63 vā : avāstāyam : yaθā : paruvameiy : avaθā : adam : akunavam : āyadan
 64 ā : tyā : Gaumāta : hya : maguš : viyaka : adam : niyačārayam : kārahyā : abi
 65 cariš : gaiθāmcā : māniyameā : v'θbišcā : tyādiš : Gaumāta : hya :
 66 maguš : adinā : adam : kāram : gāθavā : avāstāyam : Pārsameā : Mādame
 67 ā : utā : aniyā : dahyāva : yaθā : paruvameiy : avaθā : adam : tyā : parābarta
 68 m : patiyābaram : vašnā : Auramazdāha : ima : adam : akunavam : adam : hamataxšaiy :
 69 yātā : v'θam : tyām : amāxam : gāθavā : avāstāyam : yaθā : paruvameiy :
 70 avaθā : adam : hamataxšaiy : vašnā : Auramazdāha : yaθā : Gaumāta : hya : magu
 71 š : v'θam : tyām : amāxam : naiy : parābara : θātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθ
 72 iya : ima : tyā : adam : akunavam : pasāva : yaθā : xšāyaθiya : abavam : θātiy
 73 : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : yaθā : adam : Gaumātam : tyam : magum : avājanam : pa
 74 sāva : I martiya : Ācina : nūma : Upadarmahyā : puča : hauv : udapatatā : Ūvajai
 75 y : kārahyā : avaθā : ābaha : adam : Ūvajaiy : xšāyaθiya : amiy : pasāva : Ūv
 76 jiyā : hamīciyā : abava : abiy : avam : Ācinam : ašiyava : hauv : xšāyaθiya
 77 : abava : Ūvajaiy : utā : I martiya : Bābiruviya : Naditabaira : nūma : Ainairahy
 78 ā : puča : hauv : udapatatā : Bābirauv : kāram : avaθā : adurujiya : adam : Nab
 79 uk^{dracara} : amiy : hya : Nabunaitahyā : puča : pasāva : kāra : hya : Bābiruviya
 80 : hamva : abiy : avam : Naditabairam : ašiyava : Bābiruš : hamīciyā : abava : x
 81 šačam : tyā : Bābirauv : hauv : agarbāyatā : θātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāya
 82 ōiya : pasāva : adam : frāšayam : Ūvjam : hauv : Ācina : basta : anayatā : abiy : mā
 83 m : adamšim : avājanam : θātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : pasāva : adam : Bā
 84 birum : ašiyavam : abiy : avam : Naditabairam : hya : Nabuk^{dracara} : agaubatā
 85 : kāra : hya : Naditabairahyā : Tigrām : adārāya : avadā : aištātā : utā :
 86 abiš : nāviyā : āha : pasāva : adam : kāram : maškāuvā : avākanam : aniyam : uša
 87 būrim : akunavam : aniyahyā : asam : frānayam : Auramazdāmai : upastām
 88 : abara : vašnā : Auramazdāha : Tigrām : viyatarayāmā : avadā : avam : kāram :
 89 tyam : Naditabairahyā : adam : ajanam : vasiy : Āciyādiyahya : māhyā : XXVI : rau
 90 cubiš : θukatā : āha : avaθā : hamaranam : akumā : θātiy : Dārayavauš : x
 91 šāyaθiya : pasāva : adam : Bābirum : ašiyavam : aθiy : Bābirum : yaθā : naiy : up
 92 āyam : Zāzāna : nūma : vardanam : anuv : Ufrātuvā : avadā : hauv : Nadita
 93 baira : hya : Nabuk^{dracara} : agaubatā : aiš : hadā : kārā : patiš : nām : hamaranam :
 94 cartanaiy : pasāva : hamaranam : akumā : Auramazdāmai : upastām : abara : vašnā : Aurama
 95 zdāha : kārūm : tyam : Naditabairahyā : adam : ajanam : vasiy : aniya : āpiyā : āhyatā : ā
 96 pišim : parābura : Anāmakahya : māhyā : II : raucabiš : θukatā : āha : avaθā : hamaranam : akumā

NOTES TO DB I:

Our text of DB is based essentially on KT's examination and edition, supplemented by the examinations of the original by Jackson and Cameron. The notes include the additional characters and words recorded as visible by RI., and by WB from Wb.'s reading of RI.'s squeezes. In the text are embodied Cameron's readings, so far as they are available through his kindness; Cameron removed the limestone incrustations that had covered many of the engraved characters, and succeeded in establishing the original text of a number of passages that had previously been in part unreadable and had been

wrongly restored (so especially 1.21; 2.33, 74, 89; 3.26; 4.44, 46, 54, 65, 85, 89), as well as numerous single letters elsewhere. For these readings due credit is given in the notes attached to the passages. Citation of KT's reading in the notes, without comment, means that KT's reading corrects a previous text based on an incorrect reading by RI. or WB. Accepted restorations which fill the gaps are credited to their authors, except where they are of an obvious nature; but erroneous readings and discarded emendations are for the most part omitted. Mere differences of normalization have been disregarded where they do not imply a difference of interpretation; and for ease

of comparison, all readings which are not presented character by character are given in the normalization employed in this volume.

⁵ *Ariyāram*-KT, both occurrences; not *-rām*-, with Rl. ⁷ [a]m¹ra KT, cf. a[m¹]ra DBa 11 KT; not *ādātā* with Andreas and Hüsing KZ 38.255. ⁹ VIII : manā : tumāyā: cf. Hist. App. I. ¹⁰ *duvītāparanam*, see Lex. ¹¹ On list of provinces, see Kent, JNES 2.302-6. ¹² *Yauna* Bv. Gr. §348; not *ʾun¹[a]* = *Yaun[ā]*, with KT, cf. Rl.'s *Yau[na]*. ¹³ [Sug]uda KT. ¹⁴ *ʾr¹h¹r¹ʾm¹* Rl., KT; instead of the expected *ʾr¹h¹r¹ʾm¹*. ²¹ *agr¹[++]* KT, cf. Rl.'s *agr¹*; *agr¹i¹* Cameron; see Lex. s.v. *agriya*-. ²² *tyānā* : manā : dātā of Rl. and KT is correct; not dittography for *tyā* : manā, cf. the idiom in XPh 49 and 51-2. ²³ *apuriyāya*, from *pari*- + *ay*-; for wrong interpretations, see Lex. ²⁴⁻²⁶ *Auramazda* | m[aiy :] ima KT. ²⁸ ha[na]dārayai[y] KT. ²⁹ *hawam* KT. ³⁰ *avajata* Rl., KT; not to be emended to *avājata*, with Gray, Bthl. ³⁰ On Gaumāta-Bardiya, see Hist. App. II. ³¹ On the OP calendar, see Hist. App. IV. ³¹ *avājamīyā*, cf. Kent, JAOS 62.274. ³⁶ *m²zan²* KT, with omission of the *z*. ³⁶ *patiyārahyaia* Jn., KT. ³⁸ *Sika[ya]watis* KT. ³⁸⁻³⁹ *ab¹ic¹riš¹* Rl., WB, Jn., KT. ³⁹ *ʾr¹h¹ʾiš¹[a]* Jn., KT, for Rl.'s *ʾr¹h¹ʾiš¹[a]*; cf. Lex. for lit. on various normalizations and interpretations. ³⁹ Bv. MSLP 23.182-3 finds an haplography and would read *adinā* : adam [: patiyābaram : adam] : karam. ⁷⁴ *Upadarmahyā* Rl., Wb. KIA; *Upadara²mahyā* Opp. Mēd., Hüsing, KT, Tm.; *Upadara²mahyā* HK.

³⁵ *āštātā* WB, KT; *āštālā* Rl., Tm., Wb. ³⁶⁻⁷ *ušabārim* Jn., KT; *uš[ra]bārim* Bthl. AiW 421; cf. §79. ³⁷ *asam* Jn., KT. ³⁷ *frānyam* KT. ³⁸ *viyatarayāma* acc. to KT's cuneiform text; *viyatarayāma* WB. ³⁹ [a]wadā : avam : karam KT. ⁴⁰ *akumā*, with final a legible acc. to Rl., WB, Jn.; but not acc. to KT. ⁴¹ *abiy* Rl., KT. ⁴¹⁻² [u]pāyam KT, recording that part of the *p* is visible; this eliminates Foy's [abi]yāyam. ⁴² *Ufratuā* KT. ⁴³ [+h¹(+++)a] Rl.; [a]ha[ratā] Opp. 169, Gray AJP 21.22; [a]ha[ratā] WB; [a]ha[ratā] Bthl. AF 1.61; [aharatā] KT; [a]h[ya]tā Kern ZDMG 23.269, Foy KZ 37.554, Bthl. AiW 279, Wb KIA.

Rl. has the following correct readings, in which he records as visible certain characters, here indicated by roman type, which were not visible to KT: *ʾxšāyabīya* [: *xšāya*]θiy-; ² *dahylūnām*; ⁴ *V¹šlāspahyā*; ⁴ *xšāyab[īya]*; ¹⁴ *adamšim*; ¹⁷ *Harauwatīš*; ¹⁹ *manā*; ²⁰ *Dārayava-*; ²² [vašn]ā; ²⁴ *avabā*; ³⁰ *Bardiya*; ³¹ *būjīya* : avam; ³⁴ *pasā*-va; ³⁶ *hya*; ³⁹ par[u]va[m]ciy; ³² *Āci[nā]*; ³⁴ *agau[batā]*; ³⁷ *Auramazdamaia*; ⁴⁰ *avabā*; ⁴¹ *Bābirum* : ya[ṭā]; ⁴³ m[ām]; ⁴⁴ *hamaranam*; ⁴⁶ *āpiyā*.

WB, from Wb.'s reading of Rl.'s squeezes, add the following, also in roman, which were not visible to KT, nor to Rl.: ³³ *ašī*yava; ³⁶ *Mādame*-; ⁴² *abiy* : mā-.

TRANSLATION OF DB I:

§1. 1.1-3. I am Darius the Great King, King of Kings, King in Persia, King of countries, son of Hystaspes, grandson of Arsames, an Achaemenian.

§2. 1.3-6. Saith Darius the King: My father was Hystaspes; Hystaspes' father was Arsames; Arsames' father was Ariaramnes; Ariaramnes'

father was Teispes; Teispes' father was Achaemenes.

§3. 1.6-8. Saith Darius the King: For this reason we are called Achaemenians. From long ago we have been noble. From long ago our family had been kings.

§4. 1.8-11. Saith Darius the King: VIII of our family (there are) who were kings afore; I am the ninth; IX in succession we have been kings.

§5. 1.11-2. Saith Darius the King: By the favor of Ahuramazda I am King; Ahuramazda bestowed the kingdom upon me.

§6. 1.12-7. Saith Darius the King: These are the countries which came unto me; by the favor of Ahuramazda I was king of them: Persia, Elam, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, (those) who are beside the sea, Sardis, Ionia, Media, Armenia, Cappadocia, Parthia, Drangiana, Aria, Choras-mia, Bactria, Sogdiana, Gandara, Scythia, Sattagymia, Arachosia, Maka: in all, XXIII provinces.

§7. 1.17-20. Saith Darius the King: These are the countries which came unto me; by the favor of Ahuramazda they were my subjects; they bore tribute to me; what was said unto them by me either by night or by day, that was done.

§8. 1.20-4. Saith Darius the King: Within these countries, the man who was excellent, him I rewarded well; (him) who was evil, him I punished well; by the favor of Ahuramazda these countries showed respect toward my law; as was said to them by me, thus was it done.

§9. 1.24-6. Saith Darius the King: Ahuramazda bestowed the kingdom upon me; Ahuramazda bore me aid until I got possession of this kingdom; by the favor of Ahuramazda I hold this kingdom.

§10. 1.26-35. Saith Darius the King: This is what was done by me after that I became king. A son of Cyrus, Cambyes by name, of our family—he was king here. Of that Cambyes there was a brother, Smerdis by name, having the same mother and the same father as Cambyes. Afterwards, Cambyes slew that Smerdis. When Cambyes slew Smerdis, it did not become known to the people that Smerdis had been slain. Afterwards, Cambyes went to Egypt. When Cambyes had gone off to Egypt, after that the people became evil. After that the Lie waxed great in the country, both in Persia and in Media and in the other provinces.

§11. 1.35-43. Saith Darius the King: Afterwards, there was one man, a Magian, Gaumata by name; he rose up from Paishiyarvada. A mountain by name Arakadri—from there XIV days of the month Viyakhna were past when he rose up. He lied to the people thus: "I am Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, brother of Cambyses." After that, all the people became rebellious from Cambyses, (and) went over to him, both Persia and Media and the other provinces. He seized the kingdom; of the month Garmapada IX days were past, then he seized the kingdom. After that, Cambyses died by his own hand.

§12. 1.43-8. Saith Darius the King: This kingdom which Gaumata the Magian took away from Cambyses, this kingdom from long ago had belonged to our family. After that, Gaumata the Magian took (it) from Cambyses; he took to himself both Persia and Media and the other provinces, he made (them) his own possession, he became king.

- §13. 1.48-61. Saith Darius the King: There was not a man, neither a Persian nor a Mede nor anyone of our family, who might make that Gaumata the Magian deprived of the kingdom. The people feared him greatly, (thinking that) he would slay in numbers the people who previously had known Smerdis; for this reason he would slay the people, "lest they know me, that I am not Smerdis the son of Cyrus." Not anyone dared say anything about Gaumata the Magian, until I came. After that I besought help of Ahuramazda;
- Ahuramazda bore me aid; of the month Bagayadi X days were past, then I with a few men slew that Gaumata the Magian; and those who were his foremost followers. A fortress by name Sikayauvati, a district by name Nisaya, in Media—there I slew him. I took the kingdom from him.
 - By the favor of Ahuramazda I became king;
 - Ahuramazda bestowed the kingdom upon me.

§14. 1.61-71. Saith Darius the King: The kingdom which had been taken away from our family, that I put in its place; I reestablished it on its foundation. As before, so I made the sanctuaries which Gaumata the Magian destroyed. I restored to the people the pastures and the herds, the household property and the houses which Gaumata the Magian took away from them. I reestablished the people on its foundation, both

Persia and Media and the other provinces. As before, so I brought back what had been taken away. By the favor of Ahuramazda this I did: I strove until I reestablished our royal house on its foundation as (it was) before. So I strove, by the favor of Ahuramazda, so that Gaumata the Magian did not remove our royal house.

§15. 1.71-2. Saith Darius the King: This is what I did after that I became king.

§16. 1.72-81. Saith Darius the King: When I had slain Gaumata the Magian, afterwards one man, by name Açina, son of Upadarma—he rose up in Elam. To the people thus he said: "I am king in Elam." Afterwards the Elamites became rebellious, (and) went over to that Açina; he became king in Elam. And one man, a Babylonian, by name Nidintu-Bel, son of Ainaira—he rose up in Babylon; thus he deceived the people: "I am Nebuchadrezzar the son of Nabonidus." Afterwards the Babylonian people all went over to that Nidintu-Bel; Babylonia became rebellious; he seized the kingdom in Babylon.

§17. 1.81-3. Saith Darius the King: After that I sent (a message) to Elam. This Açina was led to me bound; I slew him.

§18. 1.83-90. Saith Darius the King: After that I went off to Babylon, against that Nidintu-Bel who called himself Nebuchadrezzar. The army of Nidintu-Bel held the Tigris; there it took its stand, and on account of the waters (the Tigris) was unfordable. Thereupon (some of) my army I supported on (inflated) skins, others I made camel-borne, for others I brought horses. Ahuramazda bore me aid; by the favor of Ahuramazda we got across the Tigris. There I smote that army of Nidintu-Bel exceedingly; of the month Açiyadiya XXVI days were past, then we fought the battle.

§19. 1.90-6. Saith Darius the King: After that I went off to Babylon. When I had not arrived at Babylon, a town by name Zazana, beside the Euphrates—there this Nidintu-Bel who called himself Nebuchadrezzar came with an army against me, to deliver battle. Thereupon we joined battle; Ahuramazda bore me aid; by the favor of Ahuramazda I smote that army of Nidintu-Bel exceedingly. The rest was thrown into the water, (and) the water carried it away. Of the month Anamaka II days were past, then we fought the battle.

TEXT OF DB, COLUMN II:

- 1 : θātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : pasāva : Naditabaira : ha
 2 dā : kamnaibiš : asabāraibiš : amuθa : Bābirum : ašiya
 3 va : pasāva : adam : Bābirum : ašiyavam : vašnā : Auramazdāha : utā : Bā
 4 birum : agarbāyam : utā : avam : Naditabairam : agarbāyam : pasāva : ava
 5 m : Naditabairam : adam : Bābirum : avājanam : θātiy : Dārayavauš : x
 6 šāyaθiya : yātā : adam : Bābirum : āham : imā : dahyāva : tyā : hacāma : ha
 7 miçiyā : abava : Pārša : Ūvja : Māda : Aθurā : Mudrāya : Parbava : Marguš : Ōa
 8 taguš : Saka : θātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : I martiya : Martiya : nā
 9 ma : Cicixrāiš : puça : Kuganakā : nāma : vardanam : Pārsoiy : avadā : adāraya :
 10 hauv : udapatatā : Ūvjaiy : kārāhyā : avaθā : aθaha : adam : Imaniš : amiy : Ū
 11 vjaiy : xšāyaθiya : θātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : adakaiy : adam : ašna
 12 iy : āham : abiy : Ūvjam : pasāva : hacāma : alarsu : Ūvjiyā : avam : Marti
 13 yam : agarbāya : hyašām : maθišta : āha : utāšim : avājana : θātiy : D
 14 ārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : I martiya : Fravartiš : nāma : Māda : hauv : udapatat
 15 ā : Mādaiy : kārāhyā : avaθā : aθaha : adam : Xšaθrita : amiy : Uvaxštrah
 16 yā : taumāyā : pasāva : kāra : Māda : hya : vθāpatiy : hauv : hacāma : hamīçiya : a
 17 bava : abiy : avam : Fravartim : ašiyava : hauv : xšāyaθiya : abava : Mādaiy :
 18 θātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : kāra : Pārša : utā : Māda : hya : upā : mām : ā
 19 ha : hauv : kamnam : āha : pasāva : adam : kāram : frāišayam : Vidarna : nāma : Pārša : man
 20 ā : badaka : avamšām : maθištam : akunavam : avaθāšām : aθaham : paraitā : avam : k
 21 āram : tyam : Mādam : jatā : hya : manā : naiy : gaubataiy : pasāva : hauv : Vidarna : ha
 22 dā : kārā : ašiyava : yaθā : Mādam : parārasa : Māruš : nāma : vardanam : Mā
 23 daiy : avadā : hamaranam : akunauš : hadā : Mādaiθiš : hya : Mādaišuvā
 24 : maθišta : āha : hauv : adakaiy : naiy : avadā : āha : Auramazdāmai : u
 25 pastām : abara : vašnā : Auramazdāha : kāra : hya : manā : avam : kāram : t
 26 yam : hamīçiyam : aja : vasiy : Anāmakahya : māhyā : XXVII : raucabiš : θakat
 27 ā : āha : avaθāšām : hamaranam : kartam : pasāva : hauv : kāra : hya : manā : Kapada : nām
 28 ā : dahyāuš : Mādaiy : avadā : mām : amāniya : yātā : adam : arasam : Māda
 29 m : θātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : Dādaršiš : nāma : Arminiya : man
 30 ā : badaka : avam : adam : frāišayam : Arminam : avaθāšaiy : aθaham : paraidiy : kā
 31 ra : hya : hamīçiya : manā : naiy : gaubataiy : avam : jadiy : pasāva : Dādarši
 32 š : ašiyava : yaθā : Arminam : parārasa : pasāva : hamīçiyā : hagmatā : parai
 33 tā : patiš : Dādaršim : hamaranam : cartanaiy : Zūzahya : nāma : āvahanam : A
 34 rm'niyaiy : avadā : hamaranam : akunava : Auramazdāmai : upastām : a
 35 bara : vašnā : Auramazdāha : kāra : hya : manā : avam : kāram : tyam : hamīçiyam :
 36 aja : vasiy : Ōuravāharahya : māhyā : VIII : raucabiš : θakatā : āha : avaθ
 37 āšām : hamaranam : kartam : θātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : patiy : duv
 38 ūtiyam : hamīçiyā : hagmatā : paraitā : patiš : Dādaršim : hamaranam : cartanaiy : Tigrā : nāmā : didā : Arm'niyaiy : avadā : hamaranam : akunava : A
 39 ramamazdāmai : upastām : abara : vašnā : Auramazdāha : kāra : hya : manā : a
 40 ramamazdāmai : upastām : abara : vašnā : Auramazdāha : kāra : hya : manā : a
 41 ramamazdāmai : upastām : abara : vašnā : Auramazdāha : kāra : hya : manā : a
 42 ramamazdāmai : upastām : abara : vašnā : Auramazdāha : kāra : hya : manā : a
 43 ramamazdāmai : upastām : abara : vašnā : Auramazdāha : kāra : hya : manā : a
 44 ramamazdāmai : upastām : abara : vašnā : Auramazdāha : kāra : hya : manā : a
 45 ramamazdāmai : upastām : abara : vašnā : Auramazdāha : kāra : hya : manā : a
 46 ramamazdāmai : upastām : abara : vašnā : Auramazdāha : kāra : hya : manā : a
 47 ramamazdāmai : upastām : abara : vašnā : Auramazdāha : kāra : hya : manā : a
 48 ramamazdāmai : upastām : abara : vašnā : Auramazdāha : kāra : hya : manā : a

- 49 dam : θātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : pasāva : Vaumisa : nāma : Pārsa : manā : ba
 50 daka : avam : adam : frāišayam : Arminam : avaθāšaiy : aθaham : paraidiy : kāra :
 51 hya : hamīčiya : manā : naiy : gaubataiy : avam : jadiy : pasāva : Vaumisa : a
 52 šiyava : yaθā : Arminam : parārasa : pasāva : hamīčiya : hagmatā : paraitā : pa
 53 tiš : Vaumisam : hamaranam : cartanaiy : Izalā : nāmā : dahyāuš : Aθurāy
 54 ā : avadā : hamaranam : akunava : Auramazdāmai : upastām : abara : vašnā : Au
 55 ramazdāha : kāra : hya : manā : avam : kāram : tyam : hamīčiyam : aja : vasiy :
 56 Anāmakahya : māhyā : XV : raucabiš : θakatā : āha : avaθāšām : hamaranam :
 57 kartam : θātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : patiy : duvitīyam : ham
 58 ičiya : hagmatā : paraitā : patiš : Vaumisam : hamaranam : cartanaiy : Au
 59 tiyāra : nāmā : dahyāuš : Arminiya : avadā : hamaranam : akunava :
 60 Auramazdāmai : upastām : abara : vašnā : Auramazdāha : kāra : hya : ma
 61 nā : avam : kāram : tyam : hamīčiyam : aja : vasiy : Θūrāvāharahya : māh
 62 yā : jiyamnam : patiy : avaθāšām : hamaranam : kartam : pasāva : Vaumisa
 63 : citā : mām : amānaya : Arminiya : yātā : adam : arasam : Mādam
 64 : θātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : pasāva : adam : nijāyam : hacā :
 65 Bābirauš : ašiyavam : Mādam : yaθā : Mādam : parārasam : Kud^hruš : nāma :
 66 vardanam : Mādaiy : avadā : hauv : Fravartiš : hya : Mādaiy : xšāyaθiya : a
 67 gaubatā : aiš : hadā : kārā : patiš : mām : hamaranam : cartanaiy : pasāva : hamarana
 68 m : akumā : Auramazdāmai : upastām : abara : vašnā : Auramazdāha : kāram
 69 : tyam : Fravartiš : adam : ajanam : vasiy : Adukanaišahya : māhyā : XXV : ra
 70 ucabiš : θakatā : āha : avaθā : hamaranam : akumā : θātiy : Dārayavauš : x
 71 šāyaθiya : pasāva : hauv : Fravartiš : hadā : kamnaibiš : asabāraibiš : amuθa : Ra
 72 gā : nāmā : dahyāuš : Mādaiy : avaparā : ašiyava : pasāva : adam : kāram : f
 73 rāišayam : nipadiy : Fravartiš : āgarbita : anayatā : abiy : mām : ada
 74 mšaiy : utā : nāham : utā : gaušā : utā : h^hzūnam : frājanam : utāša
 75 iy : I cašam : avajam : duvarayāmai : basta : adāriya : haruvašim : k
 76 āra : avaina : pasāvašim : Hagmatānaiy : uzmayāpatiy : akunavam
 77 : utā : martiyā : tyaišaiy : frātāmā : anušiya : āhatā : avaiy : Ha
 78 gmatānaiy : atar : didām : frāhajam : θātiy : Dārayavauš : xš
 79 āyaθiya : I martiya : Ciçataxma : nāma : Asagartiya : hauvmai : hamīčiya :
 80 abava : kārāhyā : avaθā : aθaha : adam : xšāyaθiya : amiy : Asagarta
 81 iy : Uvaxštrahyā : taumāyā : pasāva : adam : kāram : Pārsam : ut
 82 ā : Mādam : frāišayam : Taxmaspāda : nāma : Māda : manā : badaka : avam
 83 šām : maθištām : akunavam : avaθāšām : aθaham : paraitā : k
 84 āram : hamīčiyam : hya : manā : naiy : gaubātaiy : avam : jatā : pas
 85 āva : Taxmaspāda : hadā : kārā : ašiyava : hamaranam : akunauš : had
 86 ā : Ciçataxmā : Auramazdāmai : upastām : abara : vašnā : Auramaz
 87 dāha : kāra : hya : manā : avam : kāram : tyam : hamīčiyam : aja : utā : C
 88 içataxma : agarbāya : anaya : abiy : mām : pasāvašaiy : adam : utā : n
 89 āham : utā : gaušā : frājanam : utāšaiy : I cašam : avajam : duvarayā
 90 maiy : basta : adāriya : haruvašim : kāra : avaina : pasāvašim : Arbairāyā :
 91 uzmayāpatiy : akunavam : θātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : ima : tyā : ma
 92 nā : kartam : Mādaiy : θātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : Parθava : utā : Var
 93 kāna : hamīčiya : abava : hacāma : Fravartiš : agaubatā : Vⁱštāspa : manā : pitā : ha
 94 uv : Parθava : āha : avam : kāra : avaharda : hamīčiya : abava : pasāva : Vⁱštāspa :
 95 ašiyava : hadā : kārā : hyašaiy : anušiya : āha : Višpauzātīš : nāma : varda
 96 nam : Parθava : avadā : hamaranam : akunauš : hadā : Parθavaibiš : Auramazdāmai
 97 : upastām : abara : vašnā : Auramazdāha : Vⁱštāspa : avam : kāram : tyam : hamīčiya
 98 m : aja : vasiy : Viyaxnahya : māhyā : XXII : raucabiš : θakatā : āha : avaθāšām : hamaranam :
 kartam

NOTES TO DB II: ¹ *asabāraibīš*, form established by *asabāra* DNB 41-5. ² *a[mu]ba* Husing, Wb., for *a[bij]* Rl., *ab[iy]* KT. ³ [*Mudrāya*] Wb., KT, after the Elam. ⁴ *avadā* : *āha* legible, acc. to Cameron. ⁵ [*ma]nā* KT. ⁶ XXVII KT. ⁷ *ar^aan^aiya* KT. ⁸ *z^auz^ahe^a* legible, acc. to Cameron. ⁹⁻⁴ *ar^am^an^aiya* KT; so also in 39, 44. ¹⁰ *uz^am^a* legible, acc. to Cameron.

¹¹ *iz^aka* legible, acc. to Cameron, eliminating various conjectures. ¹² *jiyamnam*, for KT's *jiyamanam*. ¹³ *Adukanaiš* WB; *Aduka[ni]šahya* KT. ¹⁴ *avaparā* KT. ¹⁵ *nipadiy* KT. ¹⁶ *agarbi[ta]* Bthl. WZKM 22.65, for KT's *agarbi[ta]*; immediately followed by *anayālā*, without intervening *utā*, acc. to KT. ¹⁷ *h^az^aan^am^a* legible, acc. to Cameron, eliminating the conjectures. ¹⁸ [*I cašam*], after 2.89, q.v. ¹⁹ *pasāvašim* KT. ²⁰ For 'impaled' rather than 'crucified', cf. Wb. KIA 39n.

²¹ *kāram* : *hamiçiyam* KT, without Rl.'s *tyam* between the words. ²² *I c^ašm^a* legible, acc. to Cameron, settling old disputes; [*u]cšam* KT, +*cašma* Jn., *ucašma* Wb., *ucašam* Kent Lg. 19.225-6; *cašma* Bv. TPS 1945.53-4, after Jn. IF 25.182-3 (cf. conj. of Spiegel, Altp. Keilinsch. 2In, 218), whence *cašam* Kent; see Lex. s.v. *cašā*. ²³⁻²⁵ Except as noted, the supplements are those of WB and KT. ²⁶ Rl. records *hya* as visible before *manā* *pitā*; but KT omit without comment. ²⁷ *avahar[+]* KT; *avahar[ta]* Wb. ZDMG 61.726; *avahar[ja]* Tm. VS 1.22, Lex. 16, corrected to *avahar[da]* Tm. CS 21. ²⁸ *Vis[pa]uz[ā]tiš* KT; *Visp[ā]vausatiš* Rl.; *Vispauzatiš* WB. ²⁹ *akunava* WB; *ajkunau[š]* KT.

Rl. has the following correct readings, in which he records as visible certain characters, here indicated by roman type, which were not visible to KT: ¹ *Naditabai* : *ram*; ² *ōātiy* : *Dārayavauš*; ³ *āham* : *i[mā]*; ⁴ *Abūrā*; ⁵ *xšāya[θiya]*; ⁶ *nāna* : *var[danam]*; ⁷ *avašā*; ⁸ *Dārayavauš* : *xšāya[θiya]*; ⁹ *hacāma*; ¹⁰ *hya*; ¹¹ *māhya* : *VI* : *ra[ucabiš]* (*VI* is corrected to *VIII* by Rl. on page 218); ¹² *paratā* : *pat[is]*; ¹³ *Armaniya* (Rl. misread the third character); ¹⁴ *vasiy*; ¹⁵ *hamiçiyā*; ¹⁶ *Uvaz[štra]hyā*; ¹⁷ *uzmayāpat[iy]*.

WB, from Wb.'s reading of Rl.'s squeezes, add the following, also in roman, which were not visible to KT, nor to Rl.: ¹⁸ *xšāya[θiya]*; ¹⁹ *Frava[rtiš]*; ²⁰ *Arminiya*; ²¹ *ava[ina]*; ²² *Fravartaiš* : *agaubaiš*; ²³ *anušiya*; ²⁴ *nam*.

TRANSLATION OF DB II:

§20. 2.1-5. Saith Darius the King: After that, Nidintu-Bel with a few horsemen fled; he went off to Babylon. Thereupon I went to Babylon. By the favor of Ahuramazda both I seized Babylon and I took that Nidintu-Bel prisoner. After that, I slew that Nidintu-Bel at Babylon.

§21. 2.5-8. Saith Darius the King: While I was in Babylon, these are the provinces which became rebellious from me: Persia, Elam, Media, Assyria, Egypt, Parthia, Margiana, Sattagydia, Scythia.

§22. 2.8-11. Saith Darius the King: One man, by name Martiya, son of Cincikhri—a town by name Kuganaka, in Persia—there he abode. He

rose up in Elam; to the people thus he said, "I am Imanish, king in Elam."

§23. 2.11-3. Saith Darius the King: At that time I was near unto Elam. Thereupon the Elamites were afraid of me; they seized that Martiya who was their chief, and slew him.

§24. 2.13-7. Saith Darius the King: One man, by name Phraortes, a Median—he rose up in Media. To the people thus he said, "I am Khshathrita, of the family of Cyaxares." Thereafter the Median army which (was) in the palace, became rebellious from me, (and) went over to that Phraortes. He became king in Media.

§25. 2.18-29. Saith Darius the King: The Persian and Median army which was with me, this was a small (force). Thereupon I sent forth an army. A Persian by name Hydarnes, my subject—him I made chief of them; thus I said to them: "Go forth, smite that Median army which does not call itself mine!" Thereupon this Hydarnes with the army marched off. When he arrived in Media, a town by name Maru, in Media—there he joined battle with the Medes. He who was chief among the Medes, he at that time was not there. Ahuramazda bore me aid; by the favor of Ahuramazda my army smote that rebellious army exceedingly. Of the month Anamaka XXVII days were past, then the battle was fought by them. Thereafter this army of mine, a district by name Kampanda, in Media—there it waited for me until I arrived in Media.

§26. 2.29-37. Saith Darius the King: An Armenian by name Dadarshi, my subject—him I sent forth to Armenia. Thus I said to him: "Go forth, that rebellious army which does not call itself mine, that do thou smite!" Thereupon Dadarshi marched off. When he arrived in Armenia, thereafter the rebels assembled (and) came out against Dadarshi to join battle. A place by name Zuzahya, in Armenia—there they joined battle. Ahuramazda bore me aid; by the favor of Ahuramazda my army smote that rebellious army exceedingly; of the month Thuravahara VIII days were past, then the battle was fought by them.

§27. 2.37-42. Saith Darius the King: Again a second time the rebels assembled (and) came out against Dadarshi to join battle. A stronghold by name Tigra, in Armenia—there they joined battle. Ahuramazda bore me aid; by the favor of Ahuramazda my army smote that rebellious army

exceedingly; of the month Thuravahara XVIII days were past, then the battle was fought by them.

§28. 2.42-9. Saith Darius the King: Again a third time the rebels assembled (and) came out against Dadarshi to join battle. A fortress by name Uyama, in Armenia—there they joined battle. Ahuramazda bore me aid; by the favor of Ahuramazda my army smote that rebellious army exceedingly; of the month Thaigarei IX days were past, then the battle was fought by them. Thereafter Dadarshi waited for me until I arrived in Media.

§29. 2.49-57. Saith Darius the King: Thereafter a Persian by name Vaumisa, my subject—him I sent forth to Armenia. Thus I said to him: "Go forth; the rebellious army which does not call itself mine—that do thou smite!" Thereupon Vaumisa marched off. When he arrived in Armenia, then the rebels assembled (and) came out against Vaumisa to join battle. A district by name Izala, in Assyria—there they joined battle. Ahuramazda bore me aid; by the favor of Ahuramazda my army smote that rebellious army exceedingly; of the month Anamaka XV days were past, then the battle was fought by them.

§30. 2.57-63. Saith Darius the King: Again a second time the rebels assembled (and) came out against Vaumisa to join battle. A district by name Autiyara, in Armenia—there they joined battle. Ahuramazda bore me aid; by the favor of Ahuramazda my army smote that rebellious army exceedingly; on the last day of the month Thuravahara—then the battle was fought by them. After that, Vaumisa waited for me in Armenia until I arrived in Media.

§31. 2.64-70. Saith Darius the King: Thereafter I went away from Babylon (and) arrived in Media. When I arrived in Media, a town by name Kunduru, in Media—there this Phraortes who called himself king in Media came with an army against me to join battle. Thereafter we joined battle. Ahuramazda bore me aid; by the favor of Ahuramazda that army of Phraortes I smote

exceedingly; of the month Adukanaisha XXV days were past, then we fought the battle.

§32. 2.70-8. Saith Darius the King: Thereafter this Phraortes with a few horsemen fled; a district by name Raga, in Media—along there he went off. Thereafter I sent an army in pursuit; Phraortes, seized, was led to me. I cut off his nose and ears and tongue, and put out one eye; he was kept bound at my palace entrance, all the people saw him. Afterward I impaled him at Ecabatana; and the men who were his foremost followers, those at Ecabatana within the fortress I (flayed and) hung out (their hides, stuffed with straw).

§33. 2.78-91. Saith Darius the King: One man by name Ciçantakhma, a Sagartian—he became rebellious to me; thus he said to the people, "I am king in Sagartia, of the family of Cyaxares." Thereupon I sent off a Persian and Median army; a Mede by name Takhmaspada, my subject—him I made chief of them. Thus I said to them: "Go forth; the hostile army which shall not call itself mine, that do ye smite!" Thereupon Takhmaspada with the army went off; he joined battle with Ciçantakhma. Ahuramazda bore me aid; by the favor of Ahuramazda my army smote that rebellious army and took Ciçantakhma prisoner, (and) led him to me. Afterwards I cut off his ears and nose and tongue, and put out one eye; he was kept bound at my palace entrance, all the people saw him. Afterwards I impaled him at Arbela.

§34. 2.91-2. Saith Darius the King: This is what was done by me in Media.

§35. 2.92-8. Saith Darius the King: Parthia and Hyrcania became rebellious from me, called themselves (adherents) of Phraortes. Hystaspes my father—he was in Parthia; him the people abandoned, became rebellious. Thereupon Hystaspes went forth with the army which was faithful to him. A town by name Vishpauzati, in Parthia—there he joined battle with the Parthians. Ahuramazda bore me aid; by the favor of Ahuramazda Hystaspes smote that rebellious army exceedingly; of the month Viyakhna XXII days were past—then the battle was fought by them.

TEXT OF DB, COLUMN III:

- 1 : 0ātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : pasāva : adam : kāra
 2 m : Pārsam : fraīšayam : abiy : Vīštāšpam : hacā : Ragā
 3 yā : yaθā : hauv : kāra : parārasa : abiy : Vīštāšpam

- 4 : pasāva : Viśtāspa : āyasatā : avam : karam : aśiyava : Patigraba
 5 nā : nāma : vardanam : Parθavaīy : avadā : hamaranam : akunauš : hadā :
 6 hamīciyaibīš : Auramazdāmai : upastām : abara : vašnā : Auramaz
 7 dāha : Viśtāspa : avam : karam : tyam : hamīciyam : aja : vasiy : Ga
 8 rmapadahya : māhyā : I : rauca : θakatam : āha : avaθāšām : hamaranam : ka
 9 rtam : θātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : pasāva : dahyāuš : ma
 10 nā : abava : ima : tya : manā : kartam : Parθavaīy : θātiy : Dārayavau
 11 š : xšāyaθiya : Marguš : nāmā : dahyāuš : hauvmai : hamīciyā : abava
 12 : I martiya : Frāda : nāma : Mārgava : avam : maθištām : akunavatā : pasā
 13 va : adam : frāišayam : Dādaršīš : nāma : Pārsa : manā : badaka : Bāxtriy
 14 ā : xšaçaṇpāvā : abiy : avam : avaθāšaiy : aθaham : paraidiy : ava
 15 m : karam : jadiy : hya : manā : naiy : gaubataiy : pasāva : Dādaršīš : hadā : k
 16 ārā : aśiyava : hamaranam : akunauš : hadā : Mārgavaibīš : Auramazd
 17 āmai : upastām : abara : vašnā : Auramazdāha : kāra : hya : manā : avam : karam
 18 : tyam : hamīciyam : aja : vasiy : Āciyādiyahya : māhyā : XXIII : raucabi
 19 š : θakatā : āha : avaθāšām : hamaranam : kartam : θātiy : Dārayavau
 20 š : xšāyaθiya : pasāva : dahyāuš : manā : abava : ima : tya : ma
 21 nā : kartam : Bāxtriyā : θātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāya
 22 θiya : I martiya : Vahyazdāta : nāma : Tāravā : nāma : vardanam
 23 : Yautiyā : nāmā : dahyāuš : Pārsaiy : avadā : adārāya : ha
 24 uv : duvitiyam : udapatatā : Pārsaiy : kārahya : avaθā
 25 : aθaha : adam : Bardiya : amiy : hya : Kūrauš : puça : pasāva
 26 : kāra : Pārsa : hya : v¹θāpatiy : hacā : Yadāyā : frataram : ha
 27 uv : hacāma : hamīciya : abava : abiy : avam : Vahyazdāta
 28 m : aśiyava : hauv : xšāyaθiya : abava : Pārsaiy : θā
 29 tiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : pasāva : adam : karam : Pārsa
 30 m : utā : Mādam : frāišayam : hya : upā : mām : āha : Artavard
 31 iya : nāma : Pārsa : manā : badaka : avamšām : maθištām : aku
 32 navam : hya : aniya : kāra : Pārsa : pasā : manā : aśiyava : Mā
 33 dam : pasāva : Artavardiya : hadā : kārā : aśiyava : Pārsam
 34 : yaθā : Pārsam : parārasa : Raxā : nāma : vardanam : Pārsaiy : a
 35 vadā : hauv : Vahyazdāta : hya : Bardiya : agaubatā : āiš :
 36 hadā : kārā : patiš : Artavardiya : hamaranam : cartanaiy : pas
 37 āva : hamaranam : akunava : Auramazdāmai : upastām : abara : va
 38 šnā : Auramazdāha : kāra : hya : manā : avam : karam : tyam : Vahya
 39 zdātahya : aja : vasiy : Ōuravāharahya : māhyā : XII : raucabiš : θaka
 40 tā : āha : avaθāšām : hamaranam : kartam : θātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθi
 41 ya : pasāva : hauv : Vahyazdāta : hadā : kamnaibīš : asabāraibīš : a
 42 muθa : aśiyava : Paišiyāuvādām : hacā : avadaša : karam : āyasa
 43 tā : hyāparam : āiš : patiš : Artavardiya : hamaranam : cartana
 44 iy : Parga : nāma : kaufa : avadā : hamaranam : akunava : Auramazdāma
 45 iy : upastām : abara : vašnā : Auramazdāha : kāra : hya : manā : ava
 46 m : karam : tyam : Vahyazdātahya : aja : vasiy : Garmapadahya : māh
 47 yā : V : raucabiš : θakatā : āha : avaθāšām : hamaranam : kartam : utā : ava
 48 m : Vahyazdātām : agarbāya : utā : martiyā : tyaišaiy : fratam
 49 ā : anušiā : āhata : agarbāya : θātiy : Dārayavauš : xš
 50 āyaθiya : pasāva : adam : avām : Vahyazdātām : utā : martiyā :
 51 tyaišaiy : fratamā : anušiā : āhata : Uvādaicaya : nāma : var
 52 danam : Pārsaiy : avadašīš : uzmayāpatiy : akunavam : θā
 53 tiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : ima : tya : manā : kartam : Pārsaiy :

- 54 0ātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : hauv : Vahyazdāta : hya : Bardiya
 55 : agaubatā : hauv : kāram : frāišaya : Harauvatim : Vivāna :
 56 nāma : Pārsa : manā : badaka : Harauvatiyā : xšaçaṣāwā : aby : ava
 57 m : utāšām : I martiyam : maθištam : akunauš : avaθāšām : a
 58 0āha : paraitā : Vivānam : jatā : utā : avam : kāram : hya : Dāraya
 59 vahauš : xšāyaθiyahyā : gaubataiy : pasāva : hauv : kāra : ašiya
 60 va : tyam : Vahyazdāta : frāišaya : abiy : Vivānam : hamaranam : cartanaiy : K
 61 āpišakāniš : nāmā : didā : avadā : hamaranam : akunava : Auramazdāmai
 62 y : upastām : abara : vašnā : Auramazdāha : kāra : hya : manā : avam : kāram : tyā
 63 m : hamiciyam : aja : vasiy : Anāmakahya : māhyā : XIII : raucabiš : 0akatā : āha : a
 64 vaθāšām : hamaranam : kartam : 0ātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : patiy : h
 65 yāparam : hamiciyā : hagmatā : paraitā : patiš : Vivānam : hamaranam : cartana
 66 iy : Gadutava : nāmā : dahyauš : avadā : hamaranam : akunava : Auramazdāma
 67 iy : upastām : abara : vašnā : Auramazdāha : kāra : hya : manā : avam : kāram : t
 68 yam : hamiciyam : aja : vasiy : Viyaxnahya : māhyā : VII : raucabiš : 0akatā :
 69 āha : avaθāšām : hamaranam : kartam : 0ātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya :
 70 pasāva : hauv : martiya : hya : avahyā : kārahyā : maθišta : āha : tyam : Va
 71 hyazdāta : frāišaya : abiy : Vivānam : hauv : amuθa : hadā : kamnaib
 72 iš : asabāraibiš : ašiyava : Aršādā : nāmā : didā : Harauvatiyā : a
 73 vaparā : atiyāiš : pasāva : Vivāna : hadā : kāra : nipadiy : tyaiy : ašiya
 74 va : avadāšim : agarbāya : utā : martiyā : tyaišaiy : frataimā : anušiā :
 75 āhatā : avāja : 0ātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : pasāva : dahyauš : ma
 76 nā : abava : ima : tyā : manā : kartam : Harauvatiyā : 0ātiy : Dārayavauš : xšā
 77 yaθiya : yātā : adam : Pārsaiy : u(t)ā : Mādaiy : āham : patiy : duvitiyam :
 78 Bābiruviyā : hamiciyā : abava : hacāma : I martiya : Arxa : nāma : Armini
 79 ya : Halditahya : puça : hauv : udapataitā : Bābirauv : Dubāla : nāmā : dahyā
 80 uš : hacā : avadāša : hauv : kārahyā : avāθā : adurujiya : adam : Nabukud
 81 racara : amiy : hya : Nabunaitahya : puça : pasāva : kāra : Bābiruviya : hacāma : ha
 82 miçiya : abava : abiy : avam : Arxam : ašiyava : Bābirum : hauv : agarbāyat
 83 ā : hauv : xšāyaθiya : abava : Bābirauv : 0ātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθi
 84 ya : pasāva : adam : kāram : frāišayam : Bābirum : Vidafarnā : nāma : Pārsa : manā
 85 : badaka : avamšām : maθištam : akunavam : avaθāšām : a0aham : paraitā : avam : kāram
 86 : Bābiruviyam : jatā : hya : manā : naiy : gaubātaiy : pasāva : Vidafarnā : hadā : kār
 87 ā : ašiyava : Bābirum : Auramazdāmai : upastām : abara : vašnā : Auramaz
 88 dāha : Vidafarnā : Bābiruviyā : aja : utā : bastā : anaya : Varkazanahya : māhyā : XXII : ra
 89 ucabiš : 0akatā : āha : avāθā : avam : Arzam : hya : Nabukudracara : a
 90 gaubatā : utā : martiyā : tyaišaiy : frataimā : anušiā : āhatā : agarbāya : pa
 91 sāva : niyaštāyam : hauv : Arza : utā : martiyā : tyaišaiy : frataimā : an
 92 ušiā : āhatā : Bābirauv : uzmayāpatiy : akariyatā

NOTES TO DB III: 0akatam KT. 11hamiciyā KT. 12paraidiy KT. 13Mārgasaibiš KT. 14Āciyādiyahya KT. 15yadāyā RI, KT, Cameron; not yaudādā nor yutiya with Foy, nor Maθāyā with Hz. ApI 244-9; but see Lex. s.v. yadā-. 16fratarām Cameron, confirmed by the Elamite *ir-pi*; this does away with the *fratarā* of RI. and KT. 17V KT. 18ahata RI, KT; so also in 51; cf. §36.IVc. 19RI. lost a line here by haplography; corrected by KT. 20agaubatā is engraved *agurra*, KT. 21gāduwa RI, KT, Wb. KIA; perhaps to be read *gāduwa*, with Justi ZDMG 51.240, HK, Tm., because of Elam. *gan-du-ma*-, but see Wb. KIA 144. 22abara is engraved *ar*, KT. 23maθišta RI;

am[wa] KT. 24nipadiyam. iy RI; nipadiy : tyaiy WB; nipadiy : tyaiy RI. 25utā is engraved *ua*, KT.

26[k]ārahā KT. 27Nabunaitahya KT; cf. §36.IVb.

28vāda[ra]a KT, cf. 86 and 88; vāda[ra]a RI. 29Pā[ra]a KT, cf. 4.83; Māda RI. 30RI's *tyam* at the beginning of the line is not there, acc. to KT. 31Bābiruvi[ya]m KT.

32[ga]ubātaiy KT; gaubātaiy RI. 33RI's *abiy* between *ašiyava* and *Bābirum* is not on the Rock, acc. to KT.

34vāda[ra]a KT; vāda[ra]a RI. 35Bābiruvi[ya]a KT; Bābirum : agarbāya RI, WB. 36[agarbāya] WBn, HK;

[bastā : anaya] or [anaya : abiy : mām] Tm. VS. 37r... nahya WB, WBn; Margazānahyā HK; [Ma]r[ga]nahya

Wb. KIA, stating that the first character could be also κ , the third κ or ϵ , the fourth ϵ or κ ; [*Varkazanaḥya*] Kent (all after the Elamite and the traces of OP characters in Rl.'s squeezes). ⁸⁸ XXII KT.

⁹⁰⁻² As read and restored by KT (who followed Wb.'s restorations), except as noted in the following. ⁹⁰ The ϵ before and after the first gap were visible to Cameron, though not to KT. ⁹⁰ *tyaišailly : fratamā :* *anušiyā* [*āhatā : agarbāya*] Wb., after the traces seen by KT; *tyaišailly* now confirmed by Cameron, who found the rest illegible. ⁹⁰⁻¹ [*pasāva : niyašitāyām* Wb. after traces seen by KT; *ṣay-m* still legible, acc. to Cameron. ⁹² *asariyatā* KT; *ākariyatām* Wb.; *akariya*⁹⁴ Bthl., WbN.

Rl. has the following correct readings, in which he records as legible certain characters, here indicated by roman type, which were not visible to KT: ⁷³ *nīpadiy*; ⁷⁴ *utā*; ⁷⁵ *Armini*; ⁷⁶ *dahyā*; ⁷⁷ *Dārayavauš* : *xšāyabi*; ⁷⁸ *paraitā* : *avam*; ⁷⁹ *upastam*; ⁸⁰ *abara*; ⁸¹ *ḥakutā*.

TRANSLATION OF DB III:

§36. 3.1-9. Saith Darius the King: After that I sent forth a Persian army to Hystaspes, from Raga. When this army came to Hystaspes, thereupon Hystaspes took that army (and) marched out. A town by name Patigrabana, in Parthia—there he joined battle with the rebels. Ahuramazda bore me aid; by the favor of Ahuramazda Hystaspes smote that rebellious army exceedingly; of the month Garmapada I day was past—then the battle was fought by them.

§37. 3.9-10. Saith Darius the King: After that the province became mine. This is what was done by me in Parthia.

§38. 3.10-9. Saith Darius the King: A province by name Margiana—it became rebellious to me. One man by name Frada, a Margian—him they made chief. Thereupon I sent forth against him a Persian by name Dadarshi, my subject, satrap in Bactria. Thus I said to him: "Go forth, smite that army which does not call itself mine!" After that, Dadarshi marched out with the army; he joined battle with the Margians. Ahuramazda bore me aid; by the favor of Ahuramazda my army smote that rebellious army exceedingly; of the month Aciyadiya XXIII days were past—then the battle was fought by them.

§39. 3.19-21. Saith Darius the King: After that the province became mine. This is what was done by me in Bactria.

§40. 3.21-8. Saith Darius the King: One man by name Vahyazdata—a town by name Tarava, a district by name Yautiya, in Persia—there he abode. He made the second uprising in Persia. To the people thus he said: "I am Smerdis, the

son of Cyrus." Thereupon the Persian army which (was) in the palace, (having come) from Anshan previously—it became rebellious from me, went over to that Vahyazdata. He became king in Persia.

§41. 3.28-40. Saith Darius the King: Thereupon I sent forth the Persian and Median army which was by me. A Persian by name Artavardiya, my subject—him I made chief of them. The rest of the Persian army went forth behind me to Media. Thereupon Artavardiya with his army went forth to Persia. When he arrived in Persia, a town by name Rakha, in Persia—there this Vahyazdata who called himself Smerdis came with his army against Artavardiya, to join battle. Thereupon they joined battle. Ahuramazda bore me aid; by the favor of Ahuramazda my army smote that army of Vahyazdata exceedingly; of the month Thuravahara XII days were past—then the battle was fought by them.

§42. 3.40-9. Saith Darius the King: After that, Vahyazdata with a few horsemen fled; he went off to Paishiyavada. From there he got an army; later he came against Artavardiya to join battle. A mountain by name Parga—there they joined battle. Ahuramazda bore me aid; by the favor of Ahuramazda my army smote that army of Vahyazdata exceedingly; of the month Garmapada V days were past—then the battle was fought by them, and that Vahyazdata they took prisoner, and those who were his foremost followers they captured.

§43. 3.49-52. Saith Darius the King: After that I that Vahyazdata and those who were his foremost followers—a town by name Uvadaicaya, in Persia—there them I impaled.

§44. 3.52-3. Saith Darius the King: This is what was done by me in Persia.

§45. 3.54-64. Saith the King: This Vahyazdata who called himself Smerdis had sent an army to Arachosia—a Persian by name Vivana, my subject, satrap in Arachosia—against him; and he had made one man their chief. Thus he said to them: "Go forth; smite Vivana and that army which calls itself King Darius's!" Thereupon this army marched off, which Vahyazdata had sent forth against Vivana to join battle. A fortress by name Kapišhakani—there they joined battle. Ahuramazda bore me aid; by the favor of Ahuramazda my army smote that rebellious army

exceedingly; of the month Anamaka XIII days were past—then the battle was fought by them.

§46. 3.64-9. Saith Darius the King: Again later the rebels assembled (and) came out against Vivana to join battle. A district by name Gandutava—there they joined battle. Ahuramazda bore me aid; by the favor of Ahuramazda my army smote that rebellious army exceedingly; of the month Viyakhna VII days were past—then the battle was fought by them.

§47. 3.69-75. Saith Darius the King: After that, this man who was the chief of that army which Vahyazdata had sent forth against Vivana—he fled with a few horsemen (and) got away. A fortress by name Arshada, in Arachosia—past that he went. Afterwards Vivana with his army went off in pursuit of them; there he took him prisoner and the men who were his foremost followers, (and) slew (them).

§48. 75-6. Saith Darius the King: After that the province became mine. This is what was done by me in Arachosia.

§49. 3.76-83. Saith Darius the King: While I was in Persia and Media, again a second time the

Babylonians became rebellious from me. One man by name Arkha, an Armenian, son of Haldita—he rose up in Babylon. A district by name Dubala—from there he thus lied to the people: "I am Nebuchadrezzar the son of Nabonidus." Thereupon the Babylonian people became rebellious from me, (and) went over to that Arkha. He seized Babylon; he became king in Babylon.

§50. 3.83-92. Saith Darius the King: Thereupon I sent forth an army to Babylon. A Persian by name Intaphernes, my subject—him I made chief of them. Thus I said to them: "Go forth; that Babylonian army smite, which shall not call itself mine!" Thereupon Intaphernes with the army marched off to Babylon. Ahuramazda bore me aid; by the favor of Ahuramazda Intaphernes smote the Babylonians and led them in bonds; of the month Varkazana XXII days were past—then that Arkha who called himself Nebuchadrezzar and the men who were his foremost followers he took prisoner. Afterwards I issued an order: this Arkha and the men who were his foremost followers were impaled at Babylon.

TEXT OF DB, COLUMN IV:

- 1 : 0ātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : ima : t
- 2 ya : manā : kartam : Bābirauv : 0ātiy : D
- 3 ārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : ima : tya : adam : akuna
- 4 vam : vašnā : Auramazdāha : hamahyāyā : 0ar
- 5 da : pasāva : yaθā : xšāyaθiya : abavam : XIX : hamaran
- 6 ā : akunavam : vašnā : Auramazdāha : adamšim : a
- 7 janam : utā : IX : xšāyaθiyā : agarbāyam : I Gaumāta :
- 8 nāma : maguš : āha : hauv : adurujiya : avaθā : aθaha : adam :
- 9 Bardiya : amiy : hya : Kūrauš : puça : hauv : Pārsam : ha
- 10 miçiyam : akunauš : I Āçina : nāma : Ūvjiya : hauv : adu
- 11 rujiya : avaθā : aθaha : adam : xšāyaθiya : amiy : Ūvjaiy
- 12 : hauv : Ūvjam : hamičiyam : akunauš : manā : I Naditabaira : n
- 13 āma : Bābiruviya : hauv : adurujiya : avaθā : aθaha :
- 14 adam : Nabukdracara : amiy : hya : Nabunaitahya : puça :
- 15 hauv : Bābirum : hamičiyam : akunauš : I Martiya : nā
- 16 ma : Pārsa : hauv : adurujiya : avaθā : aθaha : adam : Imani
- 17 š : amiy : Ūvjaiy : xšāyaθiya : hauv : Ūvjam : hamičiya
- 18 m : akunauš : I Fravartiš : nāma : Māda : hauv : adurujiya
- 19 : avaθā : aθaha : adam : Xšadrita : amiy : Uvaxštrahya : taumāy
- 20 ā : hauv : Mādam : hamičiyam : akunauš : I Ciçataxna : nāma : Asa
- 21 gartiya : hauv : adurujiya : avaθā : aθaha : adam : xšāyaθ
- 22 iya : amiy : Asagartaiy : Uvaxštrahya : taumāyā : hauv
- 23 : Asagartam : hamičiyam : akunauš : I Frāda : nāma :
- 24 Mārgava : hauv : adurujiya : avaθā : aθaha : adam :

- 25 xšāyaθiya : amiy : Margauv : hauv : Margum : hamiçi
 26 yam : akunauš : I Vahyazdāta : nāma : Pārša : hauv : a
 27 durujiya : avaθā : aθaha : adam : Bardiya : amiy : hya : Kū
 28 rauš : puça : hauv : Pārsam : hamiçiyam : akunauš : I Ar
 29 xa : nāma : Arminiya : hauv : adurujiya : avaθā : aθaha : adam : Nab
 30 ukudracara : amiy : hya : Nabunaitahya : puça : hauv : Bābirum : ham
 31 içiyam : akunauš : θātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : imaiy :
 32 IX : xšāyaθiyā : adam : agarbāyam : atar : imā : hamaranā
 33 : θātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : dahyāva : imā : tyā : hamiçi
 34 ā : abava : drauga : diš : hamiçiyā : akunauš : tyā : imaiy : kāram : adur
 35 ujiyaša : pašava : diš : Auramazdā : manā : dastayā : akunauš : yaθā : mām : k
 36 ūma : avaθā : diš : akunavam : θātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθi
 37 ya : tuvam : kā : xšāyaθiya : hya : aparam : āhy : hacā : draugā : daršam :
 38 patipayauvā : martiya : hya : draujana : abatiy : avam : ufraštam : parsā : ya
 39 diy : avaθā : maniḡhaiy : dahyāušmai : duruvā : ahati
 40 y : θātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : ima : tyā : adam : akunavam :
 41 vašnā : Auramazdāha : hamahyāyā : θarda : akunavam : tuvam : kā : hya
 42 : aparam : imām : dipim : patiparsāhy : tyā : manā : kartam : varnavatām
 43 : θuvām : mātya : draujyāhy : θātiy : Dārayavauš : xšā
 44 yaθiya : Auramazdāha : ragam : vartaiyaiy : yaθā : ima : hašiyam : naiy : duru
 45 xtam : adam : akunavam : hamahyāyā : θarda : θātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāya
 46 θiya : vašnā : Auramazdāha : utāmai : aniyāšciy : vasiy : astiy : karta
 47 m : ava : ahyāyā : dipiyā : naiy : nipištam : avahyarādiy : naiy : n
 48 ipištam : mātya : hya : aparam : imām : dipim : patiparsātiy : avah
 49 yā : paruv : θadayātaiy : tyā : manā : kartam : naišim : ima : varnavātaiy : d
 50 uruxtam : maniḡdaiy : θātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : tyaiy
 51 : paruvā : xšāyaθiyā : yātā : āha : avaišām : avā : naiy : astiy : kar
 52 tam : yaθā : manā : vašnā : Auramazdāha : hamahyāyā : θarda : kartam : θā
 53 tiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : nūram : θuvām : varnavatām : tyā : man
 54 ā : kartam : avaθā : kārhyā : rādiy : mā : apagaudaya : yadiy : imām :
 55 hadugām : naiy : apagaudayāhy : kārhyā : θāhy : Auramazdā : θuvām :
 56 dauštā : biyā : utātaiy : taumā : vasiy : biyā : utā : dargam : jivā
 57 : θātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : yadiy : imām : hadugām : apagaudayā
 58 hy : naiy : θāhy : kārhyā : Auramazdātay : jatā : biyā : utātaiy : taum
 59 ā : mā : biyā : θātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : ima : tyā : adam : akunavam :
 60 hamahyāyā : θarda : vašnā : Auramazdāha : akunavam : Auramazdāmai : upas
 61 tām : abara : utā : aniyāha : bagāha : tyaiy : hatiy : θātiy : Dārayavau
 62 š : xšāyaθiya : avahyarādiy : Auramazdā : upastām : abara : utā : ani
 63 yāha : bagāha : tyaiy : hatiy : yaθā : naiy : arika : āham : naiy : draujana : āham : na
 64 iy : zūrakara : āham : naiy : adam : naiimaiy : taumā : upariy : arštām : upariy
 65 āyam : naiy : škaurim : naiy : tunuvatam : zūra : akunavam : martiya : hya : hamata
 66 xsatā : manā : vīḡyā : avam : ubartam : abaram : hya : viyanāḡaya : avam : ufrasta
 67 m : aparsam : θātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : tuvam : kā : xšāyaθiya :
 68 hya : aparam : āhy : martiya : hya : draujana : abatiy : hyavā : zūrakara : ahat
 69 iy : avaiy : mā : dauštā : biyā : ufraštādiy : parsā : θātiy : Dāra
 70 yavauš : xšāyaθiya : tuvam : kā : hya : aparam : imām : dipim : vaināhy : ty
 71 ām : adam : niyapaišam : imaivā : patikarā : mātya : vikanāhy : yāvā : u
 72 tava : āhy : avaḡsatā : paribarā : θātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : ya
 73 diy : imām : dipim : vaināhy : imaivā : patikarā : naiydiš : vikanāhy : utā
 74 taiy : yāvā : taumā : ahati : paribarāhdiš : Auramazdā : θuvām : dauštā : biy

upariy [a]ya[m ɿ] nary : šakaurim : nary : [ʃu]mwatam, confirming upariy[ə]yam) of WB, HK, Wb. KIA; šakaurim WB, Jn., šakaurim [m] KT, Tm., Wb. KIA (read rather škaurim, see Lex. s.v. *škaw-i*); [nary] Spiegel; ... wata Rl., [mwatam Jn., [ʃu]mwatam KT. ⁶⁶ zuku Rl., zūra Rl. later. ⁶⁷ āya WB (from Rl.'s squeezes) Jn.; omitted by KT. ⁶⁸ wəwiba... Rl.; [w]iθiāy WB, Jn.; wəiθiāy KT. ⁶⁹ wiyana[ə]ya WB, KT, HK, Tm., Wb. KIA; correctly wiyana[ə]ya Foy KZ 35.46. ⁷⁰ awam : ufrasta- WB; wrongly awa : ufrasta- KT. ⁷¹ [z]u[rakara : ++ : KT, with possibly traces of two characters in the gap; but, Cameron finds [z]u[rakara : aha- with only a gap for one

character, perhaps miswritten and erased, after the character. ⁶⁹ *dauššā* WB, KT. ⁶⁹ ... *ā* KT; *biyā* WbN, HK, Tm. ⁶⁹ *atīfraštādiy* Rl.; *ahīfraštādiy* WB, Jn.; *uīfraštādiy* KT.

⁷¹ *visanāhy* Rl., KT; *rikanāhy* WB, Jn., Cameron; similarly 4.73, 4.77. ⁷¹⁻² *d*- | *l*³ with *d*² and *s*² uncertain, KT; *utava* HK; Cameron is dubious about *utava*, and notes that 71 ends with a divider and *d*², which if combined make *u*, but if so there is no divider (i.e., haplography of two angle-signs). ⁷² *avaθāšta* KT; *avaθāšā* Kent JAOS 62.272-3, see Lex. s.v. ⁷² *pari[ba]rā* KT, cf. 4.74. ⁷²⁻³ *y*- | *[ā]rā* Rl.; *ya*- | *diy* WB; *ya*- | *[diy]* KT. ⁷²⁻⁴ *utā*- | *laiy* KT. ⁷⁴ *paribārāh²dīš* KT. ⁷⁶ *[a]a[tiy]* : *aparam* Rl.; *avataiy* WB, Jn., KT (there is no *aparam*). ⁷⁶ + + + + + *m* with traces of the lost characters, KT; *uāram* after DSI 5, Bv. BSLP 30.1.65-6. ⁷⁶ *d²q²u²u²* Rl.; *kuuauw* WB, KT. ⁷⁷⁻⁸ *ut*- | *ātaiy* KT. ⁷⁸ *paribārāhy* KT.

⁸⁰⁻⁸ On the Helpers of Darius, see Hist. App. III.

⁸⁵ *Uāna* : *nāma* WB; *U[ā]na* : *nāma*, though the middle gap is hardly adequate for two characters and a divider, KT; perhaps the divider was not engraved because it followed an identical stroke as final part of *n²*. ⁸⁶ *Dādū[hyahyā]* WB; *[Dādū]hyahyā* KT; *[Dādū]hyahyā* WbN; *[Dātū]hyahyā* or *[Dadiwa]hyahyā* Wb. KIA; *Dāt- [u]hyahyā* Cameron, with *t*² not absolutely certain and *v*² damaged but sure. ⁸⁷⁻⁸ *tyām* : *imaišām* : *martiyā* : *u* | + + : *imām* : ... : *ā* + : *par[ibārā]* KT; *martiyānā* | *m* : *taumām* : *[ubart]ām* WbN, agreeing with traces noted by KT and slightly emending some other characters.

⁸⁹⁻⁹² See JAOS 63.266-9, where a complete restoration is attempted; also Wb. KIA 70-2 and König, Klothe 4.42-9. Except as noted here, the restorations in the text are mine, though depending in some points upon Wb. and König. In 89, Cameron reads *m²* : *dipi* + : *an² + v² m²* and thence through *utā*; Kent emends, to fit Cameron's translation. The OP lacks the Elam. clause 'which formerly (was) not'. ⁸⁹⁻⁹⁰ *avast[ā]ya[m]* KT; *avast[ā]y[ā]* König. ⁹² *k[ā]ra* Wb.

Rl. has the following correct readings, in which he records as legible certain characters, here indicated by roman type, which were not visible to KT: ¹ *Dā[rayava-]* [uš]; ³ *xš[ayā]ya*; ¹² *ham[ici]yam*; ¹² *manā* : *I Naditabairu*; ²² *Asagar[atiy]*; ²⁴ *adu[rū]iya*; ³¹ *ā[tiy]*; ³¹ *hya*; ⁴¹ *ha[nahyā]yā*; ⁶¹ *arika*; ⁷³ *dīpim*; ⁷⁶ *taumā*; ⁸⁰ *Dārayavauš*; ⁸² *agaubala*; ⁸³ *ada[kaiy]*; ⁸³ *nāma* (prior occurrence); ⁸³ *Pārsa*; ⁸³ *θux[rahyā]*; ⁸⁴ *Gau[baru]a*.

WB, from Wb.'s reading of Rl.'s squeezes, add the following, also in roman, which were not visible to KT, nor to Rl.: ¹¹ *aḥa* : *adam*; ³⁵ *draujana*; ⁵⁶ *apaguduyāhy*; ⁷¹ *nūyapašām* : *imaišā*; ⁷⁴ *ahatiy*; ⁷⁸ *taumā* : *ahatiy* : *nūiydīš*; ⁸¹ *ahatā*; ⁸³ *Vāyasparāhyā*; ⁸⁴ *puça* : *Pārsa* : *Gaubarawa*; ⁸⁴ *puça* : *Pārsa* : *Vidarna*; ⁸⁵ *gābiyāhyā* : *puça*; ⁸⁶ *Bagabuzša*; ⁸⁶ *Arđumaniš* : *nāma* : *Vahaukahyā* : *puça*; ⁸⁷ *kū* : *xšāyāhyā*.

TRANSLATION OF DB IV:

§51. 4.1-2. Saith Darius the King: This is what was done by me in Babylon.

§52. 4.2-31. Saith Darius the King: This is what I did by the favor of Ahuramazda in one

and the same year after that I became king. XIX battles I fought; by the favor of Ahuramazda I smote them and took prisoner IX kings. One was Gaumata by name, a Magian; he lied; thus he said: "I am Smerdis, the son of Cyrus;" he made Persia rebellious. One, Ačina by name, an Elamite; he lied; thus he said: "I am king in Elam;" he made Elam rebellious. One, Nidintu-Bel by name, a Babylonian; he lied; thus he said: "I am Nebuchadrezzar, the son of Nabonidus;" he made Babylon rebellious. One, Martiya by name, a Persian; he lied; thus he said: "I am Imanish, king in Elam;" he made Elam rebellious. One, Phraortes by name, a Mede; he lied; thus he said: "I am Khshathrita, of the family of Cyaxares;" he made Media rebellious. One, Ciçantakhma by name, a Sagartian; he lied; thus he said: "I am king in Sagartia, of the family of Cyaxares;" he made Sagartia rebellious. One, Frada by name, a Margian; he lied; thus he said: "I am king in Margiana;" he made Margiana rebellious. One, Vahyazdata by name, a Persian; he lied; thus he said: "I am Smerdis, the son of Cyrus;" he made Persia rebellious. One, Arkha by name, an Armenian; he lied; thus he said: "I am Nebuchadrezzar, the son of Nabonidus;" he made Babylon rebellious.

§53. 4.31-2. Saith Darius the King: These IX kings I took prisoner within these battles.

§54. 4.33-6. Saith Darius the King: These are the provinces which became rebellious. The Lie made them rebellious, so that these (men) deceived the people. Afterwards Ahuramazda put them into my hand; as was my desire, so I did unto them.

§55. 4.36-40. Saith Darius the King: Thou who shalt be king hereafter, protect thyself vigorously from the Lie; the man who shall be a Lie-follower, him do thou punish well, if thus thou shalt think, "May my country be secure!" —

§56. 4.40-3. Saith Darius the King: This is what I did; by the favor of Ahuramazda, in one and the same year I did (it). Thou who shalt hereafter read this inscription, let that which has been done by me convince thee; do not thou consider it false.

§57. 4.43-5. Saith Darius the King: I turn myself quickly to Ahuramazda, that this (is) true, not false, (which) I did in one and the same year.

§58. 4.45-50. Saith Darius the King: By the

favor of Ahuramazda and of me much else was done; that has not been inscribed in this inscription; for this reason it has not been inscribed, lest whoso shall hereafter read this inscription, to him what has been done by me seem excessive, (and) it not convince him, (but) he think it false.

§59. 4.50-2. Saith Darius the King: Those who were the former kings, as long as they lived, by them was not done thus as by the favor of Ahuramazda was done by me in one and the same year.

§60. 4.52-6. Saith Darius the King: Now let that which has been done by me convince thee; thus for the people's sake do not conceal it: if this record thou shalt not conceal, (but) tell it to the people, may Ahuramazda be a friend unto thee, and may family be unto thee in abundance, and may thou live long!

§61. 4.57-9. Saith Darius the King: If this record thou shalt conceal, (and) not tell it to the people, may Ahuramazda be a smiter unto thee, and may family not be to thee!

§62. 4.59-61. Saith Darius the King: This which I did, in one and the same year by the favor of Ahuramazda I did; Ahuramazda bore me aid, and the other gods who are.

§63. 4.61-7. Saith Darius the King: For this reason Ahuramazda bore aid, and the other gods who are, because I was not hostile, I was not a Lie-follower, I was not a doer of wrong—neither I nor my family. According to righteousness I conducted myself. Neither to the weak nor to the powerful did I do wrong. The man who cooperated with my house, him I rewarded well; whoso did injury, him I punished well.

§64. 4.67-9. Saith Darius the King: Thou who shalt be king hereafter, the man who shall be a Lie-follower or who shall be a doer of wrong—unto them do thou not be a friend, (but) punish them well.

§65. 4.69-72. Saith Darius the King: Thou who shalt hereafter behold this inscription which I

have inscribed, or these sculptures, do thou not destroy them, (but) thence onward protect them, as long as thou shalt be in good strength!

§66. 4.72-6. Saith Darius the King: If thou shalt behold this inscription or these sculptures, (and) shalt not destroy them and shalt protect them as long as unto thee there is strength, may Ahuramazda be a friend unto thee, and may family be unto thee in abundance, and may thou live long, and what thou shalt do, that may Ahuramazda make successful for thee!

§67. 4.76-80. Saith Darius the King: If thou shalt behold this inscription or these sculptures, (and) shalt destroy them and shalt not protect them as long as unto thee there is strength, may Ahuramazda be a smiter unto thee, and may family not be unto thee, and what thou shalt do, that for thee may Ahuramazda utterly destroy!

§68. 4.80-6. Saith Darius the King: These are the men who were there at the time when I slew Gaumata the Magian who called himself Smerdis; at that time these men cooperated as my followers: Intaphernes by name, son of Vayaspāra, a Persian; Otanes by name, son of Thukhra, a Persian; Gobryas by name, son of Mardonius, a Persian; Hydarnes by name, son of Bagabigna, a Persian; Megabyzus by name, son of Datuvahya, a Persian; Ardumanish by name, son of Vahauka, a Persian.

§69. 4.86-8. Saith Darius the King: Thou who shalt be king hereafter, protect well the family of these men.

§70. 4.88-92. Saith Darius the King: By the favor of Ahuramazda this inscription in other ways I made. In addition, it was in Aryan, and has been made on leather. In addition, this inscription as a whole has been confirmed by the impression of a seal. And it was written, and the written document was read off to me. Afterwards this inscription was sent by me everywhere among the provinces; the people universally were pleased.

TEXT OF DB, COLUMN V:

- 1 : θātiy : Dārayavauš : zšāyaθiya :
- 2 ima : tya : adam : akunavam : patiy : avā
- 3 mc^a : çitām : θardam : pasāva : yaθā : xšāya
- 4 θiya : abavam : Ūvja : nāmā : dahyāuš : hau
- 5 v : hamiçiyā : abava : I martiya : Atamaita : nāma : Ū
- 6 vjiya : avam : maθištām : akunawatā : pasāva : ada
- 7 m : kārām : frāišayam : Ūvjam : I martiya : Gaubaruva :

- 8 nāma : Pārsa : manā : badaka : avamšām : maḥištām : aku
 9 navam : pasāva : haw : Gaubaruva : hadā : kārā : ašiyava :
 10 Ūvjam : hamaranam : akunauš : hadā : Ūvjiyaibīš : pas
 11 āva : Gaubaruva : Ūvjiyā : aja : utā : viya : marda :
 12 utā : tyamšām : maḥištām : agarbāya : anaya : abi
 13 y : mām : utāšīm : adam : avājanam : pasāva : dahyā
 14 uš : manā : abava : θātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθi
 15 ya : awaiy : Ūvjiyā : arikā : āha : utāšām : Aurama
 16 zdā : naiy : ayadiya : Auramazdām : ayadaiy : vašnā : A
 17 uramazdāha : yaθā : mām : kāma : avadādiš : akunavam
 18 : θātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : hya : Auramazdā
 19 m : yadātaiy : yāvā : taumā : ahatiy : utā : jivah
 20 yā : utā : martahyā : šiyātiš : θātiy : Dārayavauš : xš
 21 āyaθiya : pasāva : hadā : kārā : adam : ašiyavam : abiy : Sak
 22 ām : abiy : Sakā : tyaiy : xaudām : tigrām : barat*
 23 y : pasāva : yaθā : adam : ašnaiy : abiy : draya : a
 24 vārasam : avadā : hadā : kārā : pišā : viyatara
 25 yam : pasāva : adam : Sakā : vasiy : ajanam : aniyam : aga
 26 rbāyam : haw : basta : anayātā : abiy : mām : ut
 27 āšīm : avājanam : maḥištašām : Skuxa : nāma : avam : aga
 28 rbāya : utā : anaya : abiy : mām : avadā : aniyam : maθ
 29 ištām : akunavam : yaθā : mām : kāma : āha : pasāva : da
 30 hyāuš : manā : abava : θātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāya
 31 θiya : awaiy : Sakā : arikā : āha : utā : naiy : Auramazd
 32 āšām : ayadiya : Auramazdām : ayadaiy : vašnā : Aurama
 33 zdāha : yaθā : mām : kāma : avadādiš : akunavam : θāt
 34 iy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : hya : Auramazdām : yadāta
 35 iy : yāvā : taumā : ahatiy : utā : jivahyā : utā
 36 : martahyā : šiyātiš

NOTES TO DB V: The text is badly weathered or entirely destroyed at many points. A full critical discussion is given in JNES 2.105-14, 3.233; cf. also Wb. ZfA 46.52-82, Hinz ZDMG 96.331-43. The following gives only the advances upon KT's text as read and restored in their edition:

² pa|tiy Wb. ²⁻³ a|pā|me² Hinz. ³ |litam Kent (after Wb.). ⁴ |m²m²it² KT, U|mamaita later editors; Altamaita Hüsing; A|mamaita Hinz, after Wb. ⁷ [I] RI. ¹¹ [Ūvjiyā] WbN; aja Foy (not av|ja). ¹¹ utā : daiy : marda RI., KT; corrected to utā : viyamarda, with wrongly inserted divider, by Wb. ZfA 46.55; see also §44 and note 3, and Lex. s.v. mard-. ¹² [tyamšām] WbN. ¹³ avaiy Kent, for Hinz's a|vā. ¹⁴ [hamiçiyā : āha] Hinz; [arikā] Hinz later. ¹⁶ [naiy : ayadiya] Hinz; A[uramazdām] Wb. KIA. ¹⁹ ya|dātaiy Tm. VS. ²⁰ [utā Foy; artah|yā] [: bavatiy Hinz, after Oppert's translation; martah|yā Wb., [šiyātiš] Kent JNES 7.107 n5.

²¹ hadā : kārā : Sa|kām KT; hadā : kārā : Sa|kā Hinz; pasāva : hadā : kārā Kent. ²² [abiy : Sakā Kent, for Hinz's [abiy : avā (quoting Wb. for avā). ²² tyaiy : xaudām Oppert. ²² pa|sāva : yaθā : adam : ašnaiy Hinz (quoting Wb. for pasāva : yaθā). ²²⁻⁴ avā|rasam : avadā : ha|dā : kārā Hinz. ²⁶ ... Sak|iyā : av|ājanam KT; Sak|ā : av|ājanam Tm. Lex.; pasāva : adam :] Sak|ā : vasiy :]

ajanam Hinz. ²⁸ [haw] Kent apud Hinz. ²⁷ ma|ḥišta- [mšām Hinz; ma|ḥišta|šām Kent. ²⁷ S|ku|za KT (in their errata), after Oppert's translation. ²⁸ utā : āna|ya [: abiy : mām Hinz (quoting Wb.); a|naya Kent. ²⁹ ya|θā : mām : k|āma WbN, after Oppert's translation. ³¹ avā :] Sa|k|ā [: hamiçiyā : āha : u|lā Hinz; [avaiy] Kent; [arikā] Hinz later. ³² ā [: ayad|iyā Hinz; a|šām : aya|di|ya Kent; A|ura|mazdām : a|yadaiy Tm. Lex. ³⁴ hya] Foy, after Oppert's translation. ³⁵ [: utā : yāvā :] ta|umā WbN, [: yāvā : tau|mā HK; [ahatiy] Foy, u|lā RI. ³⁶ [artahyā : bavatiy] Hinz; m|artahyā Wb.; [šiyātiš] Kent JNES 7.107 n5.

Wb. ZfA 46.53-82 makes and adopts the following emendations which are not discussed in my article, and which I do not accept: ²¹ hadā : kārā : S|ugdam; ²⁶ [aniyam] for [vasiy], ²⁸ [aniya] for [haw], ²⁸⁻⁷ utāš|iš for utāš|īm; ²⁷ hya|š|ām : maḥišta, which violates the recorded length of the gaps.

Eilers JNES 7.106-10 proposes, after yadātaiy in 19 and 34f, the following text (composite of the legible characters and traces in the two passages), after XPh 53-5: [: š|iyā|iš : ahatiy : utā : jivahyā : utā : ma|rtahyā : artam, with avahyā after šiyātiš if space permits, and artāvastam as an alternative for artam.

RI. has the following correct readings, in which he

records as legible certain characters, here indicated by roman type, which were not visible to KT: ¹ *Dārayavau-* [š; ² *akunava*[m; ⁴ *nā*[na; ⁵ *ha*[miçiyā]; ⁶ *vjiya*; ⁷ *maθ*]-*istam* : a[*kunava*; ⁷ *martiya* :; ⁸ : P[*ārsa*; ⁸ : a[*vanišām*; ⁹ *Gajubar*[uwa; ¹⁰ *ak*[unau[š; ¹¹ *uramaz*[dā]ha; ²¹ *āyaθ*[iya; ²⁶ *ābiy*; ²⁷ *Sk*[uza; ²⁸ *utā* (prior occurrence).

TRANSLATION OF DB V:

§71. 5.1-14. Saith Darius the King: This is what I did in that third year after that I became king. A province by name Elam—this became rebellious. One man by name Atamaita, an Elamite—him they made chief. Thereupon I sent forth an army to Elam. One man by name Gobryas, a Persian, my subject—him I made chief of them. After that this Gobryas with an army marched off to Elam; he joined battle with the Elamites. Thereupon Gobryas smote and crushed the Elamites, and captured the chief of them; he was led to me, and I killed him. After that the province became mine.

§72. 5.14-7. Saith Darius the King: Those
• Elamites were faithless and by them Ahuramazda
• was not worshipped. I worshipped Ahuramazda;
• by the favor of Ahuramazda, as was my desire, thus I did unto them.

§73. 5.18-20. Saith Darius the King: Whoso
• shall worship Ahuramazda as long as (his) strength shall be, of him both living and dead (there is) happiness.

§74. 5.20-30. Saith Darius the King: Afterwards with an army I went off to Scythia, against the Scythians who wear the pointed cap. Afterwards, when I arrived near unto the sea, there with the army I crossed by raft(s). Afterwards, I smote the Scythians exceedingly; another (leader) I took captive; this one was led bound to me, and I slew him. The chief of them, by name Skunkha—him they seized and led to me. Then I made another (their) chief, as was my desire. After that, the province became mine.

§75. 5.30-3. Saith Darius the King: Those Scythians . . . (= DB 5.15-7).

§75. 5.33-6. . . . (= DB 5.18-20).

TEXT OF DB, MINOR INSCRIPTIONS:

DBA:

1 : adam : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : vazraka :
xšāya
2 θiya : xšāyaθiyānām : xšāyaθiya : Pārsaiy : xš
3 āyaθiya : dahyūnām : Vīštāspahyā : puça :

4 Aršāmahyā : napā : Haxāmanišiya : θātiy :
Dāra
5 yavauš : xšāyaθiya : manā : pitā : Vīštāspa : Vī
6 štāspahyā : pitā : Aršāma : Aršāmahyā : pi
7 tā : Ariyāramna : Ariyāramnahyā : pitā :
8 Cīspiš : Cispaiš : pitā : Haxāmaniš :
9 θātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : avahya
10 rādiy : vayam : Haxāmanišiyā : θahyā
11 mahy : hacā : paruviyata : āmātā
12 : amahy : hacā : paruviyata : hyā : amā
13 xam : taumā : xšāyaθiyā : āha : θā
14 tiy : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : VIII : ma
15 nā : taumāyā : tyaiy : paruva
16 m : xšāyaθiyā : āha : adam : na
17 vama : IX : duvitāparanam : vayam : x
18 šāyaθiyā : amahy :

DBB

1 : iyam : Gaumā
2 ta : hya : maguš
: a
3 durujiya :
4 avaθā : aθaha :
adam : Ba
5 rdiya : amiy : hya
: K
6 ūrauš : puça :
adam : xš
7 āyaθiya : amiy :

DBC

1 : iyam : Āç
2 ina : adu
3 rujiya :
4 avaθā
5 : aθaha : a
6 dam : x
7 šāyaθ
8 iya : am
9 iy : Ū
10 vjaiy :

DBD

1 : iyam :
Naditabaira :
2 adurujiya : ava
3 θā : aθaha : adam :
Nab
4 ukudracara : ami
5 y : hya :
Nabunaita
6 hya : puça : adam
: x
7 šāyaθiya : amiy :
B

DBE

1 : iyam : Fra
2 vartiš :
3 aduru
4 jiya : ava
5 θā : aθaha : adam :
6 Xšaθrita : amiy
7 : Uvaxštrahya
8 : taumāyā : adam
9 : xšāyaθiya : amiy
10 : Mā
11 daiy :

DBF

1 : iyam : Martiya
: a
2 durujiya : a
3 vaθā : aθaha : a
4 dam : Imaniš : am
5 iy : Ūvjaiy : x
6 šāyaθi
7 ya :

DBg

1 : iyam : Ciça
2 taxma : ad
3 urujiya
4 : avaθā : a
5 θaha : adam :
6 xšāyaθi

7 ya : ami
8 y : Asaga
9 rtaiy : Uva
10 xštrahya
11 : taumāy
12 ā

DBg: This is Ciçantakhma. ... (= DB 4.1-2).

DBh: This is Vahyazdata. ... (= DB 4.26-8); I am king.

DBi: This is Arkha. ... (= DB 4.29-30); I am king in Babylon.

DBj: This is Frada. ... (= DB 4.24-5).

DBk: This is Skunkha the Scythian.

DBh

1 : iyam : Vahya
2 zdāta : adu
3 ruiya : ava
4 θā : aθaha : ada
5 m : Bardiya : a
6 miy : hya : K
7 ūrauš : puça
8 : adam : xšā
9 yaθiya : amiy

DBi

1 : iyam : Arxa
2 : aduruj
3 iya : avaθā :
4 aθaha : adam :
5 Nabuku(d)ra
6 cara : amiy :
7 hya : Nabuna
8 itahya : pu
9 ça : adam : xšā
10 yaθiya : amiy
11 : Bāb^arauv :

DPa = DARIUS, PERSEPOLIS A.

1 Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya :
2 vazraka : xšāyaθiya : xšā
3 yaθiyānām : xšāyaθiya :
4 dahyūnām : Vištāspahy
5 ā : puça : Haxāmanišiya : h
6 ya : imam : tacaram : akunauš

TRANSLATION OF DPa: Darius the Great King, King of Kings, King of countries, son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenian, who built this palace.

DPb = DARIUS, PERSEPOLIS B.

Dārayavauš : XŠ : vazraka : Vištāspahyā : puça : Haxāmanišiya

TRANSLATION OF DPb: Darius the Great King, son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenian.

DPc = DARIUS, PERSEPOLIS C.

ardastāna : aθagaina : Dārayavahauš : Xšhyā : viθiyā : karta

TRANSLATION OF DPc: Stone window-frame, made in the house of King Darius.

DPd = DARIUS, PERSEPOLIS D.

1 Auramazdā : vazraka : hya : maθišta : bag
2 ānām : hauv : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθi
3 yam : adadā : haušaiy : xšačam : irāba
4 ra : vašnā : Auramazdāhā : Dārayavau
5 š : xšāyaθiya : θātiy : Dārayavauš :
6 xšāyaθiya : iyam : dahyāuš : Pār
7 sa : tyām : manā : Auramazdā : frāba
8 ra : hyā : naibā : uvaspā : umartī
9 yā : vašnā : Auramazdāhā : manac
10 ā : Dārayavahauš : xšāyaθiyahy
11 ā : hacā : aniyānā : naiy : tarsat
12 iy : θātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāya
13 θiya : manā : Auramazdā : upastām :
14 baratuv : hadā : viθaihiš : bagai
15 biš : utā : imām : dahyāum : Aura
16 mazdā : pātiv : hacā : baināy
17 ā : hacā : dušiyārā : hacā : dra
18 ugā : abiy : imām : dahyāum : mā

NOTES TO DB, MINOR INSCRIPTIONS:

DBa: Despite KT, the divider is at the end of 7 and not at the beginning of 8 (Cameron).

DBg: This has 12 lines (so WB 5, after Rl.'s squeezes; confirmed by Cameron) and not 11 (as in KT and a number of other editions, which omit line 7).

DBi: ^{b-c} n^ab^au^ku^ra^cr^a on the Rock; ^d is omitted. ¹¹ b^ab^ar^au^v, with omission of the ⁱ which should follow the second ^b.

TRANSLATION OF DB, MINOR INSCRIPTIONS:

DBa: §1. 1-4. ... (= DB 1.1-3).

§2. 4-8. ... (= DB 1.3-6).

§3. 9-13. ... (= DB 1.6-8).

§4. 13-8. ... (= DB 1.8-11).

DBb: This is Gaumata the Magian. ... (= DB 4.8-9); I am king.

DBc: This is Ačina. ... (= DB 4.10-1).

DBd: This is Nidintu-Bel. ... (= DB 4.13-4); I am king in Babylon.

DBe: This is Phraortes. ... (= DB 4.18-20); I am king in Media.

DBf: This is Martiya. ... (= DB 4.16-7).

- 19 : ājamiyā : mā : hainā : mā : duš
 20 iyāram : mā : drauga : aita : adam :
 21 yānam : jadiyāmiy : Auramazd
 22 ām : hadā : viθaibiš : bagaibiš : a
 23 ilamaiy : yānam : Auramazdā : dadāt
 24 uv : hadā : viθaibiš : bagaibiš :

NOTES TO DPd: ¹⁷ *dušiyārā* Jn. (not *d'ašā*). ¹⁸ *abiy* Stolze (not *anoye*). ¹⁹⁻²⁰ *dušiyāram* Jn. (not *d'ašā*). ²⁰ *yārma* : *ma* with divider and all characters visible, and a gap between *i* and *y*, acc. to Cameron. ²¹ *yārma* *m*, with separation caused by a defect in the stone (so Stolze's photograph). ²² The insertion of *yānam* is required for the filling of the gap, in which some slight traces of the characters are still visible; so Cameron, from photo.

TRANSLATION OF DPd:

- ✓ §1. 1-5. Great Ahuramazda, the greatest of gods—he created Darius the King, he bestowed on him the kingdom; by the favor of Ahuramazda Darius is King.
 §2. 5-12. Saith Darius the King: This country of Persia which Ahuramazda bestowed upon me, good, possessed of good horses, possessed of good men—by the favor of Ahuramazda and of me, Darius the King, does not feel fear of (any) other.
 §3. 12-24. Saith Darius the King: May ✓ Ahuramazda bear me aid, with the gods of the royal house; and may Ahuramazda protect this country from a (hostile) army, from famine, from the Lie! Upon this country may there not come an army, nor famine, nor the Lie; this I pray as a boon from Ahuramazda together with the gods of the royal house. This boon may Ahuramazda together with the gods of the royal house give to me!

DPe = DARIUS, PERSEPOLIS E.

- 1 adam : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : vaz
 2 raka : xšāyaθiya : xšāyaθiyānā.
 3 m : xšāyaθiya : dahyūnām : tyai
 4 šām : parūnām : Vištāspahyā :
 5 puça : Haxāmanišiya : θātiy : Dāra
 6 yavauš : xšāyaθiya : vašnā : Aurama
 7 zdāhā : imā : dahyāva : tyā : adam
 8 : adaršiy : hadā : anā : Pārsā : kā
 9 rā : tyā : hacāma : atarsa : manā : bāj
 10 im : abara : Ūvja : Māda : Bābiru
 11 š : Arabāya : Aθurā : Mudrāy
 12 ā : Armina : Katpatuka : Sparda : Ya
 13 unā : tyaiy : uskahyā : utā : tyā
 14 iy : drayahyā : utā : dahyāva : t
 15 yā : para : draya : Asagarta : Parθava : Zra

- 16 ka : Haraiva : Bāxtriš : Sugda : Uv
 17 ārazmiy : θataguš : Haraupatiš : H
 18 iduš : Gadāra : Sakā : Maka : θātiy
 19 : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : yadiy
 20 : avaθā : maniyāhay : hacā : aniya
 21 nā : mā : tarsam : inam : Pārsam : karam :
 pādi

- 22 y : yadiy : kāra : Pārsa : pāta : ahati : hyā :
 23 duvaištam : šiyātiš : axšatā : hauvci
 24 y : Aurā : nirasātiy : abiy : inām : viθam

NOTES TO DPe: ⁸ *hadā* not 'by means of', as previously taken, but 'along with, in addition to', as shown by Bv. TPS 1945.51-3, which is its normal meaning. ¹⁵ *paru* + *y*, with a vertical hasta in the mutilated character, followed by a gap, according to the earliest editors; restored as *paruiy* by Rl.; misread *paruiy* with a blank unengraved space in the gap, by Jn.; correctly read *paru* : *d'ru* *y* = *para* : *draya* by Cameron, JNES 2.307-8, with a wide space between the *r* and the *y*. ²⁰ *maniyāhay* for *-haiy*. ²² A divider is visible between *pāta* and *ahatiy*, acc. to Jn. and to Stolze's photographs.

TRANSLATION OF DPe:

- §1. 1-5. I am Darius the Great King, King of Kings, King of many countries, son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenian.
 §2. 5-18. Saith Darius the King: By the favor of Ahuramazda these are the countries which I got into my possession along with this Persian folk, which felt fear of me (and) bore me tribute: Elam, Media, Babylonia, Arabia, Assyria, Egypt, Armenia, Cappadocia, Sardis, Ionians who are of the mainland and (those) who are by the sea, and countries which are across the sea; Sagartia, Parthia, Drangiana, Aria, Bactria, Sogdiana, Chorasmia, Sattagdyia, Arachosia, Sind, Gandara, Scythians, Maka.

§3. 18-24. Saith Darius the King: If thus thou shalt think, "May I not feel fear of (any) other," protect this Persian people; if the Persian people shall be protected, thereafter for the longest while happiness unbroken—this will by Ahura come down upon this royal house.

DPh = DARIUS, PERSEPOLIS H.

- 1 Dārayavauš : XŠ : vazraka : XŠ : XŠyanām :
 XŠ
 2 : dahyūvnām : Vištāspahyā : puça
 3 : Haxāmanišiya : θātiy : Dārayavau
 4 š : XŠ : ima : xšačam : tyā : adam : dāray
 5 āmiy : hacā : Sakaibiš : tyaiy : para
 6 : Sugdam : amata : yātā : ā : Kūšā :
 7 hacā : Hidauv : amata : yātā : ā : Spa

8 rdā : tyamaiy : Auramazdā : frābara
 9 : hya : maθišta : bagānām : mām : Au
 10 ramazdā : pātuv : utāmai : viθam

TRANSLATION OF DPh:

§1. 1-3. Darius the Great King, King of Kings, King of countries, son of Hystaspes, an Achae-menian.

§2. 3-10. Saith Darius the King: This is the kingdom which I hold, from the Scythians who are beyond Sogdiana, thence unto Ethiopia; from Sind, thence unto Sardis—which Ahuramazda the greatest of the gods bestowed upon me. Me may Ahuramazda protect, and my royal house.

DPi = DARIUS, PERSEPOLIS I.

mayūxa : kāsakaina : Dārayavahauš : XŠhyā :
 viθiyā : karta

TRANSLATION OF DPi: Door-knob of precious stone, made in the house of Darius the King.

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF NAQŠ-I-RUSTAM.

DNa = DARIUS, NAQŠ-I-RUSTAM A.

1 бага : vazraka : Auramazdā : hya : im
 2 ām : būmim : adā : hya : avam : asm
 3 ānam : adā : hya : martiyam : adā : h
 4 ya : šiyātīm : adā : martiyahyā
 5 : hya : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiyam : ak
 6 unauš : aivam : parūvnām : xšāyaθ
 7 iyam : aivam : parūvnām : framātā
 8 ram : adam : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : va
 9 zraka : xšāyaθiya : xšāyaθiyānām
 10 : xšāyaθiya : dahyūnām : vispazanā
 11 nām : xšāyaθiya : ahyāyā : būmi
 12 yā : vazrakāyā : dūraiapiy : Vištās
 13 pahyā : puça : Haxāmanīšiya : Pārsa : P
 14 ārsahyā : puça : Ariya : Ariya : ei
 15 ça : θātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāya
 16 θiya : vašnā : Auramazdāhā : imā :
 17 dahyāva : tyā : adam : agarbāyā :
 18 apataram : hacā : Pārsā : adamšām :
 19 patiyaxšayaiy : manā : bājim : abara
 20 ha : tyāšām : hacāma : aθahya : ava : a
 21 kunava : dātām : tyā : manā : avadiš :
 22 adāraiya : Māda : Ūvja : Parθava : Harai
 23 va : Bāxtriš : Suguda : Ūvārazm
 24 iš : Zraka : Harauvatiš : θataguš : Ga
 25 dāra : Hiduš : Sakā : haumavargā : Sa
 26 kā : tigraxaudā : Bābiruš : A
 27 θurā : Arabāya : Mudrāya : Armina

28 : Katpatuka : Sparda : Yauna : Sakā : tyaiy
 : pa

29 radraya : Skudra : Yaunā : takabarā : Putāy
 30 ā : Kūšiyā : Maciyā : Karkā : θātiy : D
 31 ārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : Auramazdā : yaθ
 32 ā : avaina : imām : būmim : yaudatim :
 33 pasāvadim : manā : frābara : mām : xšā
 34 yaθiyam : akunauš : adam : xšāyaθiya
 35 : amiy : vašnā : Auramazdāhā : a
 36 damšim : gāθavā : niyašādayam : tyašā
 37 m : adam : aθaham : ava : akunava : yaθā :
 mām :

38 kāma : āha : yadipatiy : maniyāhaiy : t
 39 ya : ciyakaram : āha : avā : dahyāva
 40 : tyā : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya
 41 : adāraya : patikarā : dīdiy : tyaiy : g
 42 āθum : baratiy : avadā : xšnāsāhy :
 43 adataiy : azdā : bavātiy : Pārsahyā :
 44 martiyahyā : dūrai : arštīš : pa
 45 rāgmata : adataiy : azdā : bavāti
 46 y : Pārsa : martiya : dūrayapiy : hacā : Pā
 47 rsā : partaram : patiyajatā : θātiy : Dā
 48 rayavauš : xšāyaθiya : aita : tya : karta
 49 m : ava : visam : vašnā : Auramazdāhā : ak
 50 unavam : Auramazdā(ma)iy : upastām : aba
 51 ra : yātā : kartam : akunavam : mām : A
 52 uramazdā : pātuv : hacā : gasā : utāma
 53 iy : viθam : utā : imām : dahyāum : aita : ada
 54 m : Auramazdām : jadiyapiy : aitama
 55 iy : Auramazdā : dadātuv :
 56 martiyā : hyā : Auramazdāh
 57 ā : framānā : hauvtaiy : gas
 58 tā : mā : θadaya : paθim :
 59 tyām : rāstām : mā
 60 : avarada : mā : stabava

NOTES TO DNa: The text of DNa now rests upon the photographs of F. Stölze (Persepolis: Berlin, 1882) and of A. Sevruguin (accessible in Wb. Grab, Plates 2-3). The following readings, which either replace older wrong readings or confirm older doubted readings, are assured by the photographs; the restorations agree with the length of the gaps: ¹⁻⁸ framātā- | ram; ¹² dūraiapiy; ¹⁹ patiyaxšayaiy; ¹⁹⁻²⁰ aba[ra]- | ha; ²² adāraiya (for normalization, cf. §48); ²⁵ haumavargā; ²⁷ akunava; ²⁸ yadipatiy : maniyāhaiy : t|- | ya (for -haiy, cf. note on DB 4.39); ²⁹ [āha] Wb.; ⁴¹ no space for [manā] before gāθum; ⁴² a[va]dā; ⁴³ dūrai; ⁴⁵ dūrayapiy; ⁵⁰ Auramazdā(ma)iy, with omission of m; ⁶² ga[stā], see Lex. s.v. (not s^{ra}+).

Other textual notes: ²⁸⁻⁹ [pa]- | radraya, after other occurrences, see Lex. s.v.; not [ta]- | radraya. ²⁹⁻³⁰ Put[ā]yā, after other occurrences, see Lex. s.v.; not Put[ī]yā. ²² yau[datim] Bthl., see Lex. s.v. yaud-; hardly yau[di]m[ī],

with Wb. ⁶⁰ *stabava* (as RI. JRAS 10.310 had it), see Lex. s.v.; not *starava* nor *stakava*.

TRANSLATION OF DNā:

1. §1. 1-8. A great god is Ahuramazda, who created this earth, who created yonder sky, who created man, who created happiness for man, who made Darius king, one king of many, one lord of many.

§2. 8-15. I am Darius the Great King, King of Kings, King of countries containing all kinds of men, King in this great earth far and wide, son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenian, a Persian, son of a Persian, an Aryan, having Aryan lineage.

§3. 15-30. Saith Darius the King: By the favor of Ahuramazda these are the countries which I seized outside of Persia; I ruled over them; they bore tribute to me; what was said to them by me, that they did; my law—that held them firm; Media, Elam, Parthia, Aria, Bactria, Sogdiana, Chorasmia, Drangiana, Arachosia, Sattagydia, Gandara, Sind, Amyrgian Scythians, Scythians with pointed caps, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, Armenia, Cappadocia, Sardis, Ionia, Scythians who are across the sea, Skudra, petasos-

wearing Ionians, Libyans, Ethiopians, men of Maka, Carians.

§4. 30-47. Saith Darius the King: Ahuramazda, when he saw this earth in commotion, thereafter bestowed it upon me, made me king; I am king. By the favor of Ahuramazda I put it down in its place; what I said to them, that they did, as was my desire. If now thou shalt think that "How many are the countries which King Darius held?" look at the sculptures (of those) who bear the throne, then shalt thou know, then shall it become known to thee: the spear of a Persian man has gone forth far; then shall it become known to thee: a Persian man has delivered battle far indeed from Persia.

§5. 47-55. Saith Darius the King: This which has been done, all that by the will of Ahuramazda I did. Ahuramazda bore me aid, until I did the work. Me may Ahuramazda protect from harm, and my royal house, and this land: this I pray of Ahuramazda, this may Ahuramazda give to me!

§6. 56-60. O man, that which is the command of Ahuramazda, let this not seem repugnant to thee; do not leave the right path; do not rise in rebellion!

DNb = DARIUS, NAQŠ-I-RUSTAM B.

- 1 бага : vazraka : Auramazdā : hya : adadā : i
- 2 ма : frašam : tya : vainataiy : hya : adadā : ši
- 3 yātim : martiyahyā : hya : xraθum : ut
- 4 ā : aruvastam : upariy : Dārayavaum : xšā
- 5 yaftiyam : nīyasaya : θātiy : Dārayavaus : xšāya
- 6 θiya : vašnā : Autramazdāhā : avākaram : a
- 7 miy : tya : rāstam : dauštā : amiy : miθa : na
- 8 iy : dauštā : amiy : naimā : kāma : tya : skauθ
- 9 iš : tunuvatahyā : rāθiy : miθa : kariyaiš
- 10 : naimā : ava : kāma : tya : tunuvā : skauθaiš : r
- 11 ādiy : miθa : kariyaiš : tya : rāstam : ava : mām :
- 12 kāma : martiyam : draujanam : naiy : dauštā : ām
- 13 iy : naiy : manauviš : amiy : tyāmai : dartana
- 14 yā : bavatiy : daršam : dārayāmiy : manahā :
- 15 uvaipašiyahyā : daršam : xšayamna : amiy :
- 16 martiya : hya : hataxšataiy : anudim : hakarta°
- 17 hyā : avaθādim : paribarāmiy : hya : v°
- 18 ināθayatiy : anudim : vinastahyā : avaθ
- 19 ā : parsāmiy : naimā : kāma : tya : mar°tiya
- 20 : vināθayaiš : naipatimā : ava : kāma : yadi
- 21 y : vināθayaiš : naiy : fraθiyaiš : martiya :
- 22 tya : pat°iy : martiyam : θātiy : ava : mām :
- 23 naiy : varnavataiy : yātā : uradanām : hadu
- 24 gām : āxšnautiy : martiya : tya : kunau
- 25 tiy : yad°ivā : ābaratiy : anuv : tauman

- 26 išaiy : xšnuta : °° amiy : utā : mām : vas
 27 iy : kāma : utā : uzš^onauš : amiy : avākaram
 28 camaiy : ° ušiy : utā : framānā : yašāmai
 29 y : tya : kartam : vaināhy : ya^odivā : āxšnav-
 30 āhy : utā : vi^oṭ^oi^oyā : °° uta : spāθma
 31 i^oda^oyā : aitamai^oy ° : °°° aruvastam :
 32 upariy : manašcā : °° ušicā : ima : patimai
 33 y : aruvastam : t^oya^omai : tanūš : tāvaya
 34 t^oy : hamaranakara : am^oiy : ušhamaranakara : hakara
 35 mci^oy : ušiyā : gāθa^ovā : vainātaiy : yaci^oy :
 36 vaināmiy : hamiciya^om : yaci^oy : naiy : vainā
 37 miy : utā : ušibiyā : utā : framānāyā
 38 : a^odakaiy : fratarā : maniyaiy : aruvāyā : ya
 39 di^oy : vaināmiy : hamiciyam : yaθā : yadiy :
 40 nai^oy : vaināmiy : yāumainiš : amiy : u
 41 tā ° : dastaibiyā : utā : pādaibiyā : asabā
 42 ra : ° uvāsabāra : amiy : θanuvaniya : uθa
 43 n^ouvaniya : amiy : utā : pastiš : utā
 44 : asabāra : ārštika : amiy : uvārštika :
 45 utā : pastiš : utā : asabāra : utā : ūv^onarā
 46 : tyā : Auramazdā : upariy : mām : niyasaya : utā
 47 diš : atāvayam : bartanaiy : vašnā : Auramazdāh
 48 ā : tyamaiy : kartam : imaibiš : ūvnarai^obiš : aku
 49 navam : tyā : mām : Auramazdā : upariy : niyasaya
 50 : mar^okā : daršam : azdā : kušuvā : ciyākaram
 51 : amiy : ciyākaramcamaiy : ūv^onarā : ciyākara
 52 mcamaiy : parianam : mātaiy : durux^otam :
 53 θadaya ° : tyataiy : gaušāyā : xšnutam : avaš
 54 ciy : ° āxšnudi^oy : tya : partamtaiy : asti
 55 y : mar^okā : mātaiy : avašciy : durux^ota
 56 m : kuna^ovātaiy : tya : manā : kartam : astiy
 57 : avašciy : didiy : yaci^oy : nipištam : mā :
 58 taiy : dātā : +++++ : mā : ++++++ātīy
 59 ā : ayāu(ma)iniš : bavātiy : mar^okā : xšāyāθiya
 60 : mā : raxθatuv : ++++++ ++++++ina :

NOTES to DNb: Our text of DNb is that given in JNES 4.39-52, based upon the photographs of Schmidt taken in 1938, supplemented by Hz.'s chart and transliteration, ApI 4-6. The intercalated ° ° ° ° in our text marks blank spaces adequate for one, two, three characters respectively, where the rock was too rough to permit engraving.

A different interpretation of 34-40, with other textual restorations, by I. Gershevitch, TPS 1948.66-8, does not convince me. Certain alterations of the OP text and of the interpretation, esp. in 52-60, by W. Hinz, on the basis of the Elam. version, cannot be evaluated until his article is in print.

¹⁴ bavātiy on the Rock; bavatiy in fragmentary 2d copy (Hz. ApI Plate 5). ¹⁵ mar^otiya Schmidt photo; last character not m^o, despite Hz. ¹⁶ par^oaiy Kent; par[saiy] 'in court' Hz. ApI 273. ¹⁷ The gap is inadequate for Hz.'s restored dādiy; and the Schmidt photo shows a divider

in the middle of the space. ¹⁸ an^ou^oθa^o, with dubious n^o, Wb. KIA 94, from Sevruguin's photo; a^ou^oθa^o Hz., which he emends to ar^ou^oθa^o; a^ou^oθa^o, with θ^o to be emended to r^o, and y^o rather than θ^o, Kent from Schmidt photo.

¹⁹ The divider is not at the end of 49, but at the beginning of 50. Between the two lines there is the vacant space of one line, to indicate the break in the subject-matter. ²⁰ ciy^oak^om^ociy^o in both places, Hz., confirmed by Schmidt photo; with metathesis for m^oc^om^o, and to be normalized ciyākaramcamaiy. ²¹ [durux]tam Bv., after DB 4.44f, 49f. ²² [xšnutam] Kent; the space is inadequate for Bv.'s āxšnūtam. ²³⁻²⁴ [durux]tam Kent, after Bv.'s restoration in 52. ²⁵⁻²⁶ The remaining restorations, quite dubious, are largely my own. ²⁷ The m^o of ayāumainiš was omitted on the Rock.

For my variations from Hz.'s text, see Lg. 15.166-74, JNES 4.39-52.

TRANSLATION OF DNb:

✓ §7. 1-5. A great god is Ahuramazda, who created this excellent work which is seen, who created happiness for man, who bestowed wisdom and activity upon Darius the King.

§8a. 5-11. Saith Darius the King: By the favor of Ahuramazda I am of such a sort that I am a friend to right, I am not a friend to wrong. It is not my desire that the weak man should have wrong done to him by the mighty; nor is that my desire, that the mighty man should have wrong done to him by the weak.

§8b. 11-5. What is right, that is my desire. I am not a friend to the man who is a Lie-follower. I am not hot-tempered. What things develop in my anger, I hold firmly under control by my thinking power. I am firmly ruling over my own (impulses).

§8c. 16-21. The man who cooperates, him according to his cooperative action, him thus do I reward. Who does harm, him according to the damage thus I punish. It is not my desire that a man should do harm; nor indeed is that my desire, if he should do harm, he should not be punished.

§8d. 21-4. What a man says against a man, that does not convince me, until he satisfies the Ordinance of Good Regulations.

§8e. 24-7. What a man does or performs (for me) according to his (natural) powers, (therewith) I am satisfied, and my pleasure is abundant, and I am well satisfied.

§8f. 27-31. Of such a sort is my understanding and my command: when what has been done by me thou shalt see or hear of, both in the palace and in the war-camp, this is my activity over and above my thinking power and my understanding.

§8g. 31-40. This indeed is my activity: inasmuch as my body has the strength, as battle-fighter I am a good battle fighter. Once let there be seen with understanding in the place (of battle), what I see (to be) rebellions, what I see (to be) not (rebellious); both with understanding and with command then am I first to think with action, when I see a rebel as well as when I see a not-(rebel).

§8h. 40-45. Trained am I both with hands and with feet. As a horseman I am a good horseman. As a Bowman I am a good Bowman both afoot and on horseback. As a spearman I am a good spearman both afoot and on horseback.

§8i. 45-9. And the (physical) skillfulnesses which Ahuramazda has bestowed upon me and I have had the strength to use them--by the favor of Ahuramazda what has been done by me, I have done with these skillfulnesses which Ahuramazda has bestowed upon me.

§9a. 50-5. O menial, vigorously make thou known of what sort I am, and of what sort my skillfulnesses, and of what sort my superiority. Let not that seem false to thee, which has been heard by thy ears. That do thou hear, which is communicated to thee.

§9b. 55-60. O menial, let that not be made (to seem) false to thee, which has been done by me. That do thou behold, which [has been inscribed]. Let not the laws [be disobeyed] by thee. Let not [anyone] be untrained [in obedience]. [O menial], let not the king (feel himself obliged to) inflict punishment (?) [for wrong-doing (?) on the dwellers (in the land) (?)].

TEXT OF DN, MINOR INSCRIPTIONS:

DNc 1 Gaubaruva : Pātīsuvariš : Dāra

2 yavahauš : xšāyaθiyahyā : arštibara

DNd 1 Aspacanā : vaçabara : Dārayavahauš : xš

2 āyaθiyahyā : isuvām : dārayatiy

DN I iyam : Pārsa

II iyam : Māda

III iyam : Ūvja

IV iyam : Parθava

XV iyam : Sakā : tigraxaudā

XVI iyam : Babiruš

XVII iyam : Aθuriya

XXIX iyam : Maciyā

NOTES TO DN, MINOR INSCRIPTIONS: DNc: ²arštibara, engraved ²arštibara; the original draft was miswritten ^{ar}arštibara, and the ²ar, intended to replace the ^{ar}, was by error inserted in the place of the ^a. (But the first engraved character is read by Cameron from photographs not as ²ar, but as ^har; for a miswritten ^har I can offer no explanation).

DNd: Aspathines has a heavy bow, or a bowcase, slung over his left shoulder, and holds a battle-ax in his hand; cf. JNES 4.233.

TRANSLATION OF DN, MINOR INSCRIPTIONS:

DNc: Gobryas, a Patishorian, spear-bearer of Darius the King.

DNd: Aspathines, bowbearer, holds the battle-ax of Darius the King.

DN I: This is the Persian.

DN II: This is the Mede.

DN III: This is the Elamite.

DN IV: This is the Parthian.

DN XV: This is the Scythian with pointed cap.

DN XVI: This is the Babylonian.

DN XVII: This is the Assyrian.

DN XXIX: This is the man of Maka.

DSa = DARIUS, SUSA A.

1 adam : Dārayavauš : XŠ : vazraka : XŠ
XŠyān

2 ām : XŠ DHnām : Vištāspahyā : puça : Ha

3 xāmanišya : θātiy : Dārayavauš : XŠ

4 : vašnā : AMha : adam : ava : akunavam :
tya :

5 akunavam : višahyā : frašam : θadayātaiy

NOTE TO DSA: **frašam* : *θadayātaiy*, H. ApI 156-8, for the previously accepted *frašta* : *θadayāmai*; but Hinz, ZDMG 95.223-5, supports *a[dam : viša]hyā : frašta : θadayāmai*.

TRANSLATION OF DSA:

1. 1-3. I am ... (= DPa 1-5).

§2. 3-5. Saith Darius the King: By the favor of Ahuramazda I have done that which I have done; to every one may it seem excellent.

DSb = DARIUS, SUSA B.

1 adam : Dārayavau

2 š : xšāyaθiya

3 : vazraka : xšāya

4 θiya : xšāyaθi

5 yānām : xšāya

6 θiya : dahyūnā

7 m : xšāyaθiya :

8 haruvahyāya :

9 būmiyā : Višt

10 āspahyā : puça

11 : Haxāmanišiya

TRANSLATION OF DSb: I am ... (= DPa 1-4), King in all the earth, ... (= DPe 4-5).

DSc = DARIUS, SUSA C.

adam : Dārayavauš XŠ : vazraka XŠ XŠyānām :
Vištāspahyā : puça

TRANSLATION OF DSc: I am ... (= DPa 1-3, 4-5).

DSd = DARIUS, SUSA D.

1 adam Dārayavauš XŠ vazraka XŠ XŠyānām
XŠ DHnām XŠ

2 ahyāyā Būyā Vištāspahyā : puça :

Haxāmanišiya θā

3 tiy Dārayavauš XŠ vašnā AMha imam :

dacaram akunavam

TRANSLATION OF DSd:

§1. 1-2. I am ... (= DPa 1-4), King in this earth, ... (= DPe 4-5).

§2. 2-3. Saith Darius the King: By the favor of Ahuramazda I built this palace.

DSe = DARIUS, SUSA E.

1 бага : vazraka : Auramazdā : hya : imā

2 m : būmim : adadā : hya : avam : as

3 mānam : adadā : hya : martiyam : ad

4 adā : hya : šiyātim : adadā : mart

5 iyahyā : hya : Dārayavauš : XŠm : ak

6 unauš : avam : parūvām : XŠm : a

7 ivam : parūvām : framātāram : a

8 dam : Dārayavauš : XŠ : vazraka : XŠ : XŠy

9 ānām : XŠ : dahyūnām : vspazanā

10 nām : XŠ : ahyāyā : būmiyā : vaz

11 rakāyā : dūrai : apiy : Vištās

12 pahyā : puça : Haxāmanišiya : Pār

13 sa : Pārsahyā : puça : Ariya : Ari

14 ya : ciça : θātiy : Dārayavauš : XŠ :

15 vašnā : Auramazdāhā : imā : dahy

16 āva : tyā : adam : agarbāyam : apata

17 ram : hacā : Pārsā : adamšām : pat

18 iyaxšayaiy : manā : bājim : abara :

19 tyašām : hacāma : ābahya : ava : aku

20 nava : dātām : tya : manā : avadiš : a

21 dāraya : Māda : Ūja : Parθava : Haraiva :

22 Bāztriš : Suguda : Uvārazmiš

23 : Zraka : Harauvatiš : θataguš : Maci

24 yā : Gadāra : Hiduš : Sakā : haumava

25 rgā : Sakā : tigravaudā : Bābir

26 uš : Aθurā : Arabāya : Mudrāya :

27 Armīna : Kaiptuka : Sparda : Yaun

28 ā : tya : drayahyā : utā : tya

29 y : paradrāya : Skudra : Putāyā :

30 Kūšiyā : Karkā : θātiy : Dāra

31 yavauš : XŠ : vasiy : tya : duškarla

32 m : āha : ava : naiham : akunavam : da

33 hyāva : ayāuda : aniya : aniyam :

34 aja : ava : adam : akunavam : vašnā

35 : Auramazdāhā : yaθā : aniya : a

36 niyam : naiy : jatiy : cinā : gā

37 θavā : kašciy : astiy : dātām :

38 tya : manā : hacā : avanā : tarsati

39 y : yaθā : hya : tauviyā : tyam : s

40 kauθim : naiy : jatiy : naiy : vi

41 mardatiy : θātiy : Dārayavauš :

- 42 XŠ : vašnā : Auramazdāhā : *dastaka*
 43 rtam : vasiy : tya : *pariwam* : *naīy*
 44 : gāθavā : kartam : *ava* : *adam* : *gāθa*
 45 vā : akunavam : + + + + : *nāma* : *varda*
 46 nam : didā : *hanatāyā* : *avagmat*
 47 ā : paruvam : *akartā* : *hacā* : *ava*
 48 daša : ā : *pasāva* : *didām* : *aniy*
 49 ām : *akunavam* : *θātiy* : *Dārayavau*
 50 š : XŠ : *mām* : *AM* : *pātuv* : *hadā* : *ba*
 51 *gaibiš* : *utamaiy* : *viām* : *u*
 52 tā : *tyamaiy* : *nipištām*

NOTES TO DSe: For the restoration of this text, see the references in the bibliography.

²¹⁻²⁰ The list of provinces is restored by retranslation from the Akk. version; whether both *Pulāyā* and *Kušiyā* stood in 29-30 depends upon whether the gap at the end of line 21 of the Akk. is adequate to hold both names.

²⁰ *ci[nā]* Kent, JAOS 58.116-7; *ci[ā]* Sen 134. ⁴⁶⁻² The restorations are quite uncertain; but cf. Hinz, ZDMG 95.229-32.

TRANSLATION OF DSe:

§1. 1-7. ... (= DNā 1-8).

§2. 7-14. ... (= DNā 8-15).

§3. 14-30. ... (= DNā 15-24), men of Maka, ... (= DNā 24-8), Ionians, (those) who are by the sea and (those) who are across the sea, Skudra, Libyans, Ethiopians, Carians.

§4. 30-41. Saith Darius the King: Much which was ill-done, that I made good. Provinces were in commotion; one man was smiting the other. The following I brought about by the favor of Ahuramazda, that the one does not smite the other at all, each one is in his place. My law—of that they feel fear, so that the stronger does not smite nor destroy the weak.

§5. 41-9. Saith Darius the King: By the favor of Ahuramazda, much handiwork which previously had been put out of its place, that I put in its place. A town by name ... , (its) wall fallen from age, before this unrepaired—I built another wall (to serve) from that time into the future.

§6. 49-52. Saith Darius the King: Me may Ahuramazda together with the gods protect, and my royal house, and what has been inscribed by me.

DSf = DARIUS, SUSA F.

- 1 *baga* : *vazraka* : Auramazdā : *hya* : *imām* : *būmim* : *a*
 2 *dā* : *hya* : *avam* : *asmānam* : *adā* : *hya* : *martiyam* : *adā*
 3 : *hya* : *šiyātim* : *adā* : *martiyahyā* : *hya* : *Dāra*
 4 *yavaum* : XŠyam : *akunauš* : *aivam* : *parūnām* : XŠ
 5 *yam* : *aivam* : *parūnām* : *framātāram* : *adam* : *Dāra*
 6 *yavauš* : XŠ : *vazraka* : XŠ : XŠyānām : XŠ : *DHnām* : XŠ
 7 : *ahyāyā* : *BUyā* : *Vištāspahyā* : *puça* : *Haxāma*
 8 *nišiya* : *θātiy* : *Dārayavauš* : XŠ : Auramazdā :
 9 *hya* : *mašišta* : *bagānām* : *hauv* : *mām* : *adā* : *ha*
 10 *u* : *mām* : XŠyam : *akunauš* : *haumaiy* : *ima* : *xša*
 11 *çam* : *frābara* : *tya* : *vazrakam* : *tya* : *uvaspam* : *uma*
 12 *rtiyam* : *vašnā* : Auramazdāhā : *hya* : *manā* : *pitā*
 13 : *Vištāspa* : *utā* : *Aršāma* : *hya* : *manā* : *niyāka* :
 14 *tyā* : *ubā* : *aḫivātām* : *yadiy* : Auramazdā : *mā*
 15 *m* : XŠyam : *akunauš* : *ahyāyā* : *BUyā* : Auramazd
 16 *ām* : *avaθā* : *kāma* : *āha* : *haruvahyāyā* : *BUyā* : *mar*
 17 *tiyam* : *mām* : *avarnavalā* : *mām* : XŠyam : *akunauš* :
 18 *haruvahyāyā* : *BUyā* : *adam* : Auramazdām : *ayadaiy* :
 19 Auramazdāmai : *upastām* : *abara* : *tyamaiy* : *fram*
 20 *ālam* : *cartānaiy* : *ava* : *ucāramaiy* : *akunauš* : *t*
 21 *ya* : *adam* : *akunavam* : *visam* : *vašnā* : Auramazdāhā :
 22 *akunavam* : *ima* : *hadiš* : *tya* : *Čušāyā* : *akunavam* :
 23 *hacāciy* : *dūradaša* : *arjanamšaiy* : *abariya* : *frava*
 24 *ta* : *BU* : *akaniya* : *yātā* : *aθagam* : *BUyā* : *avārasam* :
 25 *yabā* : *katam* : *abava* : *pasāva* : *θitā* : *avaniya* : *aniyā* :
 26 *XL* : *arašaniš* : *baršnā* : *aniyā* : *XX* : *arašaniš* : *barš*

- 27 *nā* : upariy : avām : ūikām : hadiš : frāsahya .
 28 : utā : tya : BU : akaniya : fravata : utā : tya : ūikā :
 29 avaniya : utā : tya : ištīš : aĵaniyā : kāra : hya : Bā
 30 biruviya : hauv : akunauš : ōarmiš : hya : nau
 31 caina : hauv : Labanāna : nāma : kaufa : hacā : avanā : aba
 32 riya : kāra : hya : Aθuriya : haudim : abara : yātā :
 33 Bābirauv : hacā : Bābirauv : Karkā : utā : Yau
 34 *nā* : abara : yātā : Čūšāyā : yakā : hacā : Gadārā
 35 : abariya : utā : hacā : Karmānā : daranīyam : hacā
 36 : Spardā : utā : hacā : Bāxtriya : abariya : tya
 37 : idā : akariya : kāsaka : hya : kapautaka : utā : sikab
 38 ruš : hya : idā : karta : hauv : hacā : Sugudā : aba
 39 riya : kāsaka : hya : axšaina : hauv : hacā : Uvāraz
 40 miyā : abariya : hya : idā : karta : ardatam : utā : a
 41 sā : dāruv : hacā : Mudrāyā : abariya : ar
 42 janam : tyanā : didā : pištā : ava : hacā : Yaun
 43 ā : abariya : piruš : hya : idā : karta : hacā : Kūš
 44 ā : utā : hacā : Hidauv : utā : hacā : Harauvat
 45 iyā : abariya : stūnā : aθagainiya : tyā : id
 46 ā : kartā : Abirādūš : nāma : āvahanam : Ūjaiy
 47 : hacā : avadaša : abariya : martiyā : karnuvakā : t
 48 *yaiy* : aθagam : akunavatā : avaiy : Yaunā : utā
 49 : Spardiya : martiyā : dāranīyakarā : tyaiy : daran
 50 *iyam* : akunavaša : *avaiy* : Mādā : utā : Mudrāy
 51 ā : martiyā : *tyaiy* : dāruv : akunavaša : avaiy :
 52 Spardiya : utā : Mudrāyā : martiyā : tyaiy
 53 : *agurum* : akunavaša : avaiy : Bābiruviy
 54 ā : martiyā : *tyaiy* : didām : apiša : avaiy : Mād
 55 ā : utā : Mudrāyā : ōātiy : Dārayavauš : X Š :
 56 Čūšāyā : paruv : frašam : framātam : paruv : fraša
 57 *m* : āha : mām : Auramazdā : pātuv : utā : V
 58 *ištāšpam* : hya : manā : pitā : utamaiy : DHum

NOTES to DSf: The line-division is that of Scheil's tablet a, completed with the evidence of numerous fragments of other copies and that of the Elamite and Akkadian versions. All copies had the same text, except as stated in the note to line 55; there is no basis for the variations given by Brd., WZKM 39.30-9.

¹⁴ *tyā* König, Burgbau 29; *imā* H. AMI 3.34; but the traces are very faint and indecisive, cf. Kent, JAOS 53.8. ²⁰ Retranslation of Elam. version by Hinz, JNES 9.1-7, because of Elam. *ā-ša-ra-un-mi*, transliteration of OP *ucāramaiy* = *ucāram-maiy*; the Akk. version is here, as often, quite different. ²¹ The Akk. does not warrant *ava* with *visam*; in this phrase, *ava* always precedes, but the OP has no gap at that point. ²² *frāsah[ya]* (passive) is probably better than my *frāsah[an]* (active), JAOS 53.13. ⁴¹ *dāruva* Scheil 21.18, etc., is a better reading than *sāruva*, H. ApI 299; but normalize *dāruv*, with Duchesne-Guillemin (*d* certain, according to Duchesne-Guillemin, who inspected the original tablet at the Louvre in 1948); for meaning and normalization, see Lex. s.v. *dāruv*. ⁴² [p]ištā Bv. BSLP 30.1.62-3; [d]ištā H.

AMI 3.37. ⁴¹ [dār]uv Hinz, rather than [išmal]uv; see Lex. s.vv.

⁴³ 'Babylonians' here seems to denote 'Ionians resident in Babylonia', cf. König, Burgbau 25; confirmed by the reading of Akk. frag. Y line 9 of obverse (Akk. 21 = OP 30), given by Scheil 24.107. ⁴⁴ Between the text of 55 and that of 56, Scheil's fragment θ indicates the presence of *vašna Auramazdāha* (JAOS 51.196); but there is no space for it in tablet a. There is also no room for *aita tya*, inserted here by H. AMI 3.38, 3.77. ⁴⁵ [āha] Brd. WZKM 39.36; probably better than *abava*, Kent, JAOS 52.22-3.

TRANSLATION OF DSf:

§1. 1-5. ... (= DN 1-8).

§2. 5-8. ... (= Dsd 1-2).

§3a. 8-12. Saith Darius the King: Ahuramazda, the greatest of the gods—he created me; he made me king; he bestowed upon me this kingdom,

great, possessed of good horses, possessed of good men.

§3b. 12-5. By the favor of Ahuramazda my father Hystaspes and Arsames my grandfather—these both were living when Ahuramazda made me king in this earth.

§3c. 15-8. Unto Ahuramazda thus was the desire: he chose me as (his) man in all the earth; he made me king in all the earth.

§3d. 18-22. I worshipped Ahuramazda. Ahuramazda bore me aid. What was by me commanded to do, that he made successful for me. What I did, all by the favor of Ahuramazda I did.

§3e. 22-7. This palace which I built at Susa, from afar its ornamentation was brought. Downward the earth was dug, until I reached rock in the earth. When the excavation had been made, then rubble was packed down, some 40 cubits in depth, another (part) 20 cubits in depth. On that rubble the palace was constructed.

§3f. 28-30. And that the earth was dug downward, and that the rubble was packed down, and that the sun-dried brick was molded, the Babylonian people—it did (these tasks).

§3g. 30-5. The cedar timber, this—a mountain by name Lebanon—from there was brought. The Assyrian people, it brought it to Babylon; from Babylon the Carians and the Ionians brought it to Susa. The *yakā*-timber was brought from Gandara and from Carmania.

§3h. 35-40. The gold was brought from Sardis and from Bactria, which here was wrought. The precious stone lapis-lazuli and carnelian which was wrought here, this was brought from Sogdiana. The precious stone turquoise, this was brought from Chorasmia, which was wrought here.

§3i. 40-5. The silver and the ebony were brought from Egypt. The ornamentation with which the wall was adorned, that from Ionia was brought. The ivory which was wrought here, was brought from Ethiopia and from Sind and from Arachosia.

§3j. 45-9. The stone columns which were here wrought, a village by name Abiradu, in Elam—from there were brought. The stone-cutters who

wrought the stone, those were Ionians and Sardians.

§3k. 49-55. The goldsmiths who wrought the gold, those were Medes and Egyptians. The men who wrought the wood, those were Sardians and Egyptians. The men who wrought the baked brick, those were Babylonians. The men who adorned the wall, those were Medes and Egyptians.

§4. 55-8. Saith Darius the King: At Susa a very excellent (work) was ordered, a very excellent (work) was (brought to completion). Me may Ahuramazda protect, and Hystaspes my father, and my country.

DSg = DARIUS, SUSa g.

- 1 adam : Dārayavauš XŠ *vazraka* XŠ XŠyānām
XŠ DHnām XŠ ah
2 yēyā BUyā : Vištāspahyā puça Hazāmanišiya
θāt
3 iy : Dārayavauš XŠ viθiyā imā stūnā adam
akunavam

NOTE TO DSg: **viθiyā imā stūnā* Brd., for which Hinz, ZDMG 95.238, prefers *imam apadānam*.

TRANSLATION OF DSg:

- §1. 1-2. ... (= Dsd 1-2).
§2. 2-3. Saith Darius the King: In (my) house I made these columns.

DSi = DARIUS, SUSa i.

- 1 adam : Dārayavauš XŠ : *vazraka* : XŠ
XŠyānām : XŠ DHnām : XŠ a
2 hyāyā BUyā : Vištāspahyā : puça :
Hazāmanišiya : θ
3 ātiy : Dārayavauš XŠ : yaθā : AM : mām :
XŠyam : akunauš :
4 ahyāyā BUyā : vašnā : AMha : visam : naibam
: akunavam

NOTE TO DSi: *For restoration, cf. XPg 4, XV 20; but the Akk. does not warrant Brd.'s *visam tya naibam*, WZKM 39.43; cf. XPh 43.

TRANSLATION OF DSi:

- §1. 1-2. ... (= Dsd 1-2).
§2. 2-4. Saith Darius the King: After Ahuramazda made me king in this earth, by the favor of Ahuramazda everything (that) I did (was) good.

DSj = DARIUS, SUSa j.

- 1 adam : Dārayavauš XŠ : *vazraka* XŠ XŠyānām : XŠ ahyāyā BUyā : Vištāspahyā :
2 puça : Hazāmanišiya : θātiy : Dārayavauš XŠ : ima : tya : adam : akunavam :
3 parwiyaθā : naiy : akunavam : yaθā : AMhā : framānā : āha : avaθā : akunava

- 4 *m* : *mām* : AM : *daušā* : āha : *tya* : *akunavam* : *avamaiy* : *visam* : *ucāram* : āha : θā
 5 *tiy* : *Dārayavauš* XŠ : *vašnā* AMhā : *hya* : *ima* : *hadīš* : *vainātiy* : *tya* : *manā* : *ka*
 6 *rtam* : *visahyā* : *frašam* : *θadayātaiy* : *mām* : AM : *pātūw* : *utamaiy* : *DHum*

NOTES TO DSj: ³ [*paruw*] *iyabā naiy* 'nicht in einem einzigen Anhieb' Brd.; [*aparuw*] *iyabā naiy* 'wie nie zuvor' Hfz. Apf 103; [++++] *iyabā naiy* 'nicht planlos' Hinz, ZDMG 95.240-1. ⁶ *frašam θadayā[tiy]* Hfz., as in DSa 5, q.v.; *frašta θadayā[mai]* Scheil, supported by Hinz, ZDMG 95.224.

TRANSLATION OF DSj:

§1. 1-2. ... (= Dsd 1-2, with an omission).

§2. 2-4. Saith Darius the King: That which I did, I did not do at first attempt. As was Ahuramazda's command, so I did. Unto me Ahuramazda was a friend; what I did, all that was successful for me.

§3. 4-6. Saith Darius the King: By the favor of Ahuramazda, to every one who shall see this palace which has been built by me, may it seem excellent. Me may Ahuramazda protect, and my country.

DSk = DARIUS, SUSA K.

- 1 *adam* : *Dārayavauš* : XŠ : *vazraka* : XŠ : XŠy
 2 *ānām* : XŠ : DHnām : Vīštāspahyā :

- 3 *puça* : Haxāmanišiya : θātiy : Dā
 4 *rayavauš* : XŠ : *manā* : AM : AMha : *adam* :
 AMm :

- 5 *ayadaiy* : AMmai : *upastām* : *baratuv*

TRANSLATION OF DSk:

§1. 1-3. I am ... (= DPa 1-5).

§2. 3-5. Saith Darius the King: Ahuramazda is mine, I am Ahuramazda's. I worshipped Ahuramazda; may Ahuramazda bear me aid.

DSl = DARIUS, SUSA L.

- 1 θātiy : *Dārayavauš* : x
 2 šāyathiya : *vašnā* : Aura
 3 *mazdāha* : *tya* : *amaniyai*
 4 y : *kunavānaiy* : *avamai*
 5 y : *visam* : *ucāram* : āha :

TRANSLATION OF DSl: Saith Darius the King:

By the favor of Ahuramazda, what I thought I will do, all that was successful for me.

DSm = DARIUS, SUSA M.

- 1 *adam* : *Dārayavauš* : XŠ : *vazraka* : XŠ : XŠyānam :
 2 XŠ : DHnām : Vīštāspahyā : *puça* : Haxāmanišiya :
 3 θātiy : *Dārayavauš* : XŠ : AMmai : xšačam : frābara :
 4 *tya* : *vazrakam* : *tya* : *umartiyam* : *mām* : xšāyathiyam :
 5 *ahyāyā* : *būmīyā* : *akunauš* : *vašnā* : AMhā : imā : dah
 6 *yāna* : *tyaišām* : *adam* : xšāyathiya : *abavam* : Pārsa :
 7 Ūja : Bābiruš : Aburā : Arabāya : Mudrāya : Sparda :
 8 Yauna : Māda : Armina : Katpatuka : Parθava : Zraka :
 9 Haraiva : Uvārazmiš : Bāxtriš : Suguda : Gadāra :
 10 *θataguš* : *Hara Watkins* : *Hiduš* : *Skudra* : *Yavnā* : *taka*
 11 *barā* :

NOTE TO DSm: The reconstructed text of Brd. WZKM 39.55-8 is here given, despite inconsistencies in the use of the ideograms.

TRANSLATION OF DSm:

§1. 1-2. I am ... (= DPa 1-5).

§2. 3-11. Saith Darius the King: Ahuramazda bestowed upon me the kingdom, great, possessed of good men; he made me king in this earth. By the favor of Ahuramazda these are the countries of which I became king: Persia, Elam, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, Sardis, Ionia, Media, Ar-

menia, Cappadocia, Parthia, Drangiana, Aria, Chorasmia, Bactria, Sogdiana, Gandara, Sattagydia, Arachosia, Sind, Skudra, petasos-wearing Ionians, ...

DSn = DARIUS, SUSA N.

- 1 *inam* : *palikaram* : *Dārayavauš* : XŠ :
niyaštāya : *cartanaiy* : +++ ...
 2 ... +++ na : *Dārayavaum* : XŠyam : AM :
pātūw : *utā* : *tya* : *kartam*

TRANSLATION OF DSn: This sculpture Darius the King commanded to make; ... Darins the

1 Dārayavauš : XŠ : vazraka
2 : XŠ : XŠyānām : XŠ : dahy

- TRANSLATION OF DZb: ... (= DN_a 8-12, lacking two words).

1 бага : vazraka : Auramazdā : hya : imām : būmim : a
2 dā : hva : avam : asmānam : adā : hva : martivam :

- 3 adā : hya : šiyātim : adā : martiyahyā : hya
 4 : Xšayāršām : xšāyaθiyam : akunauš : aivam :
 5 parūnām : xšāyaθiyam : aivam : parūnām : fram
 6 ātāram : adam : Xšayāršā : xšāyaθiya : vazraka :
 7 xšāyaθiya : xšāyaθiyānām : xšāyaθiya : dahy
 8 ūnām : paruv : zanānām : xšāyaθiya : ahyāy
 9 ā : būmiyā : vazrakāyā : dūrai : apiy : Dā
 10 rayavahauš : xšāyaθiyahyā : puça : Hāxāmaniš
 11 iya : θātiy : Xšayāršā : xšāyaθiya : vašnā :
 12 Auramazdāhā : imam : duvarθim : visadahyum
 13 : adam : akunavam : vasiy : aniyašciy : naibam
 14 : kartam : anā : Pārsā : tya : adam : akunavam :
 15 utamaiy : tya : pitā : akunauš : tyapatiy : ka
 16 rtam : vainataiy : naibam : ava : visam : vašnā : A
 17 uramazdāhā : akumā : θātiy : Xšayāršā :
 18 xšāyaθiya : mām : Auramazdā : pātuv : utamai
 19 y : xšačam : utā : tya : manā : kartam : utā : tyamai
 20 y : piça : kartam : avašciy : Auramazdā : pātuv

NOTE TO XPa: ¹¹⁻² *Hāxāmanišiya*, incorrect engraving for *Hāxā*.

TRANSLATION OF XPa:

§1. 1-6. ... (= DNa 1-4), who made Darius king, one king of many, one lord of many.

§2. 6-11. I am Xerxes, ... (= DE 12-9), son of King Darius, an Achaemenian.

§3. 11-7. Saith Xerxes the King: By the favor of Ahuramazda, this Colonnade of All Lands I built. Much other good (construction) was built within this (city) Persepolis, which I built and which my father built. Whatever good construction is seen, all that by the favor of Ahuramazda we built.

§4. 17-20. Saith Xerxes the King: Me may Ahuramazda protect, and my kingdom, and what was built by me, and what was built by my father, that also may Ahuramazda protect.

XPb = XERXES, PERSEPOLIS B.

- 1 baga : vazraka : Auramazdā
 2 : hya : imām : būnim :
 3 adā : hya : avam : asmā
 4 nam : adā : hya : martiya
 5 m : adā : hya : šiyāti
 6 m : adā : martiyahyā :
 7 hya : Xšayāršām : xšā
 8 yaθiyam : akunauš : ai
 9 vam : parūnām : xšāyaθ
 10 iyam : aivam : parūnām
 11 : framātāram : adam : X

- 12 šayāršā : xšāyaθiya :
 13 vazraka : xšāyaθiya : xš
 14 āyaθiyānām : xšāyaθ
 15 iya : dahyūnām : paruv
 16 zanānām : xšāyaθiya :
 17 ahiyāyā : būmiyā :
 18 vazrakāyā : dūrai :
 19 piy : Dārayavahauš : axš
 20 āyaθiyahyā : puça : Hax
 21 āmanišiya : θātiy : X
 22 šayāršā : xšāyaθiya :
 23 vazraka : tya : manā : karta
 24 m : idā : utā : tyamaiy
 25 : apataram : kartam : ava : v
 26 isam : vašnā : Auramazdā
 27 ha : akunavam : mām : Aura
 28 mazdā : pātuv : hadā : ba
 29 gaibiš : utāmai : xšaça
 30 m : utā : tyamaiy : kartam

NOTE TO XPb: Our text has the line-divisions of the second copy, as seen in Hz. ApI, Tafel IX.

TRANSLATION OF XPb:

§1. 1-11. ... (= XPa 1-6).

§2. 11-21. ... (= XPa 6-11).

§3. 21-30. Saith Xerxes the Great King: What has been built by me here, and what has been built by me at a distance (from here), all that by the favor of Ahuramazda I built. Me may Ahuramazda together with the gods protect, and my kingdom, and what has been built by me.

XPc = XERXES, PERSEPOLIS C.

- 1 бага : vazraka : Auramazdā : hya : imām : būmim :
- 2 adā : hya : avam : asmānam : adā : hya : marti
- 3 yam : adā : hya : šiyātim : adā : martiyahyā
- 4 : hya : Xšayāršām : XŠm : akunauš : aivam : pa
- 5 rūnām : XŠm : aivam : parūnām : framātāram
- 6 : adam : Xšayāršā : XŠ : vazraka : XŠ : XŠānām : XŠ :
- 7 dahyūnām : paruv : zanānām : XŠ : ahyāyā : b
- 8 ūmiyā : vazrakāyā : dūrai : apiy : Dārayava
- 9 hauš : XŠhyā : puça : Haxāmanišiya : ōtiy : X
- 10 šayāršā : XŠ : vazraka : vašnā : Aurahya Mazdāha : i
- 11 ma : hadiš : Dārayavauš : XŠ : akunauš : hya : manā :
- 12 pitā : mām : Auramazdā : pātuv : hadā : бага
- 13 ibiš : utā : tyamaiy : kartam : utā : tyamaiy :
- 14 piça : Dārayavahauš : XŠhyā : kartam : avašei
- 15 : Auramazdā : pātuv : hadā : багаibiš

NOTE to XPc: The divider is lacking between *Aurahya* and *Mazdāha* (ca 10, cb 17, cc 11), acc. to Cameron's examination of the photographs.

TRANSLATION OF XPc:

§1. 1-5. ... (= XPa 1-6).

§2. 6-9. ... (= XPa 6-11).

§3. 9-15. Saith Xerxes the Great King: By the favor of Ahuramazda this palace Darius the King built, who was my father. Me may Ahuramazda together with the gods protect, and what was built by me, and what was built by my father Darius the King, that also may Ahuramazda together with the gods protect.

XPd = XERXES, PERSEPOLIS D.

- 1 бага : vazraka : Auramazdā : hya : i
- 2 mām : būmim : adā : hya : avam
- 3 : asmānam : adā : hya : martiya
- 4 m : adā : hya : šiyātim : adā : mar
- 5 tiyahyā : hya : Xšayāršām : x
- 6 šāyaṭiyam : akunauš : aivam : par
- 7 ūnām : xšāyaṭiyam : aivam : parū
- 8 nām : framātāram : adam : Xšayārš
- 9 ā : xšāyaṭiya : vazraka : xšāyaṭiya :
- 10 xšāyaṭiyānām : xšāyaṭiya : dahy
- 11 ūnām : paruvzanānām : xšāyaṭiya
- 12 : ahiyāyā : būmiyā : vazrakāyā
- 13 : dūrai : apiy : Dārayavahauš : xš
- 14 āyaṭiyahyā : puça : Haxāmanišiya :
- 15 ōtiy : Xšayāršā : xšāyaṭiya : va
- 16 zraka : vašnā : Auramazdāha : ima : had
- 17 iš : adam : akunavam : mām : Auramaz
- 18 dā : pātuv : hadā : багаibiš : utama
- 19 iy : xšaçam : utā : tyamaiy : kartam

NOTE to XPd: Copy db on the eastern stairway has a distinct divider at the end, after *kartam*; db on the western stairway has room for a divider at the end, but the stone is damaged and no divider can be seen (Cameron's data).

TRANSLATION OF XPd:

§1. 1-8. ... (= XPa 1-6).

§2. 8-14. ... (= XPa 6-11).

§3. 15-9. Saith Xerxes the Great King: By the favor of Ahuramazda this palace I built. ... (= XPb 27-30).

XPe = XERXES, PERSEPOLIS E.

- 1 Xšayāršā : xšāyaṭiya : vazra
- 2 ka : xšāyaṭiya : xšāyaṭiyā
- 3 nām : Dārayavahauš : xšāyaṭ
- 4 iyahyā : puça : Haxāmanišiya :

TRANSLATION OF XPe: ... (= XPa 6-7, 9-11).

XPf = XERXES, PERSEPOLIS F.

- 1 бага : vazraka : Auramazdā : hya : imā
- 2 m : būmim : adā : hya : avam : asm
- 3 ānam : adā : hya : martiyam : adā :
- 4 hya : šiyātim : adā : martiyahy
- 5 ā : hya : Xšayāršām : xšāyaṭiyam
- 6 : akunauš : aivam : parūnām : xš
- 7 āyaṭiyam : aivam : parūnām : fram
- 8 ātāram : adam : Xšayāršā : xšā
- 9 yaṭiya : vazraka : xšāyaṭiya : xšā
- 10 yaṭiyānām : xšāyaṭiya : dahyū
- 11 nām : paruv : zanānām : xšāyaṭ
- 12 iya : ahyāyā : būmiyā : vazrak
- 13 āyā : dūrai : apiy : Dārayavaha
- 14 uš : xšāyaṭiyahyā : puça : Haxā

- 15 manišiya : θātiy : Xšayāršā :
 16 xšayaθiya : manā : pitā : Dārāya
 17 vauš : Dārāyavahauš : pitā : Viš
 18 tāspa : nāma : āha : Vištāspahy
 19 ā : pitā : Aršāma : nāma : āha : u
 20 tā : Vištāspa : utā : Aršāma :
 21 ubā : ajiwatam : aciy : Auramaz
 22 dām : avaθā : kāma : āha : Dārāyava
 23 um : hya : manā : pitā : avam : xš
 24 āyaθiyam : akunauš : ahyāyā :
 25 būmiyā : yaθā : Dārāyavahauš : xš
 26 āyaθiya : abava : vasiy : tyā : fraθara
 27 m : akunauš : θātiy : Xšayāršā
 28 : xšayaθiya : Dārāyavauš : pučā :
 29 aniyaiciy : āhatā : Auramazdām
 30 : avaθa : kāma : āha : Dārāyavauš : hya
 31 : manā : pitā : pasū : tanūm : mām
 32 : maθištam : akunauš : yaθāmaiy
 33 : pitā : Dārāyavauš : gāθavā : a
 34 šiyava : vašnā : Auramazdahā : ada
 35 m : xšayaθiya : abavam : piča : gā
 36 θavā : yaθā : adam : xšayaθiya : a
 37 bavam : vasiy : tyā : fraθaram : aku
 38 navam : tyamaiy : piča : kartam : āha
 39 : ava : adam : apayaīy : utā : ani
 40 ya : kartam : abijāvayam : tyapati
 41 y : adam : akunavam : utamaiy : tyā
 42 : pitā : akunauš : ava : visam :
 43 vašnā : Auramazdahā : akumā : θ
 44 ātiy : Xšayāršā : xšayaθiya :
 45 mām : Auramazdā : pātuv : utama
 46 iy : xšačam : utā : tyā : manā : kar
 47 tam : utā : tyamaiy : piča : kartam
 48 : avašciy : Auramazdā : pātuv

NOTES TO XPf: ²⁶ *Dārāyavahauš*, for nom. *-vauš*; in the original draft, the *h* had been omitted in the gen. in line 28, and when the error was noted the correction was made in the wrong occurrence of the word. ²⁸ On the accession of Xerxes, see Hist. App. V.

TRANSLATION OF XPf:

§1. 1-8. ... (= XPa 1-6).

§2. 8-15. ... (= XPa 6-11).

§3. 15-27. Saith Xerxes the King: My father was Darius; Darius's father was Hystaspes by name; Hystaspes's father was Arsames by name. Both Hystaspes and Arsames were both living, at that time—thus unto Ahuramazda was the desire—Darius, who was my father, him he made king in this earth. When Darius became king, he built much excellent (construction).

§4. 27-43. Saith Xerxes the King: Other sons of Darius there were, (but)—thus unto Ahuramazda was the desire—Darius my father made me the greatest after himself. When my father Darius went away from the throne, by the will of Ahuramazda I became king on my father's throne. When I became king, I built much excellent (construction). What had been built by my father, that I protected, and other building I added. What moreover I built, and what my father built, all that by the favor of Ahuramazda we built.

§5. 43-48. ... (= XPa 17-20).

XPg = XERXES, PERSEPOLIS G.

- 1 θātiy : Xšayāršā :
 2 xšayaθiya : vazraka : vaš
 3 nā : Auramazdāha : vasi
 4 y : tyā : naibam : akunau
 5 š : utā : frāmāyatā :
 6 Dārāyavauš : xšayaθiya
 7 : hya : manā : pitā : vaš
 8 nāpiy : Auramazdāha
 9 : adam : abiyajāvayam
 10 : abiy : ava : kartam :
 11 utā : frataram : akuna
 12 vam : mām : Auramazdā
 13 : pātuv : hadā : bagai
 14 biš : utamaiy : xšačam

NOTE TO XPg: ⁷⁻⁸ *vašnā*[pi]y Bv. BSLP 34.1.32-4, which I now regard as better than my own *vašnā*[ci]y or *vašnā*[di]y, Lg. 9.230.

TRANSLATION OF XPg: Saith Xerxes the Great King: By the favor of Ahuramazda, King Darius my father built and ordered (to be built) much good (construction). By the favor also of Ahuramazda I added to that construction and built further (buildings). ... (= XPb 27-30).

XPh = XERXES, PERSEPOLIS H.

- 1 baga : vazraka : Auramazdā : hya : imām : būm
 2 im : adā : hya : avam : asmānam : adā : hya
 3 : martiyam : adā : hya : šiyātim : adā :
 4 martiyahyā : hya : Xšayāršām : xšayaθi
 5 yam : akunauš : aivam : parūnām : xšayaθ
 6 iyam : aivam : parūnām : frāmātāram : ada
 7 m : Xšayāršā : xšayaθiya : vazraka : xšaya
 8 θiya : xšayaθiyanām : xšayaθiya : dahy
 9 ūnām : paruv : zanūnām : xšayaθiya : ah
 10 yāyā : būmiyā : vazrakāyā : dīrai : a

PLATE III



copy a

copy b

THE DAIVA INSCRIPTION OF XERXES

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59 yāvam : aita : adam : Auramazdām : jادی
60 āmiy : aitamaiy : Auramazdā : دادای

NOTES TO XPh: ¹⁷ The *h** of *abaraha* has become *n** by failure to engrave the prior angle. ²¹ *t-y** for *t-y-yi** = *tyaty*. ²¹ The *p** of *upariy* lacks the two small verticals in copy *a*. ²⁷ The *daivādāna*- of copy *a* is *daivādāna*- in copy *b*; the engraver was misled by the *v** ending the previous line (Hz. AMI 8.62). ³⁰ *y-di-yi-iš** for *y-di-yi-iš** = *yadyiāiš*. ⁴¹ For the normalization *brazmaniya* here and in 51 and 54, see Lex. s.v. ⁴¹⁻² *aniyašca* for *-ciy** = *-ciy*. ⁴⁶ The *m** of *-mai*y lacks the small middle vertical in copy *b*. ⁴⁶ The *a* of *kā*, in both copies, has the horizontal over a single vertical only. ⁴⁷ *apara* is perhaps an error for *aparam*, which elsewhere stands in this idiom. ⁶¹ Copy *b* ends midway in this line, with the left-hand part lacking; the engraver was accustomed to Aramaic writing, which went from right to left, Hz. AMI 8.62. ⁶⁵ *pariyaniš** = *-iy** = *-tiy*. ⁶⁸ In the prior *uā* the space for the first character is left blank; probably the character in the model copy was illegible to the engraver.

§1. 1-6. . . . (= XP_a 1-6).

§2. 6-13. . . . (=XP_a 6-11, DN_a 13-5).

§3. 13–28. Saith Xerxes the King: By the favor of Ahuramazda these are the countries of which I am king . . . (= DNa 18–22); Media, Elam, Arachosia, Armenia, Drangiana, Parthia, Aria, Bactria, Sogdiana, Chorasmia, Babylonia, Assyria, Cappadocia, Sardis, Egypt, Ionians, those who dwell by the sea and those who dwell across the sea, men of Maka, Arabia, Gandara, Sind, Cappadocia, Dahae, Amyrgian Scythians, Pointed-Cap Scythians, Skudra, men of Akaufaka, Libyans, Egyptians, Ethiopians.

§4a. 28-35. Saith Xerxes the King: When that I became king, there is among these countries which are inscribed above (one which) was in commotion. Afterwards Ahuramazda bore me aid; by the favor of Ahuramazda I smote that country and put it down in its place.

§4b. 35-41. And among these countries there was (a place) where previously false gods were worshipped. Afterwards, by the favor of Ahuramazda, I destroyed that sanctuary of the demons, and I made proclamation, "The demons shall not be worshipped!" Where previously the demons were worshipped, there I worshipped Ahuramazda and Arta reverent(ly).

§4c. 41-6. And there was other (business) that had been done ill; that I made good. That which I did, all I did by the favor of Ahuramazda.

Ahuramazda bore me aid, until I completed the work.

§4d. 46-56. Thou who (shalt be) hereafter, if thou shalt think, "Happy may I be when living, and when dead may I be blessed," have respect for that law which Ahuramazda has established; worship Ahuramazda and Arta reverent(ly). The man who has respect for that law which Ahuramazda has established, and worships Ahuramazda and Arta reverent(ly), he both becomes happy while living, and becomes blessed when dead.

§5. 56-60. Saith Xerxes the King: ... (= DNa 51-5).

XPi = XERXES, PERSEPOLIS I.

mayruxa : *kāsakaina* : *Xšayāršāha* : *Xšhyā* : *viθiyā* : *karta*

TRANSLATION OF XPi: ... (= DPi) of Xerxes.

XPj = XERXES, PERSEPOLIS J.

adam : *Xšayāršā* : *Xš* : *vazraka* : *Xš* : *Xšyānām* : *Xš* : *DHyūnām* : *Xš* : *ahyāyā* : *būmiyā* : *Dārayavahauš* : *Xšyahyā* : *puça* : *Haxāmanišiya* : *θātiy* : *Xšayāršā* : *Xš* : *imam* : *tacaram* : *adam* : *akunavam*

XSc = XERXES, SUSA C.

1 *adam* : *Xšayāršā* : *xšāyabiya* : *vazraka* : *xšāyabiya* : *xšāyabiyanām* : *xšāya*
2 *biya* : *dahyūnām* : *Dārayavahauš* : *xšāyabiya* : *puça* : *Haxāmanišiya* : *θāt*
3 *iy* : *Xšayāršā* : *xšāyabiya* : *ima* : *hadiš* : *akunām* : *pasāwa* : *yabā* : *adam* : *xšāya*
4 *biya* : *abavam* : *aita* : *adam* : *yānam* : *jadiyāmiy* : *Auramazdām* : *mām* : *Au*
5 *ramazdā* : *pātaw* : *hadā* : *bagaiβiš* : *utamaiy* : *xšačam* : *utā* : *tyamaiy* : *kartam*

TRANSLATION OF XSc:

§1. 1-2. ... (= XPa 6-8, 9-11).

§2. 2-5. Saith Xerxes the King: This palace I built after that I became king. This I ask as a boon from Ahuramazda: ... (= XPb 27-30).

XE = XERXES, ELVEND.

1 *baga* : *vazraka* : *Auramazdā* :
2 *hya* : *maβišta* : *bagānām* :
3 *hya* : *imām* : *būmim* : *ad*
4 *ā* : *hya* : *avam* : *asmānam* :
5 *adā* : *hya* : *martiyam* : *ad*
6 *ā* : *hya* : *šiyātim* : *adā*
7 : *martiyahyā* : *hya* : *Xša*
8 *yāršām* : *xšāyabiyam* :
9 *akunauš* : *aivam* : *parūn*
10 *ām* : *xšāyabiyam* : *aivam*
11 : *parūnām* : *framātāram*

NOTE TO XPj: The additional fragments found by Cameron fill most of the gaps left by Herzfeld's fragments, and give also the readings *ahiyāyā* and *Xšyahiyā* for some of the copies.

TRANSLATION OF XPj:

§1. 1-3. ... (= XPa 6-11, with two omissions).

§2. 3-4. Saith Xerxes the King: This palace I built.

XPk = XERXES, PERSEPOLIS K.

Xšayāršā : *Dārayavahauš* : *Xšhyā* : *puça* : *Haxāmanišiya*

TRANSLATION OF XPk: Xerxes, son of King Darius, an Achaemenian.

XSa = XERXES, SUSA A.

1 *θātiy* : *Xšayāršā* : *xšāyabiya* : *vašnā* :
Auramazdāha : *ima* :
2 *hadiš* : *Dārayavahauš* : *xšāyabiya* : *akunauš* :
hya : *manā* : *pitā*

NOTES TO XSa: This is the line-division of Scheil's copy; the other copy divides before *ima*. Scheil's hand-drawn copy has *ak'un'uūš*, against Wb's normal *ak'un'uš*.

TRANSLATION OF XSa: ... (= XPc 9-12, with slight omissions).

12 : *adam* : *Xšayāršā* : *xšā*
13 *yabiya* : *vazraka* : *xšāyabi*
14 *ya* : *xšāyabiyanām* : *xš*
15 *yabiya* : *dahyūnām* : *par*
16 *uzanānām* : *xšāyabiya* :
17 *ahiyāyā* : *būmiyā* : *va*
18 *zrakāyā* : *dūrai* : *apiy*
19 : *Dārayavahauš* : *xšāyabiya*
20 *hyā* : *puça* : *Haxāmanišiya*

TRANSLATION OF XE:

§1. 1-11. ... (= XPa 1-6).

§2. 12-20. ... (= XPa 6-11).

XV = XERXES, VAN.

1 *baga* : *vazraka* : *Auramazdā* : *hya* : *maβi*
2 *šta* : *bagānām* : *hya* : *imām* : *būm*
3 *im* : *adā* : *hya* : *avam* : *asmānam* :
4 *adā* : *hya* : *martiyam* : *adā* : *hya* :

5 šiyātim : adā : martiyahyā :
 6 hya : Xšayāršām : xšāyaḫiyam
 7 : akunauš : aivam : parūnām : x
 8 šāyaḫiyam : aivam : parūnām :
 9 framātāram : adam : Xšayāršā :
 10 xšāyaḫiya : vazraka : xšāyaḫiya :
 11 xšāyaḫiānām : xšāyaḫiya : da
 12 hyūnām : paruv : zanānām : xš
 13 āyaḫiya : ahyāyā : būmiyā : va
 14 zrakāyā : dūrai : apiy : Dāraya
 15 vahauš : xšāyaḫiyahyā : puça : Ha
 16 xāmanišiya : θātiy : Xšayāršā
 17 : xšāyaḫiya : Dārayavauš : xšāya
 18 ḡiya : hya : manā : pitā : hauv : va
 19 šnā : Auramazdāha : vasiy : tyā :
 20 naibam : akunauš : utā : ima : st
 21 ānam : hauv : niyaštāya : katanaiy
 22 : yaniy : dipim : naiy : nipišt
 23 ām : akunauš : pasāva : adam : ni
 24 yaštāyam : imām : dipim : nipa
 25 ištānaiy : mām : Auramazdā : pā
 26 tuv : hadā : bagaiḫiḥ : utāmai
 27 y : xšaçam : utā : tyamaiy : kartam

NOTE TO XV: The entire line 25 is clearly legible in the photograph reproduced by Lehmann, SbPAW 1900.1.628 Taf. 2.

TRANSLATION OF XV:

§1. 1-9. A great god is Ahuramazda, the greatest of gods, ... (= XPa 1-6).

§2. 9-16. ... (= XPa 6-11).

§3. 16-27. Saith Xerxes the King: King Darius, who was my father—he by the favor of Ahuramazda built much good (construction), and this niche he gave orders to dig out, where he did not cause an inscription (to be) engraved. Afterwards I gave order to engrave this inscription. ... (= XPb 27-30).

XH = XERXES, HAMADAN.

Xšayāršāha : XŠhyā : viḡiyā : kartam

NOTES TO XH: Probably the word for 'pitcher' has been lost at the beginning, as the inscription is engraved on a piteher. XŠhyā acc. to Hx. ApI 43, probably correct rather than the exceptional writing XŠyā given in Hx. AMI 2.115.

TRANSLATION OF XH: (Pitcher) made in the house of Xerxes the King.

A'Pa = ARTAXERXES I, PERSEPOLIS A.

1 baga : vazraka : Auramazdā : hya :

2 imām : būmim : adā : hya : ava

3 m : asmānam : adā : hya : marti
 4 yam : adā : hya : šiyātim : ad
 5 ā : martiyahyā : hya : Artaxšaç
 6 ām : xšāyaḫiyam : akunauš : a
 7 ivam : parūnām : xšāyaḫiyam :
 8 aivam : parūnām : framātāram
 9 : adam : Artaxšaça : xšāyaḫiya
 10 : vazraka : xšāyaḫiya : xšāyaḫi
 11 yānām : xšāyaḫiya : dahyūnā
 12 m : paruzanōnām : xšāyaḫiya :
 13 ahyāyā : būmiyā : vazrak
 14 āyā : dūrai : apiy : Xšay
 15 āršahyā : xšāyaḫiyahyā : pu
 16 ça : Dārayavahauš : napā : Haxāmanišiya
 17 : θātiy : Artaxšaça : xšā
 18 yaḫiya : vazraka : vašnā : Au
 19 ramazdahā : ima : hadiḥ : Xšayā
 20 ršā : xšāyaḫiya : hya : manā : pi
 21 tā : fratarām : pasāva : adam : aku
 22 navam : mām : Auramazdā : pāt
 23 uv : hadā : bagaiḫiḥ : utamaiy :
 24 xšaçam : utā : tyamaiy : kartam

NOTE TO A'Pa: For reconstruction, see JNES 4.228-32.

TRANSLATION OF A'Pa:

§1. 1-8. ... (= DNa 1-4), who made Artaxerxes king, one king of many, one lord of many.

§2. 9-16. I am Artaxerxes, ... (= DE 12-9), son of Xerxes the King, grandson of Darius, an Achaemenian.

§3. 17-24. Saith Artaxerxes the Great King: By the favor of Ahuramazda, this palace Xerxes the King, my father, previously (began to build), afterwards I built (to completion). ... (= XPb 27-30).

A'I = ARTAXERXES I, INCERTO LOCO.

Artaxšaça : XŠ : vazraka : XŠ : XŠyānām : XŠ : DHyūnām : Xšayāršahyā : XŠhyā : puça : Xšayāršahyā : Dārayavaušahyā : XŠhyā : puça : Haxāmanišiya : hya : imam : bātugara : siyamam : viḡiyā : karta

NOTE ON A'I: For syntax of last clause, cf. the idiom in DPi, XPI, XH.

TRANSLATION OF A'I: Artaxerxes the Great King, King of Kings, King of Countries, son of Xerxes the King, of Xerxes (who was) son of Darius the King; in whose royal house this silver saucer was made.

D²Sa = DARIUS II, SUSA A.

- 1 *imam* : *apadānam* : *stūnāya* : *aθagainam* :
- 2 *Dārayavauš* : *XŠ* : *vazraka* : *akunauš* : *Dārāya*
- 3 *vauu* : *XŠm* : *AM* *pātuv* : *hadā* : *BGibiš*

TRANSLATION OF D²Sa: This palace, of stone in its column(s), Darius the Great King built; Darius the King may Ahuramazda together with the gods protect.

D²Sb = DARIUS II, SUSA B.

- 1 *adam* : *Dārayavauš* : *XŠ* : *vazraka* : *XŠ* :
XŠyānām : *XŠ* : *DHyūnām* *XŠ* : *a*
- 2 *hyāyā* : *BUyā* : *Artaxšaçaḥyā* : *XŠhyā* : *puça* :
Haxāmanišiya :
- 3 *θātiy* : *Dārayavauš* : *XŠ* : *ima* : *hadiš* :
Artaxšaça : *paranam* : *akunauš* :
- 4 *hya* : *manū* : *pitā* : *ima* : *hadiš* : *pasāva* :
vašnā : *AMha* : *adam* : *akunavam*

NOTES TO D²Sb: Brd. WZKM 39.85-7, after the Akk., restored * [apara]m 'upper part' = 'part at the top of the slope', and * [adaram] 'lower part' = 'part lower on the hill'; but Hinz, ZDMG 91.251-2, restores [paranam] and [pasāva], in temporal sense, which is preferable. *akunauš in copy b.

TRANSLATION OF D²Sb:

§1. 1-2. ... (= DNa 8-12, with one omission), son of Artaxerxes the King, an Achaemenian.

§2. 3-4. Saith Darius the King: This palace Artaxerxes previously built, who was my father; this palace, by the favor of Ahuramazda, I afterwards built (to completion).

A²Sa = ARTAXERXES II, SUSA A.

- 1 *θātiy* : *Artaxšaça* : *XŠ* : *vazraka* : *XŠ* :
XŠyānām : *XŠ* : *DHyūnām* : *XŠ* : *ahyāyā* :
BUyā : *Dārayavaušahyā* : *XŠhyā* : *puça* : *D*
- 2 *ārayavaušahyā* : *Artaxšaçaḥyā* : *XŠhyā* :
puça : *Artaxšaçaḥyā* : *Xšayārcahyā* : *XŠhyā* :
puça : *Xšayārcahyā* : *Dāra*
- 3 *yavaušahyā* : *XŠhyā* : *puça* : *Dārayavaušahyā* :
V¹štāspahyā : *puça* : *Haxamān^ašiya* : *imam* :
apadāna : *Dārayavauš* : *apan^ayākama* : *ak*
- 4 *unaš* : *abyapara* : *upā* : *Artaxšaçām* :
n^ayākama : *+++++* : *vašnā* : *AM* : *Anah^ata* :
utā : *M^aθra* : *imam* : *apadāna* : *adam* : *akunām* :
AM : *A*

- 5 *nah^ata* : *utā* : *M^aθra* : *mām* : *pātuv* : *hacā* :
vīspā : *gastā* : *utā* : *imam* : *tya* : *akunām* : *mā* :
vījanātiy : *mā* : *vinādayātiy*

NOTE TO A²Sa: Lines 4-5 are restored after the OP text of A²Ha and the Akk. version of A²Sa.

TRANSLATION OF A²Sa: Saith Artaxerxes the Great King, King of Kings, King of Countries, King in this earth, son of Darius the King, of Darius (who was) son of Artaxerxes the King, of Artaxerxes (who was) son of Xerxes the King, of Xerxes (who was) son of Darius the King, of Darius (who was) son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenian: This palace Darius my great-great-grandfather built; later under Artaxerxes my grand-father it was burned; by the favor of Ahuramazda, Anaitis, and Mithras, this palace I built. May Ahuramazda, Anaitis, and Mithras protect me from all evil, and that which I have built may they not shatter nor harm.

A²Sb = ARTAXERXES II, SUSA B.

- adam* : *Artaxšaça* : *XŠ* : *vazraka* : *XŠ* *XŠyānā* :
XŠ : *Dārayavauš* : *XŠhyā* : *puça*

NOTE TO A²Sb: The *XŠ* after *XŠyānā* is a ditto-graphic insertion, to which nothing corresponds in the other two versions.

TRANSLATION OF A²Sb: ... (= A²Sa 1, with omissions).

A²Sc = ARTAXERXES II, SUSA C.

- 0 *Dārayavaušahyā* : *XŠhyā* : *puça* :
- 0 *Dārayavaušahyā* : *V¹štāspahyā* : *puça*
- 1 : *Haxāmanišiya* : *θātiy* : *Artaxšaça* :
- 2 *xšāyatiya* : *vazraka* : *xšāyatiya* : *x*
- 3 *šāyatiyanām* : *xšāyatiya* : *dahyūn*
- 4 *ām* : *xšāyatiya* : *ahyāyā* : *būmiyā* : *i*
- 5 *mām* : *hadiš* : *utā* : *imām* : *ustā*
- 6 *canām* : *tya* : *aθagainām* : *ta* : *+++++*
- 7 : *Auramazdā* :
- 8

NOTE TO A²Sc: The first two lines are restored to include the fragment mentioned by Wb. KIA 125n.; but this fragment has the ideogram for 'king', and the other part has the word written in full. Cf. note on D²Sm.

TRANSLATION OF A²Sc:

- §1. 0-1. ... (= A²Sa 2-3).
- §2. 1-7. ... (= A²Sa 1): This palace and this stone staircase ... Ahuramazda ...

A²Sd = ARTAXERXES II, SUSA D

(COPIES DA, DB, DC).

- 1 *adam* : *Artaxšaça* : *XŠ* : *vazraka* : *XŠ* :
XŠyānām : *XŠ* : *DHyūnām* : *XŠ* : *ahyāyā* :
- 2 *BUyā* : *Dārayavauš* : *XŠhyā* : *puça* :
Haxāmanišiya : *θātiy* : *Artaxšaça* : *XŠ* :

- 3 vašnā : AMhā : imām : hadiš : tya : jivadiy :
paradayadām : adam : akunavām : AM :
Anah
4 ita : utā : M⁴tra : mām : pātuv : hacā : vispā
: gastā : utamaiy : kartam

NOTES TO A³Sd: Text according to the line-divisions of copy da. ¹a[... da; ahyāyā db; ahyā de. ²Haxāmanišiya db; Haxāmanišya da, de. ³aku[... da; akunavām db; akunavāšā de. ⁴hacā da; lost in db; hašā de. ⁵vispā da, de; v⁴ispā db. ⁶gastā da, db; gastā de. ⁷uta[... da; utamaiy db; utamay de.

TRANSLATION OF A³Sd:

§1. 1-2. ... (= A³Ša 1), an Achaemenian.

§2. 2-4. Saith Artaxerxes the King: By the favor of Ahuramazda this is the palace which I built in my lifetime as a pleasant retreat. May Ahuramazda, Anaitis, and Mithras protect me from all evil, and my building.

A²Ha = ARTAXERXES II, HAMADAN A.

- 1 θātiy : Artaxšačā : XŠ : vazraka : XŠ :
XŠyānām : XŠ : DHyūnām : XŠ : ah
2 yāyā : BUyā : Dārayavašahyā : XŠhyā :
puça : Dārayavašahyā : Artaxšaṭra
3 hyā : XŠhyā : puça : Artaxšaṭrahāyā :
Xšayāršahyā : XŠhyā : puça : Xšayār
4 šahyā : Dārayavašahyā : XŠhyā : puça :
Dārayavašahyā : V⁴štāspahyā : puça
5 : Haxāmanišiya : imam : apadāna : vašnā :
AM : Anah⁴ta : utā : M⁴tra : adam : akun
6 ām : AM : Anah⁴ta : utā : M⁴tra : mām :
pātuv : hacā : vispā : gastā : ut
7 ā : imam : tya : akunā : mā : vijanātiy : mā :
vināḃayātiy

NOTES TO A²Ha: ^{2,3}Artaxšaṭrahāyā, acc. to Tm. Lex. 54, and not -čahyā. ⁴[hacā : gastā] WB; [utamaiy : xšačam] Tm.; [hacā : vispā : gastā] Kent, after A³Sd. ⁵akunā for akunām, and mā with following lost verb, as in A²Ša; but akunā : mā emended to akunavām Tm. PAPA 36.xxxii, Lex. 81, and to akunavām Bthl. AiW 444.

TRANSLATION OF A²Ha:

§1. 1-5. ... (= A³Ša 1-3).

§2. 5-7. ... (= A³Ša 4-5).

A²Hb = ARTAXERXES II, HAMADAN B.

apadānam : stūnāya : aḃagānam : Artaxšačā :
XŠ : vazraka : akunauš : hya : Dārayavauš :
XŠ : pučā : Haxāmanišiya : Mitra : mām :
pātuv

NOTE TO A²Hb: Probably the demonstrative *imam* stood before *apadānam* at the beginning, and other

phrases of the protective prayer may have stood at the end.

TRANSLATION OF A²Hb: This palace, of stone in its column(s), Artaxerxes the Great King built, the son of Darius the King, an Achaemenian. May Mithras protect me ...

A²Hc = ARTAXERXES II, HAMADAN C.

- 1 бага : vazraka : Auramazdā : hya : mašišta :
2 bagānām : hya : imām : būmim : adā :
3 hya : avam : asmānam : adā : hya : martiya
4 m : adā : hya : šiyātim : adā : martiyahy
5 ā : hya : Artaxšačām : XŠm : akunauš : ai
6 vam : parūnām : XŠm : aivam : parūnām :
7 framātāram : θātiy : Artaxšačā : XŠ : va
8 zraka : XŠ : XŠyānām : XŠ : DHyūnām : XŠ
9 : ahyāyā : BUyā : adam : Dārayavaušahy
10 ā : XŠhyā : puça : Dārayavaušahyā : Artax
11 šačahyā : XŠhyā : puça : Artaxšačāhy
12 ā : Xšayāršahyā : XŠhyā : puça : Xšay
13 āršahyā : Dārayavaušahyā : XŠhyā : p
14 uça : Dārayavaušahyā : Vištāspahyā : nā
15 ma : puça : Haxāmanišiya : θātiy : Artaxša
16 čā : XŠ : vašnā : Auramazdāhā : adam : XŠ
: a
17 hyāyā : BUyā : vazrakāyā : dūraiya : a
18 piy : amiy : Auramazdā : xšačam : manā :
frāba
19 ra : mām : Auramazdā : pātuv : utā : xšačā
20 m : tyamaiy : frābara : utāmai : viḃam

TRANSLATION OF A²Hc:

§1. 1-7. A great god is Ahuramazda, the greatest of gods, ... (= A¹Pa 1-8).

§2. 7-15. ... (= A²Ša 1): I (am) ... (= A³Ša 1-2), son of Hystaspes by name, an Achaemenian.

§3. 15-20. Saith Artaxerxes the King: By the favor of Ahuramazda I am king in this great earth far and wide; Ahuramazda bestowed the kingdom upon me. Me may Ahuramazda protect, and the kingdom which he bestowed upon me, and my royal house.

A²P = ARTAXERXES II OR III, PERSEPOLIS.

- 1 iyam : Parsa :
2 iyam : Māda :
3 iyam : Ūvja :
4 iyam : Parḃava :
8 iyam : Uvārazmīya
9 iyam : Zrakā
10 iyam : Haraovatiya

- 11 *iyam* : Өataguiya
- 12 *iyam* : Gadārāya :
- 13 *iyam* : Hiduya
- 14 *iyam* : Sakā : haumavargā :
- 15 *iyam* : Sakā : tigraxaudā :
- 16 *iyam* : Bābiruš :
- 17 *iyam* : Aθuriya
- 18 *iyam* : Arabāya
- 19 *iyam* : Mudrāya
- 20 *iyam* : Arminiya
- 21 *iyam* : Katpatuka :
- 22 *imay* : Spardiya
- 23 *iyam* : Yaunā :
- 24 *iyam* : Sakā : paradraiya :
- 25 *iyam* : Skudra :
- 26 *iyam* : Yauna : takabarā :
- 27 *iyam* : Putāya :
- 28 *iyam* : Kūšāya
- 29 *iyam* : Maciya
- 30 *iyam* : Karka :

NOTES TO A¹P: ¹¹ Өataguiya Smith, Hx.; if correct, for Өataguiya; or a wrong writing for Өatagudaya or Өatagudiya, cf. Gk. Σατταγιδαι. ¹⁴ There is an extra vertical hasta between the g² and the a in haumavargā. ²² im²y², miswritten for ig²m².

TRANSLATION OF A¹P:

1. This is the Persian. 2. This is the Mede. 3. This is the Elamite. 4. This is the Parthian. [5-7. This is the Arian, the Bactrian, the Sogdian.] 8. This is the Chorasmian. 9. This is the Drangian. 10. This is the Arachosian.

11. This is the Sattagyidian. 12. This is the Gandarian. 13. This is the man of Sind. 14. This is the Amyrgian Scythian. 15. This is the Pointed-Cap Scythian. 16. This is the Babylonian. 17. This is the Assyrian. 18. This is the Arab. 19. This is the Egyptian. 20. This is the Armenian.

21. This is the Cappadocian. 22. This is the Sardinian. 23. This is the Ionian. 24. This is the Scythian across the sea. 25. This is the Skudrian. 26. This is the Petasos-Wearing Ionian. 27. This is the Libyan. 28. This is the Ethiopian. 29. This is the man of Maka. 30. This is the Carian.

A²Pa = ARTAXERXES III, PERSEPOLIS A, B, C, D.

- 1 бага : vazraka : Auramazdā : hya :
- 2 imām : būmām : adā : hya : a
- 3 yam : asmānām : adā : hya : marti
- 4 yam : adā : hya : šayātām : adā : mart
- 5 ihyā : hya : mām : Artaxšaçā : xšāya
- 6 θiya : akunauš : aivam : parūvnām :

- 7 xšāyaθiyam : aivam : parūvnām
- 8 : framatāram : θātiy : Artaxšaça :
- 9 xšāyaθiya : vazraka : xšāyaθiya
- 10 : xšāyaθiyanām : xšāyaθiya :
- 11 DHyūnām : xšāyaθiya : ahyāyā : BUyā : ada
- 12 m : Artaxšaça : xšāya
- 13 θiya : puça : Artaxšaça : Darayavau
- 14 š : xšāyaθiya : puça : Dārayavauš : A
- 15 rtaxšaça : xšāyaθiya : puça : Artaxša
- 16 çā : Xšayāršā : xšāyaθiya : puça : X
- 17 šayāršā : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθ
- 18 iya : puça : Dārayavauš : V¹štāsapa
- 19 hyā : nāma : puça : V¹štāspahyā :
- 20 Aršāma : nāma : puça : Haxāmaniš
- 21 ya : θātiy : Artaxšaça : xšāyaθi
- 22 ya : imam : ustašanām : aθaganām : mā
- 23 m : upā : mām : kartā : θātiy : Arta
- 24 xšāça : xšāyaθiya : mām : Auramazdā :
- 25 utā : M¹θra : бага : pātuv : utā : imā
- 26 m : DHyaum : utā : tya : mām : kartā :

NOTES TO A²Pa: The text is arranged according to the line-divisions of copy a, with faithful representation of all orthographic errors; all four copies have identical orthography, though the line-divisions vary somewhat. ¹² The translation of lines 12-20 is intended to show the anacoluthic use of the nominative forms; the passage is obviously intended to convey the same ideas as A²Pa 1-3. ²³ For upā mām 'in my time' (here emphatic, only, as it is otiose), cf. A²Pa 4 [u]pā Artu[zšāçām] 'in the time of Artaxerxes'.

TRANSLATION OF A²Pa:

§1. 1-8. ... (= DNa 1-4), who made me, Artaxerxes, king, ... (= DNa 6-8).

§2. 8-21. ... (= A²Pa 1): I am the son (of) Artaxerxes the King, (of) Artaxerxes (who was) the son (of) Darius the King, (of) Darius (who was) the son (of) Artaxerxes the King, (of) Artaxerxes (who was) the son (of) Xerxes the King, (of) Xerxes (who was) the son (of) Darius the King, (of) Darius (who was) the son of Hystaspes by name, of Hystaspes (who was) the son (of) Arsames by name, an Achaemenian.

§3. 21-3. Saith Artaxerxes the King: This stone staircase was built by me in my time.

§4. 23-6. Saith Artaxerxes the King: Me may Ahuramazda and the god Mithras protect, and this country, and what was built by me.

INSCRIPTIONS ON WEIGHTS.

Wa = DARIUS, WEIGHT A.

- 1 II karšā
- 2 adam : Dāra

- 3 yavauš : xš
 4 āyaθiya : va
 5 zraka : Viš
 6 tāspahyā
 7 : puça : Hax
 8 āmanišiya

TRANSLATION OF Wa: II (units) by weight. ...
 (= Wb 1-2, 7-9):

Wb = DARIUS, WEIGHT B.

- 1 adam : Dārayavauš : x
 2 šāyaθiya : vazraka : x
 3 šāyaθiyā : xšāyaθ
 4 iyānām : xšāyaθ
 5 iya : dahyūnām : xš
 6 āyaθiya : ahyāyā
 7 : būmiyā : Vištā
 8 spahyā : puça : Haxā
 9 manišiya

TRANSLATION OF Wb: ... (= DSf 5-8).

Wc = DARIUS, WEIGHT C.

- 1 CXX karšayā
 2 adam : Dārayavauš : x
 3 šāyaθiya : vazrakx : x
 4 šāyaθiya : xšāyaθ
 5 iyānām : xšāyaθ
 6 iya : dahyūnām : x
 7 šāyaθiya : ahyāy
 8 ā : būmiyā : Višt
 9 āspahyā : puça : Hax
 10 āmanišiya

TRANSLATION OF Wc: CXX (units) in weight.
 ... (= Wb 1-9).

Wd = DARIUS, WEIGHT D.

- 1 LX karšayā
 2 adam : Dārayavauš :
 3 xšāyaθiya : vazraka :
 4 xšāyaθiya : xšāyaθ
 5 iyānām : xšāyaθ
 6 iya : dahyūnām : xš
 7 āyaθiya : ahyāyā
 8 : būmiyā : Vištā
 9 spahyā : puça : Hax
 10 āmanišiya

TRANSLATION OF Wd: LX (units) in weight.
 ... (= Wb 1-9).

INSCRIPTIONS ON SEALS

SDa = DARIUS, SEAL A: adam : Darayavauš Xš

SDb = DARIUS, SEAL B: adam : Dārayavauš

SXa = XERXES, SEAL A: 1 Xšayāršā
 2 : Xš : vazraka

SXb = XERXES, SEAL B: 1 adam : Xšay
 2 āršā : Xš

SXc = XERXES, SEAL C: 1 adam : Xšayāršā : Xš
 2

Sa = SEAL A: 1 Arša 5 yāba
 2 ka : n 6 ušna
 3 āma : 7 hyā :
 4 Āθi 8 puça

Sb = SEAL B: 1 Hadaxaya
 2
 3 θadaθa : ...

Sc = SEAL C: Vašdāsaka

Sd = SEAL D: Vahyav'šdāpaya

Se = SEAL E: 1 ma : Xa 2 rša 3 dašyā

Sf = SEAL F: 1 upā 2 Arta 3 xšač 4 ām

NOTES: Se: For Justi's reading *Xišyāršā*, see Lex.
 s.v. *Xaršadašyā*. Sf: There is no word-divider after *upā*.

TRANSLATION OF THE SEALS:

SDa: I (am) Darius the King.

SDb: I (am) Darius.

SXa: Xerxes the Great King.

SXb-c: I (am) Xerxes the King.

Sa: Arshaka by name, son of Athiyabaushna.

Sb-e: ???

Sf: Under Artaxerxes.

VASE INSCRIPTIONS.

XVs = XERXES, VASE:

Xšayāršā : Xš : vazraka

AVsa = ARTAXERXES, VASE A:

: Ardaxcašca : Xš : vazraka

AVsb-d = ARTAXERXES, VASES B, C, D:

Artaxšačā : xšāyaθiya

TRANSLATION:

XVs: Xerxes the Great King.

AVsa: Artaxerxes the Great King.

AVsb-d: Artaxerxes the King.

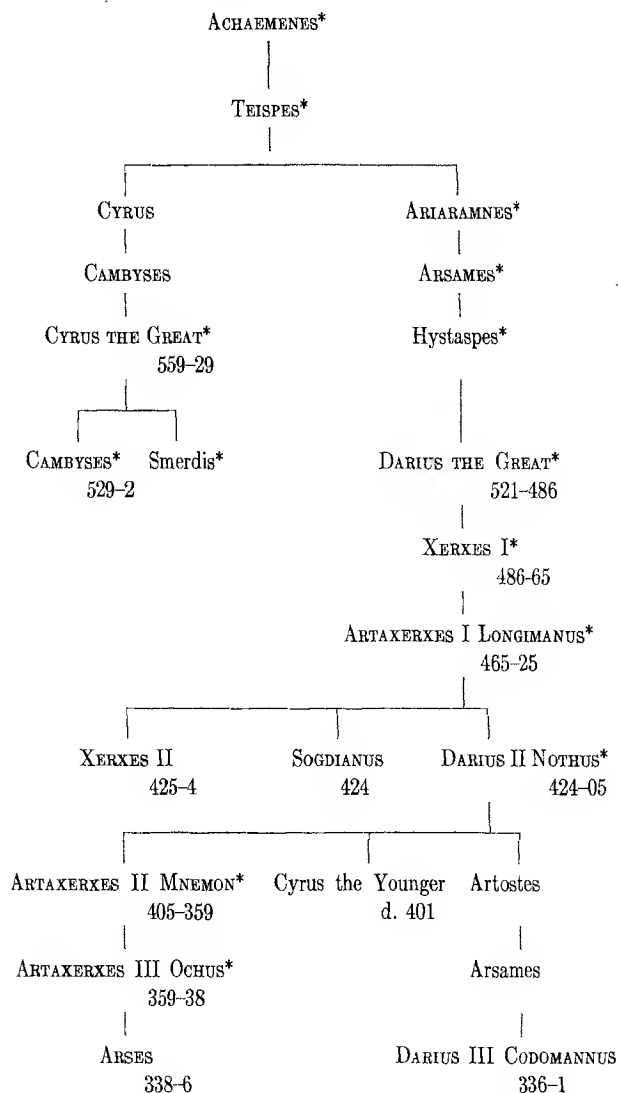
HISTORICAL APPENDIX

I. THE ACHAEMENIAN DYNASTY

Darius and the other Persian Kings who have left us cuneiform inscriptions composed in Old Persian, all belonged to the Achaemenian line, so called because they were descended from Achaemenes. Full information may be found in PW 1.200-204 s.v. Achaimenidai, and under the names of the individual persons; a complete gene-

alogical table is given by PW facing 1.192. A table of the most important Achaemenians is given here; the names of the kings are in large and small capitals, with the dates of their reigns, and an asterisk marks those Achaemenians who are named in the Old Persian inscriptions.

Darius, in Behistan §4, and again in Behistan



a, states that there had been eight kings in their family before him, and that he was the ninth in order. We must count them thus: 1 Achaemenes, 2 Teispes, 3 Cyrus, 4 Cambyses, 5 Cyrus the Great, 6 Cambyses, 7 Ariaramnes, 8 Arsames, 9 Darius. The last three belong to the younger line of Ariaramnes, while Nos. 3 to 6 belong to the line of Teispes' older son. Hystaspes father of Darius is not included in the count, because he nowhere receives the title of King, even when mentioned as father of Darius—whereas the other kings all give to their fathers the title King in statements of parentage.

Herodotus 7.11, however, gives Darius' line thus: Achaemenes, Teispes, Cambyses, Cyrus, Teispes, Ariaramnes, Arsames, Hystaspes, Darius: in which Darius is the ninth. But Darius surely knew his own genealogy better than did Herodotus. Herodotus either has a dittographic error made in copying from a list covering both branches, or erroneously looked upon Cambyses and Cyrus as ancestors of Darius and inserted Teispes the second time to make the list agree with the known fact that the father of Ariaramnes was named Teispes.

There are other accounts also, different in important respects. Thus Nicolaus Damascenus, who is supposed to have used the Persica of Ctesias, states that Cyrus the Great was not an Achaemenian by birth, but a person of lowly origin who gained favor with Cambyses and eventually rebelled against him and overthrew him; see

C. J. Ogden's translation of Nicolaus' account, in *Dastur Hosang Memorial Volume* 465–81 (Bombay 1918).

All the accounts, literary and inscriptional, are presented and evaluated by Weissbach in *PW*, Suppl.-Bd. 4.1132–44, s.v. Kyros. His conclusions are as follows: Of the sons of Teispes, Ariaramnes was king in Persis (then called *Parsua*) and Cyrus I was king in the city (or district?) Anshan, lying between Persis and Elam, or possibly farther north, between Persis and Media. On coming to the throne of Anshan, Cyrus II found Arsames ruling in *Parsua*, and shortly deposed him, himself becoming now king in *Parsua*, later called *Pārsa*. Arsames, however, was not put to death, but (as the OP inscriptions tell us) lived on until after his grandson Darius got the throne of the Persian Empire. Thus Hystaspes never was king, and is not counted among the nine Achaemenian kings. Cyrus II thereafter conquered Media and added it to his dominions, and then extended his conquests in all directions. But he did belong by ancestry to the Achaemenian line; one can hardly brand him as a rank outsider.

Possibly Ctesias' story, as repeated by Nicolaus Damascenus, originated in the line of Darius as a means of discrediting the line of Cyrus and of justifying Darius in his seizure of the imperial power. The particular occasion might well be the unsuccessful revolt of Cyrus the Younger against his brother Artaxerxes II, whom Ctesias served as personal physician. Cf. *JAOS* 66.211 (1946).

II. SMERDIS AND GAUMATA

According to Behistan §10–§13, Cambyses son of Cyrus killed his full-brother Smerdis, with such secrecy that his death was not known to the people; he then invaded Egypt. While he was on this expedition, rebellions developed in Persia and in Media and elsewhere. Notably a Magian named Gaumata headed the rebels, claiming to be Smerdis son of Cyrus, and he gained the kingship in all the rebellious territory. Cambyses, still in Egypt, committed suicide.

Gaumata started his rebellion in XII 14 of 523/2, and received the adherence of the Empire on IV 9 of 522/1. But Darius, a distant cousin of Cambyses, knowing that Gaumata was not the real Smerdis, with the aid of a few men fought with and slew Gaumata and his chief followers, on

VII 10 of the same year, at Sikayauvati, a fortress in Nisaya, a district of Media. Thereafter Darius became King.

Herodotus tells the same story at much greater length, in Book 3, chapters 1–38, 61–88. Cambyses invaded Egypt (chap. 1), and the reasons for the invasion and the course of the campaign are given (1–26). At Memphis he inflicted a fatal wound on the sacred bull which was worshipped as the God Apis (27–9), and thereupon lost his reason. Jealous of his brother Smerdis' prowess with the great bow which had come from the Ichthyophagi, he sent Smerdis back to Persia, and then, after a dream which betokened that Smerdis would supplant him, he sent his henchman Prexaspes to murder him secretly, which he did (30–8), esp. 30).

The Magus Patizeithes had been left by Cambyses as managing steward of his palace at Susa, and he was one of the few who knew of the death of Smerdis. He had himself a brother who greatly resembled Smerdis in appearance, and, says Herodotus, this brother's name was also Smerdis. Patizeithes put his brother Smerdis on the throne, under the pretense that he was Smerdis son of Cyrus and brother of Cambyses. The false Smerdis, by not admitting to his presence any one who had known the true Smerdis, successfully concealed his true identity for some time (61-2). But the news reached Cambyses in Egypt, and he knew the truth, because Prexaspes assured him that he had slain the real Smerdis. Resolved to fight the usurper, he leaped upon his horse to lead his army back to Susa, but as he did so he accidentally struck the point of his sword into his thigh, and from the wound he died (63-6). Thus the false Smerdis ruled for some months; but a Persian

nobleman, Otanes son of Pharnaspes, suspecting his identity, managed by a ruse to prove it to himself (67-9), and secured the help of five other trusted noblemen, to whom there was added Darius, who had come to Susa from his father Hystaspes, governor of Persia (70; see App. III). Darius insisted on immediate action against the two Magi (71-3). Helped by the confusion following the public confession of Prexaspes that he had murdered the true Smerdis, and by his suicide, the seven men burst into the presence of the two Magi and slew them (74-9). They then agreed upon a method of selecting one of their number to hold the throne, and Darius, aided by the trickery of his groom Oebares, was the winner (80-8).

The two accounts, it will be seen, agree in the main features, but differ considerably in the details. Herodotus' story has clearly entered into the field of historical romance. See also PW 3A.710-2, s.v. Smerdis.

III. THE HELPERS OF DARIUS

The names of the six Persian noblemen who co-operated with Darius in slaying Gaumata the false Smerdis, are given in Behistan §68 and in Herodotus 3.70; there is agreement in the names of the first five:

Behistan	Herodotus
<i>Viṛdāfarnā</i> son of <i>Vāyaspāra</i>	Intaphernes
<i>Utāna</i> son of <i>Ōuxra</i>	Otanes son of Pharnaspes
<i>Gaubaruwa</i> son of <i>Marduniya</i>	Gobryas
<i>Vidarna</i> son of <i>Bagābigna</i>	Hydarnes
<i>Bagabuxša</i> son of <i>Dātawahya</i>	Megabyzus
<i>Arđumaniš</i> son of <i>Vahauka</i>	Aspathines

Herodotus, it will be seen, differs from the Behistan account in the name of the father of

Utāna-Otanes; but he gives (7.82) Mardonius, the general in the third invasion of Greece, as son of Gobryas, which indicates agreement as to the name of Gobryas's father. But Megabyzus son of Zopyrus (7.82) may or may not be the Behistan Bagabuxša son of Datuvahya, or his grandson. Herodotus does, in fact, mention all six of the helpers of Darius in passages outside 3.68-88, in passages which may be found in any Index Nominum Proprium to the text of Herodotus.

The Behistan inscription mentions *Vidarna* again in §25, as defeating one of Phraortes' armies in Media; *Viṛdāfarnā* in §50, as defeating the rebels at Babylon; *Gaubaruwa* in §71, as crushing the last revolt of the Elamites.

IV. THE PERSIAN CALENDAR AND BEHISTAN I-IV

In Behistan 4.4, Darius states that the 19 battles recorded by him in the first three columns of the inscription, with the attendant capture of 9 usurpers, took place *hamahyāyā barda* 'in one and the same year'. For eighteen of the battles dates are given in the Persian calendar, with translation into the Elamite and the Akkadian. The difficulty has been to arrange these dates within one year, beginning with the killing of Gaumata, the false Smerdis; for the order of the months in the Persian

calendar, and in the other calendars, was by no means certain. Now, however, with evidence from additional Akkadian and Elamite tablets which have no Old Persian version, Arno Poebel has succeeded in reconstructing the lists of months, as follows:¹

¹ AJSL 55.139-42. The Persian calendar has been the subject of many studies, but Poebel's studies have supplanted them all: ALSL 55.130-65, 285-314, 56.121-45. Cf. also Hinz, ZDMG 96.326-31.

Old Persian	Elamite	Akkadian	Equivalent
1 <i>Adukanaiša</i>	<i>Ḥadukannaš</i>	<i>Nisabbu</i>	Mch.- Apr.
2 <i>Ōuravāhara</i>	<i>Turmār</i>	<i>Aiāru</i>	Apr.- May
3 <i>Ōāigarciš</i>	<i>Sakurrišš</i>	<i>Simannu</i>	May- June
4 <i>Garmapada</i>	<i>Karmabadaš</i>	<i>Du'ūzu</i>	June- July
5	<i>Turnabašiš</i>	<i>Ābu</i>	July- Aug.
6	<i>Qarbaši(ia)š</i>	<i>Ulūlu</i>	Aug.- Spt.
7 <i>Bāgayādiš</i>	<i>Bayiātiš</i>	<i>Tašritu</i>	Spt.- Oct.
8 * <i>Varkazana</i>	<i>Marqāšanaš</i>	<i>Araḥsamna</i>	Oct.- Nov.
9 <i>Āciyādiya</i>	<i>Ḥaššiāti(ia)š</i>	<i>Kistimu</i>	Nov.- Dec.
10 <i>Anāmaka</i>	<i>Ḥanāmakaš</i>	<i>Ṭebētu</i>	Dec.- Jan.
11	<i>Sami(ia)maš</i>	<i>Šabāṭu</i>	Jan.- Feb.
12 <i>Viyazna</i>	<i>Mi(ia)kannaš</i>	<i>Addūru</i>	Feb.- Mch.

The narrative of the revolts, however, is not given in temporal sequence in Columns I-III, but rather in a geographical order conditioned by the order in which the rebellious provinces are named in §22: Persia, Elam, Media, Assyria, Egypt, Parthia, Margiana, Sattagydia, Scythia. If we should reduce the story to a more easily intelligible pattern, it would be as follows:

After Cambyses, son of Cyrus the Great, secretly slew his full-brother Smerdis and went on the expedition to conquer Egypt, uprisings against his rule took place in Persia and in Media and elsewhere (§10). Notably a Magian named Gaumata led the revolt, claiming to be Smerdis, whose death was known to but few; he started his revolt on XII 14 of 523/2, and received the adherence of the entire Empire, becoming King on IV 9 of 522/1.² Cambyses died by his own hand, either intentionally or accidentally, in Egypt soon after hearing of Gaumata's revolt (§11).

Three months later Darius and his associates killed Gaumata and his chief followers at Sikayauvati in Media, on VII 10 of 522/1. Thereby Darius

became King, but at the very outset his rule was contested by Aḫina in Elam, and by Nidintu-Bel (claiming to be Nebuchadrezzar son of Nabonidus) in Babylon, who were recognized as King each in his locality. But Aḫina did not last long; Darius, after organizing the government in Media and Persia, gathered an army of Medes and Persians and marched toward Babylon, passing near Elam. As he passed he sent orders to the Elamites, and in terror they seized Aḫina and brought him in fetters to Darius, who slew him (§17).

Darius with his army went on toward Babylon against Nidintu-Bel (§18), and in his absence from Media and Persia several rebellions started (§21)—some perhaps started earlier, but news of them did not reach Darius before he had set out against Nidintu-Bel: (a) that of Vahyazdata in Persia, with the adherence of Sattagydia and perhaps of a faction in Arachosia (§45); (b) that of Martiya in Elam; (c) that of Phraortes in Media, with the adherence of Armenia (§26), of Assyria, and of Parthia, including Hyrcania (§35); (d) that of Frada in Margiana; (e) that of Egypt; (f) that of Skunkha in Scythia (§21).

Darius came upon Nidintu-Bel and his army at the Tigris, forced the crossing, and defeated him in IX 26 (§18), and though Nidintu-Bel rallied his forces and took the offensive, again defeated him at Zazana on the Euphrates, X 2 (§19); he pursued him and his few remaining horsemen to Babylon, took that city and Nidintu-Bel with it, and put the rebel to death (§20).

Meanwhile events were progressing elsewhere. Against Frada, who had made himself ruler of Margiana, Darius had sent Dadarshi, a Persian officer who was governor of the neighboring province of Bactria, with his local forces, and Dadarshi won a decisive victory on IX 23 (§38), restoring Darius's rule in Margiana (§39).

Phraortes, claiming to be Khshathrita, of the family of Cyaxares, had made himself king of a great part of the Empire (§24). Darius's first step was to send Vaumisa, a Persian officer, against the rebels in Armenia; he must have sent Vaumisa early in the Babylonian campaign, for Vaumisa, on the way north, was met by the rebels at Izala in Assyria, on X 15. What forces Vaumisa had at his disposal is not stated, but no mention is made of sending troops with him; presumably he gathered up loyal troops on the way. By this battle Vaumisa

² The months will be indicated by Roman numerals.

drove the rebels back into Armenia, where he fought a second battle with them some months later (§30; see below).

Although the force of Medes and Persians which Darius had with him in Babylonia was small, he had been obliged, at an early date, probably not much after the battle at the Tigris, to send Hydarnes, a Persian officer, with a strong force against Phraortes in Media. Hydarnes met an army of Phraortes (but not Phraortes himself) in battle at Maru in Media, and fought a battle on X 27; but it seems to have been indecisive, for thereafter Hydarnes waited for the arrival of Darius and his army from Babylonia (§25).

Parthia and the neighboring district of Hyrcania had both gone over to Phraortes, but Darius's father Hystaspes was in command of the army in Parthia, and the army remained loyal. In a battle at Vishpauzati, on XII 22, Hystaspes fought the rebels, but the victory was not decisive.

After the death of Nidintu-Bel at Babylon, Darius set forth for Media against Phraortes (§31). His march took him near Elam, where a Persian named Martiya had set himself up as King under the name of Imanish. At the approach of Darius the Elamites were terrified, and seized Martiya and killed him (§22-§23).³ Darius now sent a force of Persians and Medes under Artavardiya, a Persian officer, against Vahyazdata, who had made himself King in Persia; he himself, with the rest of the Persian force, went on into Media (§41) and at Kunduru was attacked by Phraortes himself and his army, on I 25, 521/0 (§31). Phraortes' army was routed; he himself escaped with a few horsemen, but was overtaken and captured at Raga, and mutilated and put to death with torture at Ecbatana (§32). From Raga Darius sent a force of Persians to reinforce Hystaspes in Parthia (§36).

Hereupon a Sagartian named Ciçantakhma, perhaps commander of local forces that had ad-

hered to Phraortes, declared himself King in Sagartia, a district of northern Media; he claimed to be of the family of Cyaxares. Darius sent a force of Medes and Persians under Takhmaspada, a Median officer, who defeated and captured Ciçantakhma, bringing him to Darius. Darius mutilated him and put him to death with torture, at Arbela (§33). Thus ended rebellion in Media (§34); but there was still a strong rebel force in Armenia, against which Darius sent an Armenian officer named Dadarshi. Dadarshi, thrice attacked by the rebels, defeated them successively at Zuzaya on II 8 (§26), at Tigra on II 18 (§27), and at Uyama on III 9, whereafter he waited for Darius to come and make final governmental dispositions (§28). This third battle by Dadarshi was only nine days after Vaumisa in a second engagement beat off the other force of Armenian rebels in the district of Autiyara, on II 30; after which he also awaited Darius's arrival (§30). There was no further fighting in Armenia.

Hystaspes, reinforced in Parthia by the Persians whom Darius had sent to him from Raga, sought out the rebel army and crushed it at Patigrabana, on IV 1 (§36). This restored Darius's rule in Parthia.

While Darius was in Babylon, one Vahyazdata, a Persian, claiming to be Smerdisson of Cyrus, had revolted and made himself King of Persia (§40). Apparently confident in his own position, he had sent a force east to Arachosia,⁴ against the Persian governor Vivana, who had remained loyal to Darius; but Vivana beat off the rebels at Kapishakani, on X 13 (§45). The rebels again attacked at Gandutava on XII 7, and here were decisively defeated (§46); their commander and a few horsemen escaped, but were overtaken and captured at Arshada by Vivana, who put them to death (§47).

Vahyazdata in Persia had a few months of undisturbed rule, but this was ended by the approach of Artavardiya, sent by Darius on his way to Media, with a force of Persians and Medes. Vahyazdata attacked Artavardiya at Rakha on II 12 (§41), and again near Mt. Parga on IV 5. In the second battle Vahyazdata and his chief followers were taken prisoner (§42); they were handed over to Darius at the Persian town of

³ Poebel, *AJSLL* 55.154, sets the undated killing of Martiya after the death of Phraortes, because in the sculptured line of captives on the Behistan Rock the order is Gaumata, Açina, Nidintu-Bel, Phraortes, Martiya, Ciçantakhma, Vahyazdata, Arkha, Frada. I reject this interpretation of the series of sculptures, since it would oblige us to set the death of Frada at the very end of the series, dating his defeat not IX 23, 522/1, but IX 23, 521/0, and thus extending the series of events from 13 months 12 days to 14 months 13 days.

⁴ I regard the revolt in Sattagydia (§22) as to be included under the events in Arachosia (§45-§47).

Uvadaicaya, and Darius executed them with torture (§43). Darius was now back in Persia, which had been restored to his rule (§44), as well as the other rebellious territories except Egypt and Scythia. It was not quite nine months since he had slain the usurper Gaumata.

But while Darius was putting down the rebellions in Media and in Persia, an Armenian named Arkha, claiming to be Nebuchadrezzar son of Nabonidus, had established himself as King in Babylon (§49). Against him Darius sent a Persian officer named Intaphernes with an army, and Intaphernes routed Arkha and his forces on VIII 22, capturing and executing at Babylon both Arkha and his chief officers (§50).

This is the latest event related in the first three

columns of the Behistan inscription, 13 months and 12 days after the death of Gaumata; the time does not seriously exceed the one year which Darius boastfully mentions in Column IV.

Column V gives an account of a third rebellion in Elam, under Atamaita; against him Gobryas was sent with an army by Darius, and he defeated and captured him, bringing him to Darius, who put him to death (§71). The date of this rebellion seems to be in the third year of Darius' reign, 520/19,⁵ though the Behistan text is here badly mutilated. After this rebellion in Elam Darius went to Scythia and defeated and captured Skunkha (§74). The reconquest of Egypt, though not mentioned in the Behistan inscription, must have followed in the same or the next year.⁶

V. THE ACCESSION OF XERXES.

In XpI, Xerxes gives us an account of his succession to the throne: Darius had a number of sons, but—as was Ahuramazda's desire—he made Xerxes (presumably not his eldest son, though this is not stated in the inscription) the 'greatest after himself;' and when Darius 'went from the throne,' Xerxes—as was Ahuramazda's desire—became king on the throne of his father.

The account given by Herodotus 7.1-4 agrees with this, but gives more details: After Darius received the news that his forces had been defeated at Marathon and somewhat later that Egypt had risen in rebellion, he started preparations for one campaign against the Athenians and another against the Egyptians. At this time there was a dispute between Artobazanes, eldest son of Darius by his first wife, a daughter of Gobryas, and Xerxes, eldest son of Darius by Atossa, daughter of Cyrus the Great, whom Darius had married

after his accession to the throne, as to which should have the succession. On the advice of Damaratus, exiled king of Sparta, Xerxes went to his father and pressed his claim on the ground that he was the oldest son of Darius the King, while Artobazanes was only the oldest son of Darius the private individual. Darius approved the claim, though perhaps the argument was not really needed (Atossa as daughter of Cyrus must have had great influence with Darius, and Xerxes was probably the ablest of Darius's sons), and named Xerxes to succeed him. Before he had finished the preparations for the campaigns, Darius died; whereupon Xerxes ascended to his father's throne.

⁵ Kent, JNES 2.109-10; cf. R. A. Parker, *AJSIL* 53.373-7.

⁶ Parker, *l.c.*

PART III. LEXICON

This Lexicon includes a concordance to the words in the inscriptions, as well as materials for etymological comparison.

The alphabetic order is *ā ī ū k x g c j t θ ç d n p f b m y r l v s š z h*, while final *y* and *v* are disregarded (thus *naiy* has the alphabetic place of *nai*, and precedes *naiba-*). Raised letters inserted to show sounds omitted in the OP system of writing also have no effect on the alphabetic order.

References to Part I (the Grammar) are marked by §; they include all mentions of the word or form which add to the information given in the Lexicon, but are not in all instances complete listings. The Chapter on Syntax is only sparingly referred to in this Lexicon, since the citations in that Chapter are mostly for passages rather than for words; there is an Index of Passages at the end of the Chapter.

ā adv. as prefix and prep. 'to': Av. Skt. *ā*, prep. with acc. and abl., 'to, as far as' (also with other uses and meanings); pIE **ā* if = Lt. *ā* 'from' (Sturtevant, Lg. 15.145-54), or **ō* if = Gk. *ὠ*- in *ὠ-κεανός* ('lying round about), ocean'.

(1) Prefix with verbs *ay-*, *xšnav-*, *gam-*, *grab-*, *jan-*, *bar-*, *mā-*, *yam-*; in verbal nouns *āyadana-*, *āvahana-*, and in the second parts of compounds *Āθiyābaušna-*, *Ariyāramna-*, *Bagābigna-*, also in *Ākaufaciya-*.

(2) Postposition attached to loc. sg. and pl. (§270.IV) and in conj. *yadā*.

(3) Prep. with abl.: *yātū ā* 'as far as', DPh 6, 7; DH 5, 6.

(4) Prep. with adv.: DSe 48.

¹ *a-* neg. prefix before consonants (§67, §67.I, §132.I; *an-* antevocalic, q.v.): Av. Skt. *a-*, Gk. *a-*, Lt. *in-*, Gmc. *un-*, pIE **ṇ-*. See *akarta-*, *azšaina-*, *azšata-*, *Anāmaka-*, *ayaumani-*.

² *a-* demonstr. 'this': Av. *a-* as in GAv. gsm. *ahē*, Skt. *a-* as in gsm. *asyā*, Gk. lsn. *el* 'if', Lt. nsn. **ed* in *ecce* 'lo'; pIE **e-*. See also *aciya-*, *ada-*. Decl., §199.

anā ism. DPe 8 (not to Av. Skt. *ana-*, cf. Mt. MSLP 19.49-52); XPa 14 (with Wb. KIA 109, Mt. Gr. §326; translated by Akk. *a-ga-*, Elam. *hi* 'this', which refutes interpretation of Bv. Gr. §368,

§388, as prep. w. inst. 'throughout', Av. *ana* with acc. 'along, on', Gk. *áva* 'along'). *ahyāyā* lsf. DB 4.47; DNa 11; DSd 2°; DSe 10; DSf 7, 15; DSg lf; DSi lf, 4; DSj 1°; DSm 5°; DSS lf, 3°; DSY 2; DZb 3; DZc 5f; DE 17; XPa 8f; XPe 7; XPf 12, 24; XPh 9f; XPj; XV 13; A¹Pa 13; D²Sb lf; A²Sa 1; A²Sc 4; A²Sdb 1 (*ahyā* de, §52.VI); A²Ha lf; A²He 9, 16f; A³Pa 11; Wb 6; Wc 7f; Wd 7. *ahiyāyā* (§27) XPb 17; XPd 12; XPjv; XE 17.

aita- demonstr. 'this' (§260.III, §266): Av. *aēta-*, Skt. *etā*, PAr. **aita-*. *aita* nsn. (§202) DB 1.44, 45; DNa 48. *aita-maiy* DNb 31. *aita* asn. DPd 20; DNa 53; XPh 43, 59; XSe 4°. *aita-maiy* DPd 22f; DNa 54f; XPh 60. *aitā* apf. XPh 30, 35.

Ainaira- sb. 'Ainaira', a Babylonian, father of Nidintu-Bel: Elam. *ha-a-na-ra*, Akk. *a-ni-ri-*. *Ainal[ira]hyā* gsm. DB 1.77f.

aiva- adj. 'one' (§150; §204.I): Av. *aēva-* 'one', Gk. Hom. oios, Cypr. *οἷος* 'alone', pIE **oiyos*. *aiwam* asm. DNa 6, 7; DSe 6°, 6f; DSf 4, 5; DE 8f, 10; XPa 4, 5; XPb 8f, 10; XPe 4, 5; XPd 6, 7; XPf 6, 7; XPh 5, 6; XE 9, 10; XV 7, 8; A¹Pa 6f°, 8°; A²He 5f, 6; A³Pa 6, 7.

aiš- vb. 'hasten', caus. *aišaya-* 'send': Av. *aēš-*, caus. *aēšaya-*, Skt. *iṣ-*, caus. *ṣayati* (§117).

fra + *aiš-* caus. 'send forth': Av. *fraēš-*, Skt. *preṣ-*. *frāišayam* 1st sg. imf. (§24, §72, §131, §215) DB 1.82; 2.19, 30, 50, 72f, 82; 3.2, 13, 30, 84; 5.7. *frāišaya* imf. DB 3.55, 60, 71.

Autiyāra- sb. 'Autiyara', a district in Armenia: Elam. *ha-u-ti-ia-ru-iš*, Akk. *ú-ti-ia-a-ri*. *Autiyāra* nsm. DB 2.58f.

Aura- (i.e. *Ahura-*) sb. 'Lord, God': Av. *ahura-*, Skt. *āsura-* 'demon', pIE **esuro-* (§148.I). *Aurahya Mazdāha* gsm. (§36.IVb, §44) XPe 10. *Aurā* ism. DPe 24 (otherwise Bv. BSLP 30.1.70-3, Gr. §179, §389; 'downward', ism. of *aura-*, zero-grade of *awara-*, comparative of *awa-*, cf. LAv. *aora* 'down'). Elsewhere always in epd. *Auramazdāh-*.

Auramazdā- sb. 'Wise Lord, Ahuramazda', supreme deity of the Zoroastrian religion: Av. nsm. *ahurō mazdā*, Phl. *ōhrmazd*, NPers. *hormizd*, Elam. *u-ra-mas-da*. Akk. *ú-ra-ma-az-da ú-ri-mi-*

iz-da- 'a-hu-ru-ma-az-da-' etc., Gk. Ὠρομάσδης; in Av., always two words, usually separated in the Gathas and often in reverse order (Kent, Or. Stud. Hon. Pavry 200-8), but in OP always one word except XPc 10 (§44; for *Aurā* alone, see under *Aura*). Cpd. of **ahura-* (see *Aura*) + **ma(n)dadhā-* with *s*-suffix (another view by Pisani, cf. §185.n3); this is cpd. of pIE **menth-* (or is the full grade pIE **math-*?) seen in Gk. ἐμαθον 'I learned', + pIE **dhē-* 'put', see §2dā- (Pisani, Riv. Stud. Or. 81-2, takes prior element as **m̥ns-*, zero-grade to pAr. *manas-*, after Wackernagel-Debrunner, Altind. Gram. 3.282-3): for formation, cf. Skt. śrad-dhā- 'trust', Lt. *crēdīt*. §70, §156.I, §160.II; decl., §185.IV.

Auramazdā nsm. AmH 7, 10; AsH 5f, 12; DB 1.12, 60; 4.35, 55, 62, 74, 76, 79f; 5.15f; DPd 1, 7, 13, 15f, 23; DPh 8, 9f; DNa 1, 31, 51f, 55; DNb 1, 46, 49; DSe 1; DSf 1, 8, 14, 57; DSP 1; DSe 1°, 6f; DSt 1°, 7f; DZc 1; DE 1; DH 6f, 8; XPa 1, 18, 20; XPb 1, 27f; XPe 1, 12, 15; XPd 1, 17f; XPf 1, 45, 48; XPg 12; XPh 1, 32, 49f, 52, 57, 60; XSe 4r°; XE 1; XV 1, 25; A¹Pa 1°, 22°; A²Sc 7; A²He 1, 18, 19; A¹Pa 1, 24. *Auramazdā-maiy* DB 1.24f, 25, 55, 87, 94; 2.24, 34, 39f, 45, 54, 60, 68, 86, 96; 3.6, 16f, 37, 44f, 61f, 66f, 87; 4.60; DNa 50 -dā-iy, with omission of *m̥* (§52.VI); DSf 19; XPh 45. *Auramazdā-taiy* DB 4.78. *Auramazdā-tay* (§52.II) DB 4.58. *Auramazdā-[-šām]* DB 5.31f.

Auramazdām asm. DB 1.54f (*Auramazām*, §52.VI); 5.16, 18f, 32, 34; DPd 21f; DNa 54; DSf 15f, 18; XPF 21f, 29; XPh 40, 50, 53, 59; XSc 4.

Auramazdāha gsm. AmH 7f; AsH 10; DB 1.11f, 14, 18f, 22f, 26, 60, 68, 70, 88, 94f; 2.3, 25, 35, 40, 45f, 54f, 60, 68, 86f, 97; 3.6f, 17, 38, 45, 62, 67, 87f; 4.4, 6, 41, 44, 46, 52, 60, 88f; 5.16f, 32f; DSf 12, 21°; DSfv 55r°; DSI 2f; XPb 26f; XPd 16; XPg 3, 8; XSa 1; XV 19. *Auramazdāhā* DPd 4, 9; DPe 6f; DNa 16, 35, 49, 56f; DNb 6, 47f; DSe 15, 35, 42; XPa 12, 16f; A²Hc 16. *Auramazdahā* (§52.III; §131; §185.IV) XPF 34, 43; XPh 14, 33, 37, 44; A¹Pa 18f.

AM nsm. (§42) DSe 50°; DSI 3°; DSj 4, 6°; DSk 4; DSn 2°; D²Sa 3; A²Sa 4° (as gen., §313.II), 4; A²Sd 3; A²Ha 5° (as gen.), 6. *AMmai* DSk 5; DSm 3°. *AMm* asm. DSk 4. *AMha* gsm. DSA 4; ligature (§42) DSk 4. *AMhā* DSj 3°, 5; A²Sd 3. *AMha* or *AMhā* Dsd 3°; DSI 4°; DSm 5°; DSo 3°; D²Sb 4°.

Ākaufaciya- adj. sb. 'man of Akaufaka'; pl. a province of the Persian Empire: Akk. *a-ku-pi-i-iš*. Deriv. of **Ākaufaka-* 'Kohistan', prefix *ā* + *kaufa-* 'mountain' + adj. suffix (§113, §144.III; cf. Hz. AMI 8.72; Kent, Lg. 13.298-9). *Ākaufaciya* npm. XPh 27.

akarta- adj. 'not made, not built, unrepaired'; neg. *a-* + ptc. of *kar-* 'make'. [*akartā*] nsf. DSe 47 (conj. of Kent, JAOS 54.43).

azšaina- adj., with *kāsaka-*, 'turquoise' (so Bleichsteiner, WZKM 37.103-4, and König, Burgbau 63-4, but considered dubious by Hinz, ZDMG 95.235-6; hardly 'gray amber', with Hz. AMI 3.65-7, Apl 232; not 'hematite', with Scheil 21.29-30): Av. *azšaina-* 'dark-colored', borrowed in Gk. Πόντος Ἰάεωσ 'Black Sea' ('in-hospitable', by Gk. popular etymology, and euphemistically changed to Ἰέζεωσ), from neg. *a-* + *zšaina-*, cf. Av. *zšāēta-* 'shining' (§102, §147.I). *azšaina* nsm. DSf 39.

azšata- adj. 'unhurt, undisturbed': neg. *a-* + ptc. of *zšan-* (§102, §242.I), Skt. *kṣanōti* 'injures', Gk. *κτείνει* 'kills' (otherwise Foy KZ 35.49, Hz. Apl 70-1). *azšatā* nsf. DPe 23.

aguru- sb. 'baked brick' (§153.I). [*agurum*] asm. DSf 53, supplied by König, Burgbau 52, after *a-gur-ru* of the Akk. text, cf. NPers. *āgūr* in the same meaning. *a[g]ura[vā]* lsm. DB 4.89 (restored by Kent, JAOS 62.267, after König, Klotho 4.45); but read *ariyā āha* with Cameron.

agriya- adj. 'topmost, excellent, loyal': Av. *ayrya-* 'first in quality, etc.', Skt. *agriyā* *agryā* 'foremost, principal, etc.', deriv. (§144.IV) to Av. *ayra* 'der erste, oberste; (nt.) Anfang, Spitze', Skt. *āgra-* 'foremost, prominent, best; (nt.) tip, summit, best part' (§148.I). *agriya* nsm. DB 1.21, as read by Cameron, replacing KT's *agrya* ++ (and the restorations thereof: *āgar[tā]* Wb. ZDMG 61.725, Tm. Vdt. Stud. 1.9, cf. Bthl. WZKM 22.72; *āgra**[*θa*] Jn. Indian Stud. Lanman 255-7; *āgr[mata]* König, RuID 65; *āgr[mā]* Hz. Apl. 59-62).

aciy adv. 'then, at that time' (§291.IV): Av. *atēit* 'and indeed', Lt. *ecquid* (interrog.) 'anything', pIE **ed-q'id*, see 'a-' 'this' and particle *-ciy* (§105, §130; Bv. BSLP 33.2.152-3; Hz. AMI 4.125-6, 8.41, Apl 55-6; Wb. ZfA 41.319). XPF 21.

Atamaita- sb. 'Atamaita', an Elamite rebel: Elam. *Atameta* (§54.I, §76.V; Hüsing ap. Prašek,

GMP 2.73.n3; König, RuID 78; not *Umamaita* after the *Ummaima* of Oppert, Médes 158, based on Rawlinson's *+im^aim^a*, later altered by KT's *+m^am^ait^a*. [*A*]tamaita nsm. DB 5.5.

ātar-sb. 'fire': Av. *ātar*-*ātr*-, NPers. *āṣar*; in *Āciyādiya*- and perhaps in *Ācina*- (§152.I).

atar (i.e. *a^ular*), prep. with acc., 'within, among': Av. *antaro*, Skt. *antar*, Lt. *inter*, pIE **enter* (§31). DB 1.21; 2.78; 4.32, 92; XPh 30, 35.

ati-, prefix, 'beyond, across': Av. *aiti*, Skt. *āti*, Gk. *ἔτι* 'yet, longer', Lt. *et* 'and', pIE **eti*; with *ay*-, *yam*-. Cf. also *abiy*.

abaga- (i.e. *aba^aga*-) sb. 'stone': Av. *asnga*-, NPers. *sāng*, cf. OP *asan*-, *asman*- (§87, §151, §155.I); see also *abagaina*-. *abagam* asm. DSf 24, 48.

abagaina- (i.e. *aba^againa*-) adj. 'of stone': deriv. of *abaga*- (§147.III), perhaps with vridhhi (§126; *abagaina*-?). *abagaina* nsm. DPc. *abagainam* asm. D²Sa 1; A²Hb. *abagainām* asf. A³Se 6; *abaganām* asf. (§52.VI) for nsf. (§56.V) A³Pa 22. *abagainiya* npf. (§152.II, §179.III, §190.I; JAOS 53.20; wrongly König, Burgbau 68; not *abagainiyy* nsf. to sg. collective *stūnā*, as taken by Ilz. AMI 3.68) DSf 45.

āhahavaja, word of unknown meaning, DB 4.90 (reading of KT?); hardly, with Morgenstierne, Acta Or. 1.252, *āha^aha-vaja* 'word, speech of proclamation', cf. Skt. *āśāśā* 'hope, expectation', + *vacas* 'word'. Perhaps *āhaha*- (§143.I; with Morgenstierne) + root-noun *vaj*- (§142) 'proclamation-strengthenener, seal', gsm. (JAOS 62.268; not abl. as instr., with König, Klotho 4.44-5).

abiy prep. with acc. 'to': DB 1.91. Apparently doublet to *atiy* (Bv. Gr. §102), possibly by contamination of **a^ui* antevocalic and *ati* anteconsonantal, in sandhi (§80; Mt. Gr. §103).

Āthiyābaušna-sb. 'Athiyabaushna', father of Arsaces (§163.III): epd. of (Av.) *āthi*- 'destruction, misfortune' + pass. ptc. of *ā-baug*- 'to free' (§243) with late *-šn*- from *-xšn*- (Bv. BSLP 29.2.104, cf. Av. *pouru-baoxšna*- 'bringing abundant rescue', Bthl. AiW 901): 'Freed from misfortune' (§160.IId; not active 'bringing freedom from misfortune', as taken by Bthl. AiW 322-3; otherwise Hz. ApI 191-2: *hathiya*- 'truth', with late loss of *h*-, + deriv. of *ā-baud*- 'be fragrant', cf. Av. *baōvi*- 'fra-

grance', therefore 'having the fragrance of the truth'). *Āthiyābaušnahyā* gsm. Sa 4-7.

Aθurā sb. 'Assyria (and Syria)', a province of the Persian Empire (§6, §166.III): Elam. *aš-šū-ra*, Akk. *āš-šur*, Gk. *Ἀσσυρία*, but Aram. *aθur*. *Aθurā* nsf. DB 1.14f; 2.7; DPe 11; DNa 26f; DSe 26°; DSm 7°; XPh 22. *Aθurāyā* lsf. (§136) DB 2.53f.

Aθuriya-adj. 'Assyrian': deriv. to preceding (§144.III), perhaps with vridhhi in first syllable (§126; *Aθuriya*-?). *Aθuriya* nsm. DN xvii; DSf 32; A²P 17.

Ācina-sb. 'Ācina', an Elamite rebel: Elam. *ha-iš-ši-na*, Akk. *a-ši-na*. Either borrowed from Elam. (Foy, KZ 37.498); or shortened from an IE name beginning with OP *āq*- = Av. *ātar*-*ātr*- 'fire' (§147.II, §152.I), cf. *ātrō-dāta*- 'Fire-given or Fire-created' and other names (Vd. 18.52; Justi, INB 50; Bthl. AiW 324). *Ācina* nsm. DB. 1.74, 82; 4.10; DBe 1f. *Ācinam* asm. DB 1.76.

Āciyādiya-adj. 'Āciyādiya', the ninth month, Nov.-Dec.: Elam. *haššiyatiyaš*, Akk. *kislimu*. Cp'd. of *ātar*- 'fire' + deriv. of *yad*- 'worship' (§126; §152.I): 'Fire-Worship Month'. *Āciyādiyahyā* gsm. DB 1.89; 3.18.

āla-adv. 'then': GAv. *ālā*, LAv. *aša*, Skt. *ālha* 'therefore' cf. Gk. *πρό-θε* (and *-θεω*) 'in front of': pIE **e-dhe*, to root in **a*- (§76.III; §191.II); see also *adukaiy*. *ada-taiy* DNa 43, 45.

adukaiy adv. 'then': (OP *ada*- + *-kaiy*, Gk. adv. *ποι* 'somewhere', pIE **q^uoi*, lsn. to int.-indef. stem (§135). DB 2.11, 21; 4.81, 82; DNb 38.

adam pron. 'I': Av. *azəm*, Skt. *ahám*, pIE **eǵhom* (§109), cf. pIE **eǵō* in Gk. *ἐγώ*, Lt. *ego* (§193.I). *adam* nsm. AmH 5, 8; AsH 14; CMA 1; DB 1.1, 10, 12, 39, 52, 54 bis, 56, 59, 60, 62, 63, 64, 66, 67, 68 bis, 70, 72, 73, 75, 78, 82, 83, 86, 89, 91, 95; 2.3, 5, 6, 10°, 11, 15°, 19, 28, 30, 48, 50, 63, 64, 69, 72, 80, 81, 88; 3.1, 13, 25, 29, 50, 77, 80, 84; 4.3, 8, 11°, 14, 16, 19, 21, 24, 27, 29, 32, 40, 45, 59, 61, 71, 81, 89; 5.2, 6f, 13, 21°, 23°, 25°; DBa 1, 16; DBb 4, 6; DBc 5f; DBd 3, 6; DBe 5, 8; DBf 3f; DBg 5; DBh 4f, 8; DBi 4, 9; DBj 4; DPd 20; DPe 1, 7; DPh 4; DNa 8, 17, 34, 37, 53f; DSA 1, 4; DSb 1; DSc; Dsd 1°; DSe 7f, 16°, 34, 41°; DSf 5, 18°, 21°; DSG 1, 3°; DSi 1; DSj 1°, 2°; DSk 1, 4; DSm 1°, 6°; DSY 1; DZc 4, 7, 8, 11;

DE 11; DH 3f; XPa 6, 13, 14; XPb 11; XPc 6; XPd 8, 17; XPf 8, 34f, 36, 39, 41; XPg 9; XPh 6f, 15, 29, 34, 37, 40, 42f, 43, 59; XPj bis; XSc 1°, 3°, 4°; XE 12; XV 9, 23; A¹Pa 9°, 21°; D²Sb 1°, 4°; A²Sa 4; A²Sb; A²Sd 1, 3; A²Ha 5°; A²He 9, 16; A³Pa 11f; Wa 2; Wb 1; We 2; Wd 2; SDa; SDb; SXb 1; SXc 1. *adam-šaiy* DB 2.73f. *adam-šim* (§39) DB 1.62, 83; 4.6; DNa 35f. *adam-šām* DB 1.14; DNa 18; DSe 17 *adam-šām*]; XPh 16.

mām asm. (Av. *mām*, Skt. *mām*, pIE **mē* + acc. -m; §193.II) AšH 7, 11; DB 1.52 (*māhya-mām*, §133), 82f, 93°; 2.18, 28, 48, 63, 67, 73, 88; 3.30; 4.35, 91; 5.13, 17, 26, 28°, 29°, 33; DPh 9; DNa 33, 37, 51; DNb 11, 22, 26, 46, 49; DSe 50°; DSf 9, 10, 14f, 17 bis, 57; DSI 3°; DSj 4, 6°; DSm 4°; DSs 6; DSt 7°; DZe 12; DH 7f; XPa 18; XPb 27; XPc 12; XPd 17; XPf 31, 45; XPg 12; XPh 57; XSc 4°; XV 25; A¹Pa 22°; A²Sa 5°; A²Sd 4; A²Ha 6; A²Hb°; A²He 19; A³Pa 5, 23, 24; 22f, 26 (§56.V; for *manā* ?).

-mā asm. encl. (Av. *mā*, Skt. *mā*, pIE **mē*, §193.II; cf. encl. **me* in Gk. *με*): *nai-mā* DNb 8 (*na[imā]*), 10, 19; *nai-pati-mā* DNb 20.

manā gsm. (Av. *mana*, Skt. *māma*, pAr. **mana*, cf. Lith. *māno*; §193.III) AmH 6, 10; AšII 9; DB 1.4, 9, 12, 13, 18, 19 bis, 23, 27, 60; 2.19f, 21, 25, 27, 29f, 31, 35, 40, 46, 49, 51, 55, 60f, 82, 84, 87, 91f, 93; 3.9f, 10, 13, 15, 17, 20, 20f, 31, 32, 38, 45, 53, 56, 62, 67, 75f, 76, 84, 86; 4.2, 12, 35, 42, 49, 52, 53f, 66, 82f; 5.8, 14°, 30; DBa 5, 14f; DPd 7, 13; DPe 9; DNa 19, 21, 33; DNb 56°; DSe 18°, 20°, 38; DSf 12, 13, 58; DSj 5°; DSk 4; DSs 6°; XPa 19; XPb 23; XPc 11; XPf 16, 23, 31, 46; XPg 7; XPh 17, 19; XSa 2; XV 18; A¹Pa 20°; D²Sb 4°; A²He 18. *mana-cā* (§135) DPd 9f.

-maiyy gsm. (gen.-dat. GAv. *mōi*, LAv. *mē*, Skt. *me*, Gk. dat. *μοι*, pIE **moi*) enclitic to *aita* (nsn., asn.); *Auramazdā*, *AM*; *ava* (nsn.); *avākaram*, *avākaramca*; *uōrām*; *utā*, *utā*; *tya* (nsn., asn.); *dahyāns*; *duwarayā*; *nai*; *pati*; *pasōwa*; *yabā*; *haw*, *haw*:- AšH 12; DB 1.25 bis, 55, 87, 94; 2.24, 34, 40, 45, 54, 60, 68, 75, 79, 86, 90, 96; 3.6, 11, 17, 37, 44f, 61f, 66f, 87; 4.39, 46, 60, 64; DPd 23°; DPh 8, 10; DNa 50 (*mā* omitted, §52.VI), 52f, 54f; DNb 13, 28, 28f, 31, 32f, 33, 48, 51, 52; DSe 51°, 52°; DSf 10, 19°, 20°, 58; DSj 4°, 6°; DSk 5; DSI 4f; DSm 3°; DSs 7°; DSt 9°; DH 6, 8; XPa 15, 18f, 19f; XPb 24, 29, 30; XPc 13 bis; XPd 18f, 19; XPf 32, 38, 41, 45f, 47; XPg 11; XPh 32, 45, 58,

60; XSc 5° bis; XV 26f°, 27°; A¹Pa 23°, 24°; A²Sdb 4 (-*may* de, §52.VI); A²He 20 bis.

-ma gsm. for *-maiyy* (§193.III); *apan^ayāka-ma* A²Sa 3; [*n^ayā*]/*kama* for *n^ayākam-ma* (§130) A²Sa 4. Not *kamna-ma* DB 2.19, as taken by Tolman.

-ma absm. encl. (Av. *maš*, Skt. *maš*, pIE **med*, §193.IV; orthotone pIE **mēd* in oLt. *mēd*, eLt. *mē*); only in *hacā-ma* DB 1.19, 23; 2.6, 12°, 16, 93; 3.27, 78, 81; 4.92; DPe 9; DNa 20; DSe 19°; XPh 18. Not *duwītya-ma* DB 3.24 (with Bthl.); not *apara-ma* DB 4.37, 68, 87 (with Bthl.), nor DSt 10°.

vayam npm. (Av. *vaēm*, Skt. *vayām*, pIE **uci* + pAr. -am, cf. Gt. *wei-s*; §193.V) DB 1.7, 10°; DBa 10, 17.

amāram gpm. (Av. *ahmākam*, Skt. *asmākam*; §118.II, §193.VI) DB 1.8, 28, 45, 49, 61, 69, 71; DBa 12f.

Adukanaiša-adj. 'Adukanaiša', first month, March–April: Elam. *ḥa-du-kan-na-iš*, Akk. *nīsannu*:-*naiša*- on the evidence of the Elam., acc. to MB Gr. §96, rather than *-niša*- (§117). Cpdl. of *adu* '?' + *kan* 'dig', possibly with *vriddhi* (§126; *Ādu* -?): 'Irrigation-Canal-Cleaning Month', referring to the cleaning of the underground conduits for irrigation water, regularly done in the spring (cf. Bthl. AiW 61). *Aduka[nai]šahya* gsm. DB 2.69.

an- neg. prefix before vowels, cf. 'a- before consonants: Av. Skt. *an*-, Gk. *an*-, Lt. *in*-, Gt. *un*-, pIE **un*- (§67.I); in *Anāhatā*-.

anā ism. to *ʾa*- (q.v.); DPe 8 (not to Av. Skt. *ana*-); XPa 14 (not prep.).

Anāmaka-adj. 'Anamaka', tenth month, Dec.–Jan.: Elam. *ḥanāmakaš*, Akk. *ṭebētu*. Cpdl. of neg. *a*- + *nāma*- 'name' (see *nāman*-) + adj. suffix *-ka*- (§136.II), possibly with *vriddhi* (§126; *Anāmaka*-?): 'Month of the Nameless (= Highest) God'. *Anāmakahya* gsm. DB 1.96; 2.26, 56; 3.63.

Anāhitā- sb. 'Anahita, Anaitis', a goddess: Elam. *a-na-ḥi-ud-da*, Akk. *a-na-ah-i-tu*-, Gk. 'Avaītris; Av. *anāhitā*-. Cpdl. of neg. *an*- + ptc. pass. *āhita*- 'spotted, defiled', of uncertain connections (§67.I, §118.V, §212.1): 'The Spotless'. The OP writings, being late, fail to show length of *ā* in either position. *Anahita* (§27, §52.III) vsf. A²Sd 3f; *Anaheta* A²Sa 4 (as gen., §313.II), 4f; A²Ha 5° (as gen.), 6.

aniya-adj. 'the one or the other (of two), other (of any number), rest of' (JNES 3.233-4; not 'enemy', cf. Kent, JAOS 35.345.n6 and Bv. TPS 1945.56-9): Av. *aīnya*-, Skt. *anyā*-, pIE **anyō*-, cf. **aljo*- in Gk. ἄλλος, Lt. *alius*, and **antero*- in Gt. *anpara*-, Gm. *ander*, NEng. *other* (§39, §144.II, §204.II; decl., §203). *aniya* nsm. DB 1.95; 3.32; DSe 33^o, 35. *aniyam* asm. DB 1.86; 5.25, 28; DSe 33, 35f. *aniyahyā* gsm. DB 1.87. *aniyanā* absm. DPd 11; DPe 20f. *aniyai-ciy* npm. XPf 29. *aniyāha* npm. (§10, §172) DB 4.61, 62f. *aniyā* nsf. Dsf 25, 26 (not with Bv. Gr. §334, inst. as adv. 'on one side . . . on the other'). *aniyām* asf. DSe 48f. *aniyā* npf. DB 1.41. *aniyā* apf. DB 1.47, 67. *aniyāwā* lpf. (§72) DB 1.35. *aniya* asn. XPf 39f. *aniyaš-ciy* nsn. (§9.VI, §105) DB 4.46; XPa 13; XPh 41f (written *aniyašc*, §52.I).

an[iya]θā adv. 'in other ways' (§191.II); Cameron's interpretation for his reading *an** + *v**ma, DB 4.89.

anw (i.e. *anu*) prep. 'along, according to': Av. *anu* with acc., loc., 'toward, along', Skt. *anu* with acc. 'after, along'; see also *anušiya*-. (1) With inst., DB 1.92; DNb 25 (cf. Lg. 15.176). (2) With gen., DNb 16, 18 (§137, §267.IV; *anu-dim* + gen.).

anušiya-adj. as sb. 'follower, ally': from *anu*- (see *anw*) + adj. suffix *-tja*- (§80, §144.VI). *anušiya* nsm. DB 2.95. *anušiya* npm. DB 1.58; 2.77; 3.49, 51, 74, 90, 91f; 4.82.

apa- prefix (§206b) 'away': Av. Skt. *apa*, Gk. ἀπό, Lt. *ab*, Gt. *af*, Gm. *ab*, NEng. *of, off*, pIE **apo*. Used with vb. *gaurd*- and in sbb. *apadāna*-, *apaniyāka*-, with suffix in *apatarā*-, *apara*-.

apatarām adv. 'farther off, far off': nsn. of *apatarā*-, which is *apa*- + comp. *-tara*- (§32, §190.III), cf. Gk. adv. ἀπωτέρω. DNb 18; DSe 16f; XPb 25; XPh 16.

apadāna-sb. 'palace': from *apa*- + *dāna*- (§147.I) to root **dā*-, cf. Skt. *apadhā*- 'concealment', Gk. ἀποθήκη 'storehouse'. For development in later Iranian, with *āpa*- by secondary lengthening (but not OP *appa*-, cf. §130), see Henning, Trans. Philol. Soc. 1944.110n. *apadānam* asm. D²Sa1; A²Hb. *apadāna* (§52.V) A²Sa 3, 4; A²Hb 5.

apaniyāka-sb. 'great-great-grandfather': from *apa*- + *niyāka*- 'grandfather', cf. Lt. *ab-avos*

'great-great-grandfather'. *apaniyāka-ma* (§22, §52.I) nsm. A²Sa 3.

apara-adj. 'later, after': Av. Skt. *apara*-, from *apa*- + comp. *-ra*- (§32, §190.III). *apara* nsm. XPh 47. *aparam* asn. as adv. DB 4.37, 42, 48, 68, 70, 87; DSt 10^o (not *apara-ma*, nsm. with encl. abl., DB 4.37, 68, 87—and DSt 10^o—as Bthl. Aiw 77 suggests, following Akk. *ša be-la-a ar-ki-a* 'who shall rule after me').

āpi-sb. 'water': Av. *āp*-, NPers. *āb*, Skt. pl. nom. *āpas*, acc. *apās*, pIE **āp*-, with or without *ī*-extension, which seems to have become *ī* in OP (§122). *āpišim* (= *āpiš-šim*; §41, §130) nsf. DB 1.95f. *āpiyā* lsf. DB 1.95. *abiš* (Skt. *adbhīṣ*, and dat.-abl. Skt. *adbhīyās*, Av. *aiwiyō*, both from **apbh*-, §75.IV, §130, §188.V, JAOS 62.269-70; see also s.v. *abiš*) ipf. DB 1.86.

apiy adv. 'thereto, very': Av. *aipi*, Skt. *āpi*, Gk. prep. ἐντ' 'on', pIE **epi* (§44, §191.I). In OP, normally enclitic, but sometimes written separately; often with *dūrai*y 'afar' (§136): *dūrai-apiy* 'far and wide' DNb 12; *dūray-apiy* DNb 46; *dūrai*y *apiy* as two words, DSe 11, DZc 6, DE 19, XPb 9, XPb 18f, XPe 8, XPd 13, XPf 13, XPh 10f, XE 18, XV 14, A¹Pa 14^o, A²Hc 17f. Probably *vašnā[pī]*y XPh 7f (Bv. BSLP 34.1.32-4) with crasis, rather than *vašnā-[cī]*y or *vašnā-[dī]*y (Lg. 9.230); KT's *[api]-mai*y is eliminated by Cameron's reading of *utāmā*y as completely visible, DB 4.46 (cf. note ad loc.).

afwāyā, error of writing for *arwāyā* (§55.II); see *arwā*-.

*abi*y prep. and prefix 'to, against, in addition to': GAv. *aibi*. LAv. *aiwi*, Skt. *abhi*; conflux of pIE **mbhi*, oHG *umbi* 'round about', and pIE **obhi*, oCS *obī* 'beside, by'.

(1) Prep. with acc., DB 1.40, 76, 80, 82, 84; 2.12, 17, 73, 88; 3.2, 3, 14, 27, 56, 60, 71, 82; 5.12f, 21, 22^o, 23, 26, 28^o; DPd 18; DPe 24; DZc 9f, 12; XPh 10.

(2) Prefix with verb *jaw*-, and first element in *abicariš*, *abyapara*, perhaps in *Abirādūš*, but probably not the base of *abiš*.

abicariš DB 1.64f, word of uncertain form and meaning, probably asn. of *s*-stem (§185.III), to *abi*- + root *car*- 'move, go' (Av. *caraiti*, Skt. *cārati*, Lt. *colit* 'tills'; §107), giving, in association with the following *gaiḍām* 'living personal prop-

erty', a meaning 'pasture lands', cf. NPers. *cāridān* 'to pasture' (Spiegel, KT, Bthl. AiW 89). Cf. also Tm. Lex. 64-5; Gray, JAOS 33.281-3; Hüsing, KZ 48.155-6; Hz. ApI 51-4.

abiyaparam adv. 'later, afterward', from *abiy* + *aparam* (§191.IV). *ab^yapara* (§22, §52.V) A²Sa 4.

Abirādu- sb. 'Abiradu', a village in Elam: first part perhaps *abi*-. *Abirāduš* nsm. DSf 46.

abiš DB 1.86, probably not adv. 'thereby', *abi*- + adverbial -s, but ipf. of *āpi*- 'water' (q.v.): not an error for *āpiš* nsf. 'water' as proposed by König, RuID 70-1.

abiyapara see *abiyaparam*.

-am, enclitic particle extracted by wrong division from pAr. **ašum* 'I', perhaps even in pIE times, and therefore *-om from **ēg(h)om*; seen in OP *tuwam* (cf. *adam* 'I'), *iyam*, *imam*, *patišam*, cf. Skt. *tuwám iyám imám* etc.

ama- sb. 'offensive power', see *Aršāma*-.

amazamatā, DB 4.92, read by KT, and apparently corresponding to Elam. 'were pleased (at the inscription)' (cf. Wb. KIA 72n, quoting variant interpretations): possibly for *ham-azmatā*, aor. mid. of *ham*- + *kam*- 'like, love' (OP *kāma*- 'wish', Skt. vb. *kam*- 'love'), formed like Gk. *ἐσχερο* to root **segh-*, *ἐππερο* to root **pet-* (JAOS 62.269; §55.II, §103.II).

amata adv. 'thence': demonst. stem *ama*-, found (though rarely) in Skt., + adv. -*tos*, as in Skt. *tātas* 'thence', Gk. *ἐκτός* 'outside', Lt. *caelitus* 'from the sky': Buck, Lg. 3.4-5; Jn. quoted by Gray, JRAS 1927.101: cf. Kent, JAOS 51.231. Hardly, with Gray, JRAS 1927.99-100, and Hz. ApI 65-6, the same as Skt. abl. *asmāt* remade to **asmatas*, with -*tos* ending. DPh 6, 7; DH 5, 6.

amutha, see *mauth*-.

ay- vb. 'go': Av. *ay*- (pres. *aēiti*), Skt. *i*- (pres. *ēti*), Gk. *εἶμι*, Lt. *it*: conj., §208. Cf. also *yauviyā*-. *aitiy* (§69) DZc 10. *āiš* inf. (§72, §228.III) DB 1.93; 2.67; 3.35, 43.

ā + *ay*- 'come': *āya^atā* 3d pl. inf. mid. (§131, §208) DZc 11.

ali- + *ay*- 'go beyond, go along': *aliyāiš* inf. (§72, §122, §228.III) DB 3.73.

upa- + *ay*- 'go to, arrive at': [*u*]pāyam 1st sg. inf. (§122, §131, §226.II) DB 1.91f.

upari- + *ay*- 'behave, conduct one's self': *upariyā[ya]m* 1st sg. inf. (§122, §226.II) DB 4.64f.

nij- + *ay*- 'go forth': *nijāyam* 1st sg. inf. (§120, §208, §226.II) DB 2.64.

pati- + *ay*- 'come to, come into the possession of': *patiyāiša^a* 3d pl. inf. (§140.III, §208, §232.-III) DB 1.13, 18.

parā + *ay*- 'go forth, proceed': *paraidiy* 2d sg. inv. (§122, §131, §237.I) DB 2.30, 50; 3.14. *paraitā* 2d pl. inv. (§131, §208, §231, §237) DB 2.20, 83; 3.58, 85. *paraitā* npm. past ptc. (§122, §242, §242.I) DB 2.32f, 38, 43, 52, 58; 3.65.

pari- + *ay*- 'go around before, respect', with inst.: *pariyaitiy* XPh 52 (written -*ait*-, §52.I; wrongly interpreted by Hz. AMI 8.66f, ApI 219). *paridiy* 2d sg. inv. (§122, §131, §208, §237.I) XPh 49 (also wrongly interpreted by Hz. ibid.). *apariyāya^a* 3d pl. inf. (with double augment, §208) DB 1.23 (not *āpariyāya*, for **ahapa*-, to Skt. *saparyāti* 'worships', despite Bthl. Stud. 2.67, AiW 1765: not to be emended to *upariyāya*, as done by WBN xi, Wb. KIA 12); see JAOS 35.331-6, Lg. 13.303.

ayāumani- adj. 'untrained': neg. *a*- (§67.I) + *yāumani*-. *ayāu(ma)iniš* nsm. DNb 59 (§52.VI; with epenthesis of -*i*-, §127, as in Avestan).

āyadana- sb. 'sanctuary': deriv. (§147.I) of prefix *ā* + vb. *yad*- 'worship'. *āyadanā* apn. DB 1.63f.

ar- vb. 'move, go or come toward': Av. *ar*-, Skt. *ṛ*-, Lt. *oritur* 'rises'; pres. inchoative (§97), OP *rasa*-, NPers. *rāsād*, Skt. *ṛcchāti*, pIE **ṛske*- (and **re-ske*-, §32). See also *arta*-, *hamarana*-. *arasam* 1st sg. inf. (§212) DB 1.54; 2.28, 48, 63.

ava- + *ar*- 'go down to, arrive at': *avā[arasam]* 1st sg. inf. (§131) DB 5.23f; [*a*]pārasam DSf 24.

parā + *ar*- 'come to, arrive at', with acc. of place and *abiy* + acc. of person: *parārasam* 1st sg. inf. (§131) DB 2.65. *parārasa* inf. DB 2.22, 32, 52; 3.3, 34.

ni- + *ar*- 'come down, descend', with *abiy* and acc. of place: *nirasāiy* subj. (§140.I; §289) DPe 24.

Arakadri- sb. 'Arakadri', a mountain in Persia (§32): Elam. *ḥa-rak-qa-tar-ri-iš*, Akk. *a-ra-ka-ad-ri*-'; a possible etymology, Foy, KZ 35.62. *Ara-kadriš* nsm. DB 1.37.

Arabāya- sb. 'Arabia', a province of the

Persian Empire (§32, §75.V, §166.III); also 'Arab', ethnic to same: Elam. *ḥar-ba-ja*, Akk. *a-ra-bi*, Gk. Ἀραβία. (1) 'Arabia': *Arabāya* nsm. DB 1.15; DPe 11; DNa 27; DSe 26; DSm 7; XPh 25 (2) 'Arab': *Arabāya* nsm. AP 18.

arašan-sb. 'cubit' (§32, §82, §155.II): Av. nom. dual *arəθnā*, to Iran. stem *aralan-* *arān-*, cf. Skt. *aratn-*; Lg. 15.176-7 (borrowed from Iran. into General Slavic as *aršin* 'ell', Wb. AfOF 7.41, against Berneker, Slav. etym. Wrth. 31, who thinks it borrowed from Turkish); cf. also Bv. Orig. 105. *arašaniš* ipm. (§187) DSf 26 bis (not nom. sg., with Bv. Gr. §308, §318: not acc. pl.).

arika-adj. 'evil, faithless': deriv. (§146.II) of **asra-*, GAV. *angra-*, LAV. *awra-* 'hostile, enemy', to pAr. root **ans-*, seen in Av. *qsta-* 'hate, enmity'; cf. also Av. (nom.) *avrō mainyuš* 'evil spirit, Ahriman' (Bthl. AiW 189); not to Skt. *art-* 'enemy' (MB Gr. §273), nor to Skt. *alīkā* (Wackernagel, KZ 59.28-9). *arika* nsm. DB 1.22, 33; 4.63. *arikā* nfm. DB 5.15°, 31°.

Āriya-adj. 'Aryan' (perhaps *Āriya-*, §126): Av. *airya-*, Skt. *ārya-* 'noble', cf. NPers. *ērān* 'Iran, Persia', Irish *Éire* 'Ireland', to PIE root **er-*, OP *ar-* (§35.I, §144.I). See also *Ariyaciça-*, *Ariyāramna-*. *Āriya* nsm. DNa 14; DSe 13; XPh 13. *ariyā* isn. as sb. 'in Aryan (language)' DB 4.89.

Ariyaciça-adj. 'of Aryan lineage' (§161.IIa): *Ariya-* + *ciça*. *Ariyaciça* nsm. XPh 13; *Ariya ciça* (written as two words, §44) DNa 14f, DSe 13f.

Ariyāramna-sb. 'Ariaramnes', great-grandfather of Darius: Elam. *ḥar-ri-ja-ra-um-na*, Akk. *ar-ja-ra-am-na*, Gk. Ἀριαράμνης. From *ariya-* + pass. ptc. of *ā-ram-* (§131; Av. Skt. *ram-* 'to be at peace, to pacify'): 'Having the Aryans at peace' (§161.IIc). Hardly *Ariyā* pl. + *ramna-* (Foy, KZ 35.9), or *Ariya-* + *aramna-* pres. ptc. mid. to *ar-* (Hz. ApI 237). *Ariyāramna* nsm. AmH 1, 4, 9; DB 1.5; DBa 7; as gsm. AsH 3 (§313.II). *Ariyāramnahyā* gsm. DB 1.5; DBa 7.

arwā-sb. 'action' (JNES 4.44, 52; §35.II, §150; so also Bv. TPS 1945.42-3): fem. to adj. *arwa-*, Av. *arwa-* 'schnell, tapfer' (Bthl. AiW 200), doublet to Av. *arwant-* (q.v., under *arwasta-*). *arwāyā* lsf. DNb 38 (inscribed *afuwāyā*, §55.II; not *anuwāyā* with Wb. Grab 28, KIA 94;

not to be emended with Hz. ApI 293-6 to *arwāyā* 'love', cf. Av. *urwaθa-* 'amicus, befreundet', Bthl. AiW 1537; *afuwāyā* acc. nt. pl. 'measures to be taken', from **āpy-āja-*, acc. to Pisani, Riv. Stud. Or. 19.82-5, to root **āp-* 'get', cf. Av. *āfante* 'they obtain', Bthl. AiW 70 and 72, note 1 to *ap-*).

arwasta-sb. 'activity' (JNES 4.50-2, 232), 'physical prowess' (Bv. TPS 1945.40-1): *-ia-* abstract (§145) to *arwant-* 'moving', Av. *arwant-* 'schnell, tapfer, Held' (Bthl. AiW 200), Skt. *arwant-* 'running, hastening, horse', from Ar. *ar-* 'move' + suffix *-want-* (§35.II, §85, §126, §157), cf. Lt. *orior* 'arise'; cf. Akk. translation *ʿit-ba-ru-tum* 'activity', to *abāru* 'be strong' (Schaefer, OLZ 43.289-93). See also *arwā*. Not with Hz. RHRel. 113.29-31, ApI 80-6, 'Gut-sein', to Av. *urwaθa-* 'amicus', with *it-ba-ru-tum* as 'companionship' to *ibru* 'friend' (cf. JNES 4.51); no valid evidence for meaning in Arm. loanword *arwest* 'wonders', cited by Nyberg, Rel. 351, from St. John 4.48. *arwastam* nsm. DNb 31, 33; as n. DNb 4.

Arza-sb. 'Arkha', an Armenian rebel (§31, §164.V): Elam. *ḥa-rak-qa*, Akk. *a-ra-ḫu*. *Arza* nsm. DB 3.78, 91°; 4.28f; DBi 1. *Arzam* asm. DB 3.82, 89.

arjana-sb. 'ornamentation', as shown by Akk. *si-im-ma-nu-u* 'decoration' (§34, §126, §147.I): for meaning, see JAOS 51.208, 53.13, 53.19, Schaefer, Arch. Anz. 47.272-4, against Hz.'s 'limestone' (AMI 3.52-3) and 'building material' (ApI 88-93). Cf. Av. pres. *arja-* 'be worth', Skt. *ārhati*, and Ars. Phl. *aržān*, NPers. *aržān*, Av. *arjah-* 'worth, value', Skt. *argha-*. *arjanam* nsm. DSf 41f; *arjanam-šaiy* DSf 23°.

arta-sb. 'Law, Justice', an archangel attending Ahuramazda: ptc. to *ar-* as sb., Av. *aša-* and *arsta-*, Skt. *ṛtā-* 'cosmic order', Lt. *ortus* 'risen, originated', PIE **ṛto-* (§30, §66, §242.I). See also *Artaxšaça-*, *artāwan-*, *Artavardiya-*. *artā-cā* isn. (§252.I, Lg. 21.223-9) XPh 41, 50f, 53f (not with Hartmann, OLZ 40.145-60; nor with Nyberg, Rel. 367, 478; Bailey ap. Nyberg, Rel. 478; Henning, TPS 1944.108; hardly, with Sen 155, *artācā brazmaniy* apn. 'and the divine fulfillments'; nor with Pisani, Riv. Stud. Or. 19.85-8, as elliptic dual 'Arta and Brazman', the *-cā* connecting with the preceding *Auramazdām*, and Brazman being the OP for the Av. *vohū manō* 'Good Thought').

Artaxšaça-sb. 'Artaxerxes' (I, son of Xerxes; II, son of Darius II; III, son of Artaxerxes II): Elam. *ir-tak-ša-aš-ša*, Akk. *ar-tak-šat-su*, Gk. 'Ἀρταξέρξης' (§29.n2, §30). From *arta*- 'justice' + *xšaça*- 'kingdom', 'Having a kingdom of justice' (hardly, with Nyberg, Rel. 352, 'whose *xšaça*- derives from *arta*-'); imitation of *Xšayāršā*, acc. -ām, explains the long vowel of the ultima in the nom. and acc. (§78, §161.Ib; decl. §172, §187). *Artaxšaça* nsm. A¹Pa 9°, 17°; A¹I; D²Sb 3°; A²Sa 1; A²Sb; A²Sc 1°; A²Sd 1, 2; A²Ha 1; A²Hb; A²Hc 7, 15f; A³Pa 5 (as acc., §247E), 8, 12 (as gen., §313.II), 13 (as gen.), 14f (as gen.), 15f (as gen.), 21, 23f; A¹Vsb-d. *Artaxšaça* (§49; or -šda) AVsa. *Artaxšačām* asm. A¹PA 5f°; A²Sa 4; A²Hc 5; Sf 2-4. *Artaxšačāhyā* gsm. D²Sb 2°; *Artaxšačāhyā* (Tm. Lex. 54) A²Ha 2f, 3; *Artaxšačāhyā* (§53) A²Sa 2 bis; A²Hc 10f, (as nom., §313.I) 11f.

artāvan-adj. 'righteous, blessed', denoting the blissful state of the true religionists after death: identical with Av. *ašāvan*- 'characterized by Arta or Asha, righteous', Skt. *ṛtāvan*- 'true to sacred law' (cf. Hz. ApI 289-93); from **ṛta*-, OP *arta*-, with lengthened final vowel, + adj. suffix -*van*- (§30, §155.IV). *artāvā* nsm. (§124.5, §187) XPh 48, 55.

Artavardiya-sb. 'Artavardiya', one of Darius's generals: Elam. *ir-du-mar-ti-ja*, Akk. *arta-mar-zi-ja*. From *arta*- + *vard*- 'to work' + adj. suffix (§30, §31, §144.IV, §160.1a): 'Doer of Justice' (not from *vard*- 'to increase', Skt. *vardh*-, because of -z- in Akk. and in Aram. *ṛturyz*, as Bv. BSLP 31.2.66-7 shows). *Artavardiya* nsm. DB 3.30f, 33. *Artavardiyam* asm. DB 3.36, 43.

Artaxšaça (or -šda), probably miswritten for *Artaxšaça*, q.v.

ardata-sb. 'silver': Av. *ərəzata*-, Skt. *rajatā*-, cf. Gk. *ἀργυρος*, Lt. *argentum* (§30, §88, §145); Yezdi *ālī* 'silver' has Iran. *ar*-, not *r*-. (Bv. BSLP 30.1.60, Origines 12). See also *ardastāna*-. *ardatam* nsn. Dsf 40.

ardastāna-sb. 'window-frame, window cornice': *arda*- 'light' as in OP *ardata*- 'silver', Skt. *rajatā*- 'white', *ṛjṛā*- 'red', Gk. *ἀργός* 'shining' + *stāna*- 'place' (§31, §160.Ib; Foy, KZ 35.48; hardly as with Bthl. AiW 193, or Hz. ApI 74-6); 'light-place'. *ardastāna* nsm. DPc.

Ardumaniš-sb. 'Ardumanish', ally of Darius

against Gaumata: Akk. *a-ar-di-ma-ni-iš*. From *ardu*- 'upright', GAv. *ərəzu*-, Skt. *ṛjū*- + *maniš*-, see *manah*- 'mind' (§34, §63.II, §124.4, §156.IV, §161.IIa, §185.III): 'Upright-minded' (hardly *Ardumaniš*- 'dessen *manah*- glühend ist', as taken by Nyberg, Rel. 352). *Ar[dum]an[iš]* nsm. DB 4.86.

Arbairā-sb. 'Arbela', a city in Assyria: Elam. *ḫar-be-ra*, Akk. *ar-ba'-il*, Gk. *Ἀρβηλα* (§31, §107, §166, §166.III). *Arbairāyā* lsf. DB 2.90.

Armina-sb. 'Armenia', a province of the Persian Empire (§31, §106): see also under *Arminiya*-. *Armina* nsm. DB 1.15; DPc 12; DNa 27; DSe 27°; DSm 8°; XPh 20. *Arminam* asm. DB 2.30, 32, 50, 52.

Arminiya- (1) adj. 'Armenian', (2) sb. 'Armenia', a province of the Persian Empire: Elam. *ḫar-mi-nu-ja*, Akk. *u-ra-aš-tu*, Gk. *Ἀρμενία*. Adj. to *Armina*- (§144.III).

(1) *Arminiya* nsm. DB 2.29; 3.78f; 4.29; A²P 20.

(2) *Arminiya* lsm. DB 2.59, 63; *Arminiya* DB 2.33f, 39, 44, 48 (§22; Lg. 19.233n).

Aršaka-sb. 'Arsaces': Gk. *Ἀρσάκης*. Deriv. of *arša*-, see *aršan*-; §30, §146.II, §163.III, §164.III. *Aršaka* nsm. Sa 1f.

Aršādā-sb. 'Arshada', a fortress in Arachosia: Elam. *ir-ša-da* (§30). *Aršādā* nsf. DB 3.72.

aršan- and *arša*- (§155.I) sh. 'male, hero, bull': Av. *aršan*-, Skt. *ṛṣa-bhā*- 'bull', Gk. *ἄρσων* 'male'; in *Aršaka*-, *Aršāma*-, *Xšayāršan*-, perhaps in *Aršādā*-.

Aršāma-sb. 'Arsames': Elam. *ir-ša-um-ma*, Gk. *Ἀρσάμης* (§29, §29.n2, §30). From *arša*- + (OP Av. Skt.) *ama*- 'offensive power' (Benveniste-Renou, Vṛtra et Vṛtragna 11): 'Having the might of a hero' (§161.Ib). *Aršāma* nsm. AsH 1, 5; DB 1.4f; DBa 6; Dsf 13; XPf 19, 20; A²Pa 20 (as gen., §313.II). *Aršāmahyā* gsm. DB 1.3, 5; DBa 4, 6.

arštā-sb. 'rectitude' (§30; §93): haplogenic for **arštā-tā*- (§129), abstract to *arštā*- 'upright' (§145), pIE **ṛg̊-ta*-, with zero-grade to root **reḡ*- (§122; Mt. Gr. §123, §125), cf. Av. *arštāt*- 'goddess of rectitude', OP *ardu*- in *Ardumaniš*-, *rāsta*-, or merely fem. **ṛg̊-tā*- as abstract (Bv. Gr. §123, §125). *arštām* asf. DB 4.64.

aršti- sb. 'spear' (§30): Av. *aršti-*, Skt. *rṣṭi-*, pIE **r̥s-ti-* (§152.III, §179.III), to root in Skt. *ṛṣāti rṣāti* 'rush, push'. See also *ārštika-*, *aršti-bara-*. *aršt[i]š* nsf. DN 44.

ārštika- sb. 'spearman': from *aršti-* 'spear' with vridddhi (as in *wārštika-*, §126), + suffix *-ka-* (§146.II). *ārštika* nsm. DNb 44.

arštibara- sb. 'spear-bearer': *aršti-* 'spear' + *bara-* 'bearer' (§122, §143.V, §160.Ia). *arštibara* nsm. DNc 2 (written *arštibara*, §51; the original draft seems to have had *arštibara*; on proofreading, the *š* which was to have replaced the *s* was wrongly substituted for the *a*, and this falsely corrected orthography was inscribed on the rock).

'ava- demonstr. adj. and pron. 'that' (§260.III, §264): Av. *ava-*, Skt. gen. du. *avós*, oCS *ovū*; see also *avā*, *avāthā*, *avādā*, *avaparā*, *avahyarādiy*, *pasāva*. Decl., §200.

avam asm. DB 1.21, 22, 31, 40, 49, 57, 76, 80, 84, 88; 2.4, 4f, 12, 17, 20, 25, 30, 31, 35, 40f, 46, 50, 51, 55, 61, 84, 87, 94, 97; 3.4, 7, 12, 14, 14f, 17, 27, 38, 45f, 47f, 50, 56f, 58, 62, 67, 82, 85, 89; 4.38, 66 bis; 5.6°, 27; DN 2; DSe 2; DSf 2°; DSt 2°; DZc 1; DE 3; XPa 2; XPb 3; XPc 2; XPd 2; XPf 2, 23; XPh 2, 37; XE 4; XV 3; A¹Pa 2f°; A²Hc 3; A³Pa 2f. *avamšām* DB 2.20, 82f; 3.31, 85; 5.8°. *avahyā* gsm. DB 1.29; 3.70; 4.48f. *avanā* absm. DSf 31. *avaiy* npm. DB 5.15, 31°; DSf 48, 50°, 51, 53, 54. *avaiy* apm. DB 2.77; 4.69. *avaišām* gpm. DB 4.51.

avām asf. DSf 27; *[a]vā[m]-e* (= *-ciy*, §52.I) DB 5.2f; *ava* as asf. (§56.V) XPh 33. *[a]vā* npf. DN 39.

ava nsm. DB 1.20, 4.47; DNb 10, 11, 20, 22; DSf 42. *ava-maiy* DSj 4; DSl 4f. *ava-diš* DN 21; DSe 20°; XPh 19. *avaš-ciy* (§9.VI, §105) DNb 55. *ava* asm. DB 1.62; DN 20, 37, 49; DSe 4; DSe 19°, 32°, 34, 44°; DSf 20°; XPa 16; XPb 25; XPf 39, 42; XPh 10; XPh 18, 42. *ava-taiy* DB 4.76, 79. *avaš-ciy* DNb 53f, 57; XPa 20; XPc 14; XPf 48. *avanā* absm. DSe 38. *avanā* isn. XPh 49, 51f.

'ava- prefix 'away, down': GAv. *avā*, LAv. *ava*, Skt. *ava*; with verbs *ar-*, *'kan-*, *gam-*, *jan-*, *ā-jan-*, *'rad-*, *stā-*, *hard-*. Cf. JAOS 62.274-5.

avā adv. 'thus', correlative to *yathā*: perhaps isn. of *'ava-*, but more probably error for *avāthā* (§52.VI), by omission of one character, as taken by MB Gr. §59; see also *avākara-*. DB 4.51.

avākanam, see *'kan-*.

avākara- adj. 'of such sort': *avā* 'thus' + *kara-* 'doer' (§160.Ia; wrongly Hz. ApI 101-3, who takes *-kara-* in *avākara-* and *ciyākara-* not from *kar-* 'do', but as *kara-* 'time', as in *hakaram*, q.v.). *avākaram* nsm. (§259) DNb 6; *avākaram-ca-maiy* (§109, §133, §135) DNb 27f.

avajam, see *vaj-*.

avāthā adv. 'thus, then': LAv. *avāthā*: *'ava-* + adv. suffix *-thā* (§191.II), cf. Skt. *tā-thā*. Often with preceding or following correlative *yathā*; see also *avāthāš-tā*.

(1) 'thus': DB 1.24, 38, 63, 67, 70, 75, 78; 2.10, 15, 80; 3.24, 80; 4.8, 11, 13, 16, 19, 21, 24, 27, 29, 36, 39, 54; DBb 4; DBc 4; DBd 2f; DBe 4f; DBf 2f; DBg 4; DBh 3f; DBi 3; DBj 3; DPe 20; DNb 18f; DSf 16; DSj 3°; DZc 11, 12; XPh 22, 30 (written *avāthā*, §52.III). *avāthā-dim* DNb 17. *avāthā-diš* DB 5.17, 33. *avāthā-šaiy* DB 2.30, 50; 3.14. *avāthā-šām* DB 2.20, 83; 3.57, 85.

(2) 'then': DB 1.42, 56, 90, 96; 2.70; 3.89. *avāthā-šām* DB 2.27, 36f, 42, 47, 56, 62, 98; 3.8, 19, 40, 47, 63f, 69.

avāthāš-tā DB 4.72, uncertain word read by KT; perhaps *avāthāša-tā*, from *avāthā* with abl. *-ša* (§191.II; as in *avadaša*) + encl. apm. *-tā* (§133), 'thenceforward them(=the sculptures)'. So Kent, JAOS 62.272-3, after Tolman's emendation *avāthā*: *tā* 'thus them'; cf. HK's *avāthā š-tā* 'thus stand (as I stand over the rebels)', and Sen's *avāthāštā* adj. apm. 'thus standing'.

avādā (i.e. *avādā*) adv. 'there, then': LAv. *avādā*; from *'ava-* + suffix seen in OP *idā* (§191.II). Usually resumptive of an immediately preceding place-phrase, which is thus made locative (so always in DB except 1.85, 88; 2.24; 3.74; 4.81; 5.24, 28). See also *avadaša*.

(1) 'there': DB 1.85, 88, 92; 2.9, 23, 24, 28, 34, 39, 44f, 54, 59, 66, 96; 3.5, 23, 34f, 44, 61, 66; 4.81; 5.24, 28; XPh 40. *avada-šim* (§135) DB 1.59; *avādā-šim* DB 3.74; *avada-šiš* DB 3.52.

(2) 'then': DN 42.

avadaša adv. 'from there, from then': *avādā-* + abl. *-ša* (§191.II; Bthl. AiW 170, with lit.; against his view, Bv. Gr. §325), always after *hacā*. (1) 'from there': DB 1.37; 3.42, 80; DSf 47. (2) 'from then': DSe 47f.

avaparā phrasal adv. 'along there': *ava* asn. + postpos. *parā* (§191.IV). DB 2.72; 3.72f.

avastā sb. 'leather' (König, Klotho 4.45-6): etymology uncertain (§145). *avast[ā]y[ā]* lsf. DB 4.89f (JAOS 62.267); hardly *avast[ā]y[a]m* as read and restored by KT, which could be only an un-augmented inf. of *ava-* + *stā-*. Probably not a reference to the Avesta, as suggested by Wb. ZDMG 61.730.

āvahana sb. 'village' (§166): deriv. (§147.I) of *ā* + *vah-* 'dwell', Av. *vah-*, Skt. *vas-*, Gm. *Wesen* 'being'. *āvahanam* DB 2.33; DSf 46.

avahar[da] DB 2.94, see *hard-*.

avahya denom. vb. (§217) 'ask for help': Av. *avahya*, Skt. *avasya-* in dsm. pres. ptc. *avasyatē* (RV 1.116.23), to Av. *awah-* 'aid', Skt. *avas-* (Jn. JAOS 27.190, MB Gr. §209, Bv. Gr. §193).

pati- + *avahya-* 'ask for help': *patiyāvahyayiy* (§140.III) 1st sg. inf. mid. DB 1.55.

avahyārādiy phrasal adv. (§191.IV) 'for this reason': *avahyā* (§135) gsn. of *'ava-*, + *rādiy* 'on account of', q.v. For phrasing, cf. Gk. *τοῦτο ἕνεκα*, *τοῖνεκα*, Lt. *huius rei causā*; JAOS 35.322-9. DB 1.6f, 51f; 4.47, 62; DBa 9f.

asa sb. 'horse' (§90, §143.III): Med. *aspa-*, Av. *aspa*, Skt. *āśva-*, Lt. *equos*, pIE **ekwos*. See also *Asagartā-*, *asabāra-*, *aspa-*. *asam* asm. (collective, §255) DB 1.87.

Asagarta sb. 'Sagartia', a northwestern province of the Persian Empire (§29.n2, §31): Elam. adj. *aš-ša-kar-ti-ia*, Akk. adj. *sa-ga-ar-ta-a-a*, Gk. *Σαγάρτια*. Probably *asan-* 'stone' (with Med. *s* < pIE *k*; §9.I, §87) + **garta-* 'cave' (Skt. *gārta-*), 'Land of Stone-Cave Dwellers' (§161.Ib, §166.I; Bthl. AiW 207, zAiW 119-20); hardly *asa-* 'horse' (with OP *s* < pIE *k*, §90) + **garta-* 'wagon' (Skt. *gārta-*), 'Land of Horse-drawn Wagons'. See also *Asagartiya-*. *Asagarta* nsm. DPe 15. *Asagartam* asm. DB 4.23. *Asagartiay* lsm. DB 2.80f; 4.22; DBg 8f.

Asagartiya adj. 'Sagartian': adj. to preceding (§144.III, §159). *Asagartiya* nsm. DB 2.79; 4.20f.

asan- sb. 'stone': pIE **aken-* (§9.V, §87, §155.I), cf. *asman-*. See also *Asagarta-*. *asā* (§124.5, §187) nsm. DSf 40f; but see also under *dāru-*.

asabāra sb. 'horseman': NPers. *šwār*, cf. also Tedesco, ZII 2.40-1; *asa-* 'horse' (§126) + *bāra-* 'carried by, rider' (§122, §143.V, §159, §160.Ic). See also *wāsabāra-*. *asabāra* nsm. DNb 41f, 44, 45. *asabārāiš* ipm. DB 2.2, 71; 3.41, 72.

aspa sb. 'horse', Median for OP *asa-* (§90), q.v.; in *Aspacanah-*, *waspa-*, *Višlāspa-*.

Aspacanah- sb. 'Aspathines', bow-bearer of Darius: Elam. *aš-ba-za-na*, Akk. *as-pa-[si-na]*, Gk. *Ἀσπαθίνης*; *aspa-* 'horse' (§9.II, §9.n2, §90) + *canah-* 'desire', Av. *čīmah-*, Skt. *cānas-*; 'Lover of Horses' (§161.Ia, §163.Ib). *Aspacanā* nsm. (156.II, §185.II) DND 1.

asman- sb. 'sky': Av. *asman-*, Skt. *āśman-*, Gk. *ἀκμων* 'anvil', Lith. *akmuō* 'stone', pIE **akmcn-/mon-* (§95, §155.III); for variant meanings, cf. Reichelt, IF 32.23-57; for Iranian ideas of its creation, cf. Bailey, Zoroastrian Problems 120-48. Not *āsmān-*, despite NPers. *āsmān*, which has length of later origin (Debrunner, IF 52.153, against Bv. Gr. §175). See also *asan-*, *adagu-*. *asmānam* asm. (§67.II, §124.6, §187) DNa 2f; DSe 2f; DSf 2; Dst 2f; DZc 1; DE 3f; XPa 2; XPb 3f; XPe 2; XPd 3; XPf 2f; XPh 2; XE 4; XV 3; APa 3^o; AHc 3. *asmānām* (§53) APa 3.

ašnaiy adv. 'near', lsn. of *ašna-* 'near' (Hz. ApI 98-9), Av. *āšna-* 'near', in loc. *āšnaē-ca*, *asne* 'near', abl. *asnāē* 'from near'; from pAr. root ending in *š* or *z* (pIE *k* or *g*: Skt. *āśnōti* 'attains' and *ājati* 'drives' hardly suit); not **ā-zd-na-*, ptc. to *ā* + **had-* 'herangehen' (Bthl. AiW 1755; but **had-*, which always has prefix *ā*, is only a semantic variation of **had-* 'sit', cf. Skt. *āśanna-* as adj. 'near' (Bthl. AiW 220). Possibly from pIE **aŋgh-* 'choke, throttle', cf. Lt. *angō*, Gk. *ἄγχω*, sb. Lt. *angor*, Av. *qzah-*, Skt. *qhas-*: **aŋgh-* + ptc. *-no-* (§96, §147.I, §191.III, §243); for semantics, cf. Gk. *ἄγχη* adv. 'near' (JAOS 62.276-7). Not 'on the march', to pAr. root **až-*, Skt. *ājati*, Lt. *agii* (Bthl. AiW 264); nor 'in friendship' on the basis of the Elam. *kanna erui git* (WB; KT); nor 'at peace', cf. Av. *āzštiš* 'peace', *āzšta-* 'peaceful' (Bv. BSLP 31.2.67-9). Elam. *kan-* recurs as the translation of *daušta* 'friend', but this meaning eliminates only 'on the march', since 'friendship', 'peace', and 'nearness' are related ideas. *ašnaiy* DB 2.11f; [ašnaiy] DB 5.23.

azdā adv. 'known': GAv. *azdā* 'thus', Phl. *azd*,

Skt. *addhā* 'surely', from pAr. **adzdhā* (§85); cf. MB Gr. §118. DB 1.32; DNā 43, 45; DNb 50.

¹ah- vb. 'be': Av. *ah-* Skt. *as-*, Gk. *ἐστί*, Lt. *est*, Gt. *ist*, pIE **es-*. See also *hašiya-*, *Ātiyā-baušna-*. Conj., §208.

amiy 1st sg., Av. *ahmi*, Skt. *āsmi*, Gk. Lesb. *ἐμῖ*, Att. *εἰμῖ*, NEng. *am* (§118.II, §226.I): AmH 9; DB 1.12, 39, 53, 75, 79; 2.10, 15, 80; 3.25, 81; 4.9, 11, 14°, 17, 19, 22, 25, 27, 30; DBb 5, 7; DBc 8f; DBd 4f, 7; DBe 6, 9; DBf 4f; DBg 7f; DBh 5f, 9; DBi 6, 10; DBj 5; DNā 35; DNb 6f, 7, 8, 12f, 13, 15, 26, 27, 34, 40, 42, 43, 44, 51; DZc 7; A²Hc 18.

astiy, Av. *asti*, NPers. *āst*, Skt. *āsti* (§116, §228.I): DB 4.46, 51; DNb 54f, 56; DSe 37; XPh 30.

a²mahy, Av. *mahi*, Skt. *smās-i*, Gk. Dor. *ἐμῆς* (§118.II, §230.I): DB 1.7f, 11; DBa 12, 18.

ha²tiy 3d pl., Av. *hanti*, Skt. *sānti*, Gk. Dor. *ἐντί*, Osc. *sent* (§39, §122, §232.I): DB 4.61, 63°.

āham 1st sg. inf., Skt. *āham*, Gk. Hom. *ἤα* (§67.II, §122, §226.II): DB 1.14; 2.6, 12; 3.77; 4.63 bis, 64. *āhām* XPh 15f (§53, §131; hardly with Hz. AMI 8.65, Apl 63-4).

āha inf. **ēset* (§228.II), but Av. *ās* from **est*: DB 1.21, 22, 29, 30, 36, 45f, 48, 62, 86, 89; 2.13, 18f, 19, 24 bis, 94, 95; 3.8, 30, 70; 4.8; 5.29; DNā 38; DSe 32°; DSf 16, 57°; DSj 3°, 4, 4°; DSl 5; DZc 12°; XPf 18, 19, 22, 30, 38; XPh 35, 42.

āha² 3d pl. inf., Skt. *āsan* (§232.II; §274.n1): DB 1.8 (§259), 10, 38, 42, 56, 90, 96; 2.27, 36, 42, 47, 56, 70, 98; 3.19, 40, 47, 63, 69, 89; 4.51; 5.15°, 31°; DBa 13, 16; DNā 39°.

āha²ta 3d pl. inf. mid. (§236.II, §274.n1) DB 1.19, 58; 2.77; 3.75, 90°, 92; 4.81; XPf 29. *āha²ta* (§36.IVc) DB 3.49, 51.

ahaniy 1st sg. subj., Skt. *āsāni* (§226.I): XPh 47, 48 (-ā- extended from rest of tense, acc. to Ogen ap. Kent, JAOS 58.325; §52.III, §131, §222.I).

āhy 2d sg. subj., Skt. *āsasi* (§131, §227.I): DB 4.37, 68, 72, 87; DSt 10°.

ahaty subj., GAv. *avhaiti*, Skt. *āsati* (§222.I): DB 4.38, 39f, 68, 68f, 74°, 78; 5.19, 35°; DPe 22.

²ah- vb. 'throw': Av. ²ah-, Skt. *as-*, pres. *āsyati*. [*ā*h][*yat*]*ā* inf. mid. as pass. (§214, §274d) DB 1.95 (restoration of Kern, ZDMG 23.239).

idā (i.e. *idā*) adv. 'here': GAv. *idā*, LAV *iāa*

Skt. *ihā*, Gk. adv. ending -*the*, pIE **i-dhe* (§76.III, §191.II), formed on pronominal root seen in OP *iyam*, Skt. *ayām iyām idām*, Lt. *is ea id*. DB 1.29; DSf 37, 38, 40, 43, 45f; DSo 4°; XPb 24.

ima- demonstr. adj. and pron. 'this': Av. *ima-*, Skt. *ima-*; stem extracted from Ar. **im-am* = acc. **i-m* + encl. -*am* (q.v.; wrongly Mt. MSLP 19.49-52). Decl., §199.

imam asm. DPa 6; DPe 21; DSd 3; DSn 1°; XPa 12; XPj; A¹I (as nsm., §56.V); D²Sa 1°; A²Sa 3, 4°, 5° (as asn., §56.V); A²Ha 5, 7 (as asn.); A²Pa 22 (as nsf., §56.V). *imāy* npm. DB 4.34, 80, 82. *imāy* apm. DB 4.31; *imāi-vā* (§136) DB 4.71, 73, 77. *imāišām* gpm. DB 4.87.

imām asf. AsH 10f, 13; DB 4.42, 48, 54, 57, 70, 73, 77, 89 (*imā* Cameron; for *imām*, §52.VI); DPd 15, 18; DPe 24; DNā 1f, 32, 53; DSe 1f; DSf 1; DSt 1; DZc 1, 8, 12; DE 2; XPa 1; XPb 2; XPe 1; XPd 1f; XPf 1f; XPh 1, 58; XE 3; XV 2, 24; A¹Pa 2°; A²Sc 4f (as asn., §56.V); 5; A²Sd 3 (as nsm., §56.V); A²Hc 2; A²Pa 2, 25f. *imā* npf. DB 1.13, 18, 23; 2.6°; 4.33; DPe 7; DNā 16; DSe 15; DSm 5°; XPh 14. *imā* apf. DB 1.21; DSg 3°.

ima nsm. DB 1.27, 72; 2.91; 3.10, 20, 53, 76; 4.1, 3, 40, 49, 59; 5.2; DPh 4; DNb 32; DSf 22; DH 3. *ima* asn. DB 1.25 bis, 26, 68; 4.44; DNb 1f; DSf 10; DSj 2°, 5°; XPe 10f; XPd 16; XSa 1; XSe 3°; XV 20; A¹Pa 19°; D²Sb 3°, 4°. *imā* apn. DB 4.32. *imaibīš* ipn. DNb 48.

Imaniš- sb. 'Imanish', name assumed by the Elamite rebel Martiya (§163.V): Elam. *um-man-nu-iš*, Akk. *im-mā-ni-c-šu*. *Imaniš* nsm. (§185.III) DB 2.10; 4.16f; DBf 4.

iyam demonstr. adj. and pron. 'this' (§11, §260.III, §265): from **i* nsf. (perhaps also from **i* suffixless nsm.) + pronominal -*am* (q.v.). Decl., §199. See also *idā*, *ima-*. *iyam* pron. nsm. DBb 1; DBc 1; DBd 1; DBe 1; DBf 1; DBg 1; DBh 1; DBi 1; DBj 1; DBk 1; DN i-iv, xv, xvi°, xvii, xxix; A²P 1-4, 8°, 9-21, 22 (written *im²y²*, §51), 23-8, 29°, 30. *iyam* adj. nsf. AmH 5, 8 (as lsf., §56.V); DPd 6; DZc 10; *iya* (§52.V) DB 4.90; *i(ya)m* DB 4.91 (written *im²*, §52.VI).

išuwā- sb. 'battle-ax' (Junge, Klio 33.22-3; Kent, JNES 4.233): etymology unknown (stem-formation §143.IV). Not 'bowcase', for *išuwā-*, to Av. *išu-* 'arrow', Skt. *iṣu-* (cf. for variant views Wb. Grab 41-3). *išuwām* asf. DNd 2.

iš- vb., see aiš-.

išti- sb. 'sun-dried brick' (§152.III, §179.III): Av. *ištya*-, NPers. *zišt*-, Skt. *iṣṭakā*-, Medieval Skt. *iṣṭikā*- (König, Burgbau 51-2; Wb. AfOf 7.41; HZ. AMI 3.57-8; W. N. Brown, Lg. 8.13). *ištiš* nsf. DSf 29.

[iśmal]w or [iśmar]w asn., of uncertain meaning, possibly '(gold) inlay' (Cameron, Persepolis Treasury Tablets 129-30), DSf 51; supplied by HZ. AMI 3.74-5, as a borrowing from Elam. *is-ma-lu* (^{is}*ma-lu* 'wood' Hinz, *Orientalia* 1950, shortly to appear), or from the lost Akk. original of both; cf. JAOS 53.21, 56.220. But read rather [dār]w with Hinz, see Lex. s.v.

Izalā- sb. 'Izala', a district in Assyria (§6, §107): Elam. *iš-ši-la*. [Izal]ā nsf. DB 2.53, as restored by Wb. ZDMG 61.726 (*Izarā* Tm. Lex. 74), after the Elam.; but Cameron found all the characters visible: *iṣṭa*.

hu- insep. prefix 'good, well' (w- before vowels): Av. *hu-*, Skt. *su-*, Gk. *ὑ-γ-ι-ς* 'having good life, healthy', pIE *su- (§140.IV): in *uxšnav-*, *ukāra-*, *ucāra-*, *Utāna-*, *ulava-*, *uḫanwaniya-*, *uḫrašta-*, *uḫrašta-*, *uḫarta-*, *umartiya-*, *uraḫa-*, *uradana-*, *Uvaxštra-*, *Uvārazmi-*, *uwarštika-*, *wāṣabāra-*, *waspa-*, *uḫmara-*, *uḫmaramanakara-*.

ukāra- adj. 'having good people or army': from *u-* 'good' + *kāra-* 'people, army'. *ukāram* asn. for asf. AsH 9 (§52.III).

uxšnav- adj. 'well satisfied' (§142): from *u-* 'good' + *xšnav-* 'satisfy' ('wohlgeneigt', HZ. Apl 199-200; *uxšnuš* 'well-informed', Sen 233). *u[xšna]uš* nsm. (§183.III, §190.I) DNb 27.

ucāra- adj. 'well done, successful', as sb. nt. 'good deed': from *u-* + *cāra-*, to root *kar-* 'do' (§99, §122, §123.3), cf. Av. *čārā-* 'Hilfsmittel', NPers. *čārā* (Bv. BSLP 30.165-6, Gr. §292; cf. Bthl. AiW 584); but Wb. AfOf 7.39-40, HZ. Apl 193-8, take from Ar. *car-* 'move' (Av. *čaraiti*, Skt. *cārati*; but Skt. has only *sucārā* as a woman's name!). *ucāram* nsm. DSj 4°; DSI 5. *ucāram* asn. DB 4.76; *ucāramaiy* DSf 20° (= *ucāram-maiy*, §138.I).

ucašma, incorrect reading for *cašma* = *cašam*; see *caša*-.

^hUja- ^hUvja (§23.II) sb. 'Elam, Susiana', a province of the Persian Empire (§166.II); also as

ethnic, 'Elamite, Susian': Elam. *hal-tam-ti*, Akk. *e-lam-mal*, cf. MPers. *Huž* (^hUja distinct from ^hUvja, wrongly König, Burgbau 9-11, and HZ. AMI 3.69-73). See also ^hUjiya-. (1) 'Elam': ^hUja nsm. DSe 21°, DSm 7°; XPh 20. ^hUvja DB 1.14, 2.7, 5.4; DPe 10; DNā 22. ^hUjam asm. DB 1.82; 2.12; 4.12, 17; 5.7, 10. ^hUjaiy lsm. DSf 46. ^hUjaiy DB 1.74f, 75, 77; 2.10, 10f; 4.11, 17; DBc 9f; DBf 5. (2) 'Elamite': ^hUvja nsm. DN iii; A?P 3.

^hUjiya- ^hUvjiya- (§144.III) adj. 'Elamite, Susian': deriv. of preceding. ^hUvjiya nsm. DB 4.10, 5.5f. ^hUvjiyā npm. DB 1.75f, 2.12, 5.15. ^hUvjiyā apm. DB 5.11°. ^hUvjiyabiš ipm. DB 5.10.

utā (for *ulā*, §36.I) conj. 'and' (§291.I-11): Av. *uta*, Skt. *ulā*, Gk. Hom. *ἡ-ῥε* 'like', pIE *ute (hardly both *-ā* and *-a* in Aryan, despite Mt. MSLP 19.57-8, MB Gr. §151). Correlative with preceding *-cā*, DB 1.66f (cf. Gk. *τὲ καί*); *utā* ... *ulā* 'both ... and' DB 1.34f, 41, 46f; 2.74, 88f; 5.19f, 35; DNb 30, 37, 40f, 43, 45; XPh 19f; XPh 54f.

utā AsH 13; DB 1.34 bis, 34f, 41 ter, 46 bis, 47, 57, 67, 77, 85; 2.3, 4, 18, 74 ter, 77, 81f, 87, 88, 89, 92; 3.30, 47, 48, 50, 58, 74, 77 (written *uā*, §52.VI), 88, 90, 91; 4.7, 56, 61, 62, 75 bis, 79, 89, 91 bis; 5.11, 12, 19, 20°, 28°, 31, 35 bis; DPd 15; DPe 13, 14; DNā 53; DNb 3f, 26, 27, 28, 30 bis, 37 bis, 40f, 41, 43 bis, 45 ter; DSe 28°, 51f; DSf 13, 28 bis, 29, 33, 35, 36, 37, 40, 44 bis, 48, 50, 52, 55, 57; DSn 2°; DSs 7°; DST 9; DZc 11; XPa 19 bis; XPb 24, 30; XPe 13 bis; XPd 19; XPh 19f, 20, 39, 46, 47; XPg 5, 11; XPh 24, 35, 38, 41, 48, 53, 54, 55, 58; XSe 5°; XV 20, 27°; A¹Pa 24°; A²Ša 4, 5, 5°; A³Se 5; A³Šd 4; A⁴Ha 5°, 6, 6f; A⁴He 19; A⁴Pa 25 bis, 26.

utā-maiy AsH 12; DB 4.46 (visible to Cameron; cf. note ad loc.); DPh 10; DNā 52f; DH 8; XPl 29; XV 26°; A²He 20. *utā-taiy* DB 4.56, 58, 73f, 75, 77f, 79. *utā-šaiy* DB 2.74f, 89. *utā-šim* DB 2.13°; 5.13, 26f. *utā-šam* DB 3.57; 5.15. *utā-diš* DNb 46f.

uta-maiy (§135) DSe 51°; DSf 58; DSj 6°; DST 9°; XPa 15, 18f; XPd 18f; XPh 41, 45f; XPg 14; XPh 58 (space for *u* left blank; Lg. 13.303); XSe 5°; A¹Pa 23°; A³Šd 4. *uta-šim* (§135) XPh 34. (In restorations there is almost always uncertainty between *utā-* and *ulā-*.)

Utāna- sb. 'Otnes', ally of Darius against Gaumata: Elam. *ḫu-ud-da-na*, Akk. *ū-mi-ūt-la-na*-,

Gk. Ὀτάνης; perhaps *u-* 'good' + *tāna-* to root *tan-* 'stretch, extend' (§164.II), Av. Skt. *tan-*, Gk. *τείνει*, Lt. *tendit*, cf. Skt. *tāna-m* 'offspring': 'Having good posterity'. [U]tā[na] nsm. DB 4.83.

utava- adj. 'strong, in health': *u-* 'good' + deriv. of *tav-* 'be strong' (§122). *utava* nsm. DB 4.71f (emendation of HK, ApKI 1.63, 2.29, for KT's *de^{te}sa*, with first and third characters very faint; §54.I).

uḅanuwaniya- sb. 'good bowman': *u-* 'good' + *ḅanuwaniya-* 'bowman'. *uḅanuwaniya* nsm. DNb 42f.

ud prep. and prefix 'up', becoming Iran. *us-* before dentals (§85): Av. *us-* *uz-*, Skt. *ud*, pIE **ud* (and **ūd* in NEng. *out*, NHG *aus*): *ud* with verbal root *pat-*, *us-* in *ustašanā-*, *u(z)-* in *uzma-* (§84).

upā (i.e. *upā*, cf. §140.I) prep. and prefix 'to-ward': Av. *upa*, Skt. *upa*, Gk. *ὑπό*, Lt. *s-ub* 'under', pIE **upo*.

(1) Prep. with acc., 'under, with, in the time of' (hardly 'belonging to', as taken by Hz. ApI 353): DB 2.18, 3.30; A³Ša 4; A³Pa 23; Sf.

(2) Prefix, 'under', in *Upadarma-*; 'toward', with verb *ay-*; 'beside', in *upastā-*.

Upadarma- sb. 'Upadarma', father of Ācīna: Elam. *uk-ba-[tar]-ra-an-ma*. From *upa* + *darma-* (root *dar-*), Skt. *dhárma-* 'right conduct' (§163.V): 'He who is under (= behaves himself according to) right conduct' (so Bthl. AiW 390, with lit.; hardly *Upadarma-*, after the Elam.; hardly as taken by Hz. ApI 190). *Upadarmahyā* gsm. DB 1.74.

upariy adv., prep., prefix, 'above': Av. *upairi*, Skt. *upāri*, Gk. *ὑπέρ*, Lt. *s-upper*, Gt. *ufar*, pIE **uperi* (§191.I).

(1) Adv. 'above', XPh 31.

(2) Prep. with acc., 'over, over and above, upon, according to': DB 4.61; DNb 4, 32, 46, 49; DSf 27.

(3) Prefix, 'over', with verb *ay-*.

upastā- sb. 'help, aid': *upa-* + verbal root *stā-* (§140.I, §142), cf. Gm. *Bei-stand* for meaning. *upastām* asf. AmH 10f; DB 1.25, 55, 87, 94; 2.24f, 34, 40, 45, 54, 60, 68, 86, 97; 3.6, 17, 37, 45, 62, 67, 87; 4.60f, 62; DPd 13; DNb 50; DSf 19; DSk 5; XPh 32, 45.

Ufrātu- sb. 'Euphrates', river of Babylonia:

Elam. *ú-ip-ra-tu-iš*, Akk. *purattu*, Gk. *Εὐφράτης* (§75.V, §76.V, §166, §166.III). Etymology uncertain, probably a popular etymologizing in OP of a local non-Iranian name, cf. Bthl. AiW 1830; Fick, BB 24.310; Justi, IFA 17.116; Tm. Lex. 77. *Ufrāhwā* ism. DB 1.92 (not gen., as taken by Hz. ApI 71-2).

ufrāšta- *ufrasta-* adj. 'well punished': *u-* 'well' + ptc. *frašta-* or *frasta-* (§93) 'questioned, investigated' to root *fraθ-*: pIE **su-prekto-* (§33, §75.II, §242.II). *ufrāstām* asf. DB 1.22, 4.66f; *ufrāštām* DB 4.38. *ufrāštā-diy* apm. DB 4.69 (JAOS 35.351-2, cf. Bv. Gr. §345; not loc. *ufrāštā* + prep. *adiy*, as taken by Bthl. IF 12.110, AiW 60-1, Mt. Gr. §318).

uba- adj. 'both': GAv. *uba-*, Skt. dual *ubhā(u)*, pIE **ubhō(u)*, cf. Gk. *ἀμ-φω*, Lt. *am-bō* (§143.III). *ubā* ndm. (§189) DSf 14; XPh 21.

ubarta- adj. 'well-borne, lifted, esteemed': *u-* 'well' + *bartā-* 'borne', ptc. to *bar-* 'bear', pIE **su-bhrto-* (§30, §122, §242.I). *ubartām* asf. DB 1.21f; 4.66. *ubartām* asf. DB 4.88. On meaning, cf. Altheim, ZII 3.33-5: hardly as taken by König, RuID 69.

[U]mamaila, see *Alamaila-*.

umartiya- adj. 'containing good men': *u-* 'good' + *martiya-* 'man'. *umartiyā* nsf. AmH 6; DPd 8f. *umartiyam* asf. DSf 11f; DSm 4; DSp 3; DZc 4.

Uyamā- sb. 'Uyama', a fortress in Armenia: Elam. *ú-i-ša-ma*, Aram. *huyaw* (Cowley, AP 251 line 4, 257). *Uyamā* nsf. DB 2.44 (all characters visible to Cameron).

uraba- adj. 'having good chariots'; Skt. *sura-tha-* as man's name: *u-* 'good' + *raḅa-* 'wagon', Av. *raḅa-*, Skt. *rātha-*, Lt. *rota* 'wheel' (§143.III). See also *urabāra-*. *urabā-cā* apm. as sb. 'good chariots' DSf 5.

urabāra- adj. 'having good charioteers': deriv. of *uraba-* (§148.I). [u]rābaram asf. DSp 3 (Bv. BSLP 33.2.151 and Hz. AMI 4.126 restore [f]rābaram).

uradana- adj. 'of good regulation': *u-* 'good' + deriv. of **rad-* 'direct' (§122, §147.I): see Hz. ApI 206-7 (but he is wrong in drawing in also Lt. *lēx* 'law'). *uradanām* asf. DNb 23.

wa- refl. pron. 'self' and poss. adj. 'own' (§118.IV): Av. *x'a-*, Skt. *sva-*, Gk. *z* and *z̄*, Lt. *sē* and *suos*, pIE **sye* and **syos* (§143.III); in *wādā-*, *wāipašiya-*, *wāmaršiyu-*.

waipašiya- adj. 'belonging to self' (wrongly 'wayward', Sen 246), nt. as sb. 'own possession': Av. *x'aēpaithya-* 'own'; OP *wai-*, nom. of *wa-*, as in Skt. *svay-ām* 'self' (MB Gr. §293), + pAr. **paīa-*, formed on pIE **poli-*, Av. *paitiš* 'master, husband', Skt. *pati-*, Gk. *πῶσις* 'husband', Lt. *potis* 'able', Lith. *pàls* 'self': pIE **suyoi-potiō-* (§53, §143.-II, §152.III, §161.IIb). *waipašiyahyā* gsn. DNb 15.

wāipašiya-, same as preceding, with vriddhi in initial syllable (§126; MB Gr. §298); but *wāi-* may be an error for *wai-*, or *wai-* for *wāi-* (§53). *wāipašiyam* asn. DB 1.47.

Uvaxštra- sb. 'Cyaxares', former King of Media: Elam. *ma-ak-iš-lar-ra*, Akk. *ú-ma-ku-iš-lar*, Gk. *Kvaξáτῃς*. From *u-* 'good' + *vaxštra-* 'growth' (§9.II, §79, §148.III), to *vaxš-*, Av. *vaxš-*, Skt. *vaks-*, Gm. *wachsen*, NEng. *wax* (§102): 'Having good growth' (§164.II, IV). So Bthl. AiW 1836; but Ilz. ApI 209 interprets 'having good oversight', to Av. *aiwy-azštrāi* (dat.) 'oversight' (otherwise Hüsing, OLZ 2.139-40). *Uvaxštrahyā* gsm. DB 2.15f, 81. *Uvaxštrahya* (§36.IVb) DB 4.19, 22; DBe 7; DBg 9f.

Uvaja-Uvajiya-, read *Ūja-Ūjiya-*: see *Ūja-Ūjiya-*.

wādā- sb. 'abode', vriddhi-form to Skt. *svadhā-* 'innate character', from *sva-* 'own' + *dhā-* 'make' (§142; OP *wa-* + *²dā-*); in *Paišiyāwādā-*, q.v.

Uvādaicaya- sb. 'Uvadaicaya', a town in Persia (§159): Elam. *ma-te-ši-iš*. *Uvādaicaya* nsm. DB 3.51.

wāmaršiyu- adj. '(having self-death =) dying by one's own hand', either by intent or by accident: *wa-* 'own', with vriddhi, + **mṛtīu-* 'death', Av. *mərəthyu-*, Skt. *mṛtyā-*, to *mar-* 'die' (§30, §80, §113, §122, §126, §152.III, §153.I, §161.IIa); used of Cambyses, who, acc. to Herod. 3.64-6, died from the after-effects of an accidentally self-inflicted wound. This interpretation is strongly supported by the Akk. and (although the exact Elam. text is somewhat in doubt) the Elam. ren-

derings. So KT 9; Tm. Lex. 78; Wb. KIA 17 with note; Hz. BSOS 8.589-97 and ApI 216-9; W. Hinz, Altpers. Wortschatz 141. Not to be taken with W. Schulze, SbPAW 1912.685-703, 1918.331-2, as 'by a natural death', citing semantic parallels in other languages; who is followed by MB Gr. §144, §286, §298 (Bv. takes *wā-* as instr. and not vriddhi), and by H. H. Schacder, Nachrichten d. Ak. d. Wiss. in Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl. 1946-7.24-36. *wāmaršiyuš* nsm. DB 1.43.

Uvārazmī- sb. 'Chorasamia', a province of the Persian Empire: Elam. *ma-ra-iš-mi-iš*, Akk. *ḫu-ma-ri-iz-ma-*, Gk. *Χωρασμῖν*, Av. asf. *x'airiazm*. From *u-* 'good' + *vāra-* '?' (§126, §143.III), + *zmī-* (§95, §120, §152.II) to *zam-* 'land'. See also *Uvārazmīya-*. *Uvārazmīy* nsf. (§179.I; Lg. 19.223) DB 1.16, DPe 16f; *Uvārazmīš* DNā 23f, DSe 22°, DSm 9°, XPh 21f. *Uvārazmīyā* absf. DSf 39f.

Uvārazmīya- adj. 'Chorasmanian': deriv. to preceding (§141.III). [*Uvāra*]zmīya (§22) nsm. A?P 8.

wārštika- sb. 'good spearman': *u-* 'good' + *ārštika-* 'spearman' (§126). *wārštika* nsm. DNb 44.

wāsabāra- sb. 'good horseman': *u-* 'good' + *asabāra-* 'horseman', with vriddhi (§126). *wāsabara* nsm. DNb 42.

wašpa- adj. 'having good horses': *u-* 'good' (§118.IV, §140.IV) + *aspa-* 'horse' (§9.III). *waspā* nsf. AmH 6; DPd 8. *waspam* asn. DSf 11; DSp 3°; DZc 4°; for asf. AsH 10 (§52.III). *waspā* apn. as sb. 'good horses' DSS 5°.

Ūja-Ūjiya-, see *Ūja-Ūjiya-*: cf. Wb. AfOF 7.43, Schacder SbPAW 1931.636.n3.

ūwnara- sb. 'skill, accomplishment': adj. formation to pAr. **su-* 'good' + **nar-* 'man' (§142, §143.II, V), = 'having the good quality of a man', Av. *hunarā-* 'ability, skill', Skt. *sūndra-* 'glad, joyous, merry', with vriddhi of the first vowel in OP and Skt. to show the derivative nature (§23.II, §126: Lg. 15.173, JNES 4.51-2: cf. Hz. RHRel. 113.30, ApI 200-6, who accepts this meaning but seeks another etymology, as does also Pisani, Riv. Stud. Or. 19.93-4). *ūwnarā* npn. DNb 45, 51. *ūwnaraibiš* ipn. DNb 48.

ustašnā- (*ustašnā-* Bv. Gr. §294) sb. 'stair-

case': *us-* (see *ud-*, §84, §85) + *tašanā-* (§102), deriv. (§147.I) to root *taš-* 'cut, fashion' (see under *taxš-*), pIE **ud-lekpenā-*. *ustašanām* asf. A³Pa 22 (as nom., §56.V). [*usta*] *canām* (§49b) A³Sc 5f.

ušabūri- adj. 'camel-borne': *uša-* 'camel' (§79, §130), Av. *uštra-* (MB Gr. §109; cf. Justi, GGA 1882.488), + *bāri-* 'borne by' (§122, §126, §152.I, §160.Ic), to root *bar-* 'bear'. Cf. Jn. Indo-Iranian Studies Sanjana 18–20. *ušabārim* DB 1.86f.

uš- sb. dual 'two ears, hearing, understanding' (cf. JNES 4.232; HZ. RHRel. 113.30, Apl 342–4): LAv. dual *uš-*, cf. Gk. *oīs*, Lt. *auris*, Gt. *ausō*. *ušīy* ndn. (§189) DNb 28. [*ušīy-cā* adn. (§136) DNb 32. *ušībiyā* idn. (§189) DNb 37; *ušīyū* idn. (with sg. ending, §189; Lg. 19.224–5) DNb 35.

uška- adj. 'dry'; nt. as sb., 'land, mainland': Av. *huška-* 'dry', NPers. *xušk*, Skt. *śuška-*, *śusyati* 'dries', Lith. *sausas* 'dry', NEng. *sere*, *sear* (§146.I). *uškahyā* gsn. DPe 13.

ušhamaranakara- sb. 'good warrior': *u-* 'good' + *hamaranakara-* 'warrior' (§140.VI). *ušhamaranakara* nsm. DNb 34.

uzma- adj. as sb. 'that which is up from the earth, stake': from *ud-* 'up' + *zma-* to *zam-* 'earth' (§84, §95, §120, §130, §142, §143.II, VI); otherwise Wackernagel, KZ 61.208; Lommel, OLZ 37.180.n2; König, RuID 72. *uzmayā-patīy* lsn. DB 2.76, 91; 3.52, 92.

ka- interrog.-indef. pron. 'who': Av. Skt. *ka-*, Gk. *ko-*, Lt. *quo-*, NEng. *wha-t*, pIE **q^o-* (§201). See also *kā*, *-kaiy*, *ci-* (§132.2). With encl. *-ciy*, 'any': *kaš-ciy* (§9.VI, §99, §105) nsm. DB 1.49, 53; DSe 37.

kā, generalizing particle after 2d pers. pron.: probably lsn. of *ka-* (§191.III); Kern ap. Caland, z. Syntax der Pron. im Av. 47; Kieckers, Etymol. Miscellen 1934.135; otherwise Gray, JAOS 23.60). DB 4.37, 41, 67^o, 70, 87^o; DSt 10^o; XPh 46.

-kuiy, emphatic encl. particle, in *ada-kuiy* (q.v.): probably lsn. to *ka-* (§191.III), cf. Gk. *ποι* 'somewhither' (Bv. Gr. §336 takes as **ka^o-i^a*, cf. *naiy* from **na-i^a*).

kaufa- sb. 'mountain': Av. *kuofa-*, Phl. *kōf*, NPers. *kōh* (§75.II, §166). See also *Ākaufaciya-*. *kaufa* nsm. DB 1.37; 3.44; DSf 31.

ka^o-ta- ptc. as sb. (§276.III) 'excavation': pAr. **k^ota-*, to **kan-*, with restored *n* (§242.II) as in *Samar-kand*, wherein *-kand* has been transferred from the ditch to the wall alongside it (König, Burgbau 32n; HZ. AMI 3.54–5, Apl 224). *katam* nsn. DSf 25.

Katpatuka- sb. 'Cappadocia', a province of the Persian Empire; also, as adj., 'Cappadocian': Elam. *qa-at-ba-du-qa*, Akk. *ka-at-pa-tuk-ka*, Gk. *Καππαδοκία* (§83.III).

(1) 'Cappadocia': *Katpatuka* nsm. DB 1.15f; DPe 12; DNa 28; DSe 27^o; DSm 8^o; XPh 26.

(2) 'Cappadocian': *Katpatuka* nsm. A³P 21.

**kan-* vb. 'dig': Av. *kan-*, Skt. *khan-* (§100). See also *Adukanaiša-*, *kata-*. *ka^otanaiy* (§238; NPers. *kāndān*) inf. DZe 9; XV 21. *akaniya* inf. pass. (§113, §220) DSf 24, 28 (25, 29 read *avaniya*: see under *van-*); DZe 10^o.

ni- + *kan-* 'destroy, obliterate': *nika^otuw* inv. (§208, §237.II) DB 4.80.

vi- + *kan-* 'dig apart, destroy': *viyakanam* 1st sg. inf. XPh 38. *viyaka^o* inf. (§208, §228.II) DB 1.64. *vikānāhy* 2d sg. subj. (§27) DB 4.71, 73; *vikānāh^o-diš* (§27, §54.II, §136) DB 4.77.

**kan-* vb. of uncertain connections, probably 'throw, place': cf. NPers. *āwāgāndān* 'heap up' from *awa-kan-* (Bv. Gr. §184; Morgenstierne, Acta Or. 1.249; HZ. Apl 225).

ava- + *kan-* 'put down on, place on': *avikanam* 1st sg. inf. (§213, §226.II) DB 1.86.

Ka^opa^oda- (§111) sb. 'Kampana', a district in Media (cf. König, RuID 71): Elam. *qa-um-pa-taš*, Akk. *ha-am-ba-nu*. *Kapada* nsm. DB 2.27.

kapautaka- adj. 'blue', in *kāsaka hya kapautaka* 'lapis lazuli': deriv. (§146.II) of stem in Phl. *kapōt*, NPers. *kabōd* 'gray-blue', Skt. *kapōta-* 'pigeon, pigeon-color, gray' (Scheil 21.29; Bv. BSLP 30.1.61; König, Burgbau 62; Bleichsteiner, WZKM 37.94–101; Wb. AfOF 7.42, cf. PW 10.1887 s.v. *kapauta*; HZ. AMI 3.64–5). *kapautaka* nsm. DSf 37.

Kāpišakāni- sb. 'Kapišakani', a fortress in Arachosia (§117, §126): Elam. *qa-ap-pi-iš-ša-qa-nu-iš*. *Kāpišakāniš* ns. DB 3.60f.

Ka^obūjiya- sb. 'Cambyses', (1) father of Cyrus the Great; (2) son of Cyrus the Great, king of Persia before Darius: Elam. *kan-bu-ši-ja*, Akk.

kam-bu-zi-ja, Gk. Καμβύσιος (§111, §144.IV): etymology disputed (cf. Bthl. AiW 437; Charpentier, ZII 2.140-52). *Kabūjiya* nsm. DB 1.28, 30f, 31, 32, 33, 43. *Kabūjiyam* asm. DB 1.45, 46. *Kabūjiyahyā* gsm. CMb 1f; DB 1.29, 30, 39. *Kabūjiyā* absm. DB 1.10.

kam- vb. 'like', see *amazamatā*, if for (*h*)-*amazmatā*. See also *kāma*-, and possibly *canah*-.

kāma- sb. 'wish, desire': Av. Skt. *kāma*- (§126, §143.I, V, VI). See also *kam*-. For syntax of dependent acc., §249.I, JAOS 66.44-9. *kāma* nsm. DB 4.35f; 5.17°, 29, 33°; DNā 38; DNb 8, 10, 12, 19, 20, 27; DSf 16; DZc 12°; XPf 22, 30.

kamna- adj. 'small, few': Av. *kamna*-, NPers. *kām* (§147.II). *kamnam* nsn. (as pred. sb. §259) DB 2.19. *kamnaibiš* ipm. DB 1.56; 2.2, 71; 3.41, 71f.

kar- vb. 'do, make, build': Av. *kar*-, pres. *karraoiti*, Skt. *kr*-, pres. *kr̥nōti karōti* (§99, §122, §132.2, §132.3). See also *akarta*-, *ucāra*-, *kara*-, *daštakarta*-, *duškarta*-, *hakarta*-.
kunautiy (§66.I, §70, §99, §210.I) DNb 24f; DSs 2°, 3f, 4, 6°.

akunavam (§66.I) 1st sg. inf. DB 1.62, 63, 68, 72, 87; 2.20, 76, 83, 91; 3.31f, 52, 85; 4.3f, 6, 36°, 40, 41, 45, 59, 60, 65, 89; 5.2, 8f, 17, 29, 33; DNā 19f, 51; DNb 48f; DSa 4, 5; DSd 3°; DSe 32, 34, 45, 49; DSf 21, 22 bis; DSG 3°; DSi 4°; DSj 2°, 3, 3f°, 4; DSo 2°, 4; XPa 13, 14; XPb 27; XPd 17; XPf 37f, 41; XPg 11f; XPh 43, 43f, 44f, 46; XPj; A¹Pa 21f; D²Sb 4. *akunawām* (§53, §55.I) A²Sdb 3; *akunawāšāša* (§55.I) A²Sdc 3. [*akun*]ām (§55.I) XSe 3; A²Ha 5f; [*akunām*] A²Sa 4, 5; *akunā* (§55.I) A²Ha 7.

akunawš inf. (§84, §218.I, §228.III) AsH 8; DB 2.23, 85, 96; 3.5, 16, 57; 4.10, 12, 15, 18, 20, 23, 26, 28, 31, 34, 35; 5.10; DPa 6; DNā 5f, 34; DSe 5f; DSf 4, 10, 15, 17, 20°, 30; DSi 3°; DSm 5°; DSt 6°; DZc 3; DE 8; XPa 4, 15; XPb 8; XPe 4, 11; XPd 6; XPf 6, 24, 27, 32, 42; XPg 4f; XPh 5; XSaa 2 (*-nawš* in ab, §53); XE 9; XV 7, 20, 23; A¹Pa 6°; D²Sa 2; D²Sb 3; A²Iib; A²Hc 5; A³Pa 6. *akunāš* (§55.I) D²Sbb 3; A²Sa 3f.

akunawa 3d pl. inf. DB 2.34, 39, 45, 54, 59; 3.37, 44, 61, 66; DNā 20f, 37; DSe 19f°; XPh 18. *akunawaša* (§232.III) DSf 50°, 51, 53.

akumā 1st pl. aor. (§218.II, §230.II) DB 1.90, 94, 96; 2.68, 70; XPa 17; XPf 43.

akunawa'tā 3d pl. inf. mid. (§210.I, §236.II) DB

3.12; 5.6; DSf 48 (Hz. ApI 229-30 takes as from *ā* + *karl*- 'cut'; but see Kent, Lg. 18.81-2).

akutā aor. mid. (§66.I, §218.II, §235.II) CMb 4; DB 1.47.

akunawayatā inf. pass. (§220, §235.II) DB 1.20, 24.

akariya inf. pass. (§35.I, §99, §220) DSf 37; XPh 42.

akariya'tā 3d pl. inf. pass. (§35.I, §66.II, §220, §236.II) DB 3.92.

[*c*]ār[*iyatā*] or *cacr*[*iyatā*] perf. pass. (§219, §220) DB 4.90 (Kent, JAOS 62.267-8, for KT's ... *ar*^{ra} ..., after König, Klotho 4.46).

kunavāhy 2d sg. subj. (§222.III) DB 4.75, 79.

kunavānaiy 1st sg. subj. mid. (§66.I, §222.III, §233.IV) DSI 4 (Bv. BSLP 30.1.65; not act. -*niy*, with Wb. AfOF 7.39).

kunavātaiy subj. mid. (§222.III) DNb 56.

cariyā perf. opt. (§99, §103.I, §122, §219, §223.I, §228.II) DB 1.50.

kariyaiš opt. pass. (§35.I, §220, §223.II, §228.-III) DNb 9, 11 (not desiderative future, as taken by Hz. ApI 228).

kunautuw inv. (§210.I, §237.II) DB 4.76.

kušwā 2d sg. aor. inv. mid. (§218.II, §237.III) DNb 50.

cartanaiy inf. (§31, §99, §122, §238) DB 1.94; 2.33, 38f, 44, 53, 58, 67; 3.36, 43f, 60, 65f; DSf 20°; DSn 1°.

karta nsm. past ptc. pass. (Av. *karsta*-, NPers. *kārd*, Skt. *kr̥tā*-; §30, §66, §122, §242.I) DPc; DPi; DSf 38, 40, 43; XPI°; A¹I.

kartā nsf. A²Pa 23. *kartā* npf. (§119) DSf 46.

kartam nsn. DB 1.27; 2.27, 37, 42, 47, 57, 62, 92, 98; 3.8f, 10, 19, 21, 40, 47, 53, 64, 69, 76; 4.2, 42, 46f, 49, 51f, 52, 54; DNā 48f; DNb 29, 48, 56°; DSe 44; DSj 5f°; DSn 2; DSs 7; XPa 14, 15f, 19, 20; XPb 23f, 25, 30; XPe 13, 14; XPd 19; XPf 38, 46f, 47; XSe 5°; XV 27°; XH; A¹Pa 24°. *kartā* (for nsn., §56.V) A²Pa 26. *kartam* asn. DNā 51; XPf 40; XPg 10; XPh 46; A²Sd 4.

kāra- sb. 'doer, maker', as 2d element of cpd.: deriv. of *kar*- (§32, §143.I); found in *awākara*-, *ciyākara*-, *dāranīyakara*-, *zūrakara*-, *hakara*-, *hamaranakara*-, and with passive meaning, 'thing made', in *patīkara*- (cf. Bv. Gr. §289).

kāra- sb. 'people, army': Lith. *kāras* 'war', dialectal 'army', Gt. *harjis* 'army', NGm. *Heer* (§143.III); cf. König, RuID 66. See also *ukāra*-.

kāra nsm. DB 1.33, 40, 79, 85; 2.16, 18, 25, 27, 30f, 35, 40, 46, 50, 55, 60, 75f, 87, 90, 94; 3.3, 17, 26, 32, 38, 45, 59, 62, 67, 81; 4.92; DPe 22; DSf 29, 32. *kāra-šim* DB 1.50. *kāram* asm. DB 1.51, 52, 66, 78, 86, 88, 95; 2.19, 20f, 25, 35, 41, 46, 55, 61, 68, 72, 81, 83f, 87, 97; 3.1f, 4, 7, 15, 17, 29, 38, 42, 46, 55, 58, 62, 67, 84, 85; 4.34; 5.7; DPe 21. *kārahya* gsm. DB 1.31f, 38, 64, 75; 2.10, 15, 80; 3.24, 70, 80; 4.54, 55, 58. *kārā* ism. DB 1.93; 2.22, 67, 85, 95; 3.15f, 33, 36, 73, 86f; 5.9, 21, 24; DPe 8f.

Karka-adj. 'Carian'; pl., also a province of the Persian Empire: Elam. *kur-qa-ap*, Akk. *kar-sa*, Gk. *Kāpes*, *Kāpuol* (§31, §106); cf. Eilers, OLZ 38.201-13, with lit. *Karka* nsm. A?P 30. *Karkā* npm. DNā 30; DSe 30°; DSf 33; XPh 28.

karnwaka-sb. 'stonemason': from root *kart*- 'cut', Av. pres. *karnw-*, Skt. *kṛt-*, PIE **qert-*, + suffix *-aka-* (§30, §146.I), cf. JAOS 51.210. There are also forms of this root without *-t-* (JAOS 53.20), such as Gk. *κείρω* (cf. Boisacq, Dict. étym. de la langue grecque, s.v.). See also Bv. BSLP 30.1.66; Hz. AMI 3.73; König, Burgbau 69-70; Wb. Afof 7.43. *karnwaka* npm. DSf 47.

Karmāna-sb. 'Carmania', a district of Southern Iran (§166.I): NPers. *Kirmān*, Gk. *Καρμάνια*. *Karmānā* absm. DSf 35.

karša-sb. 'weight, (unit by) weight' (like Lt. *pondō*, Lg. 19.227-9), = 83.33 gr. or slightly less than 3 oz. *avoudupois* (Gray, JAOS 20.55; Schmidt, Treasury of Persepolis 62); Skt. *karṣa*- 'pull, unit by weight' (§29.n2, §30, §143.I, VI). The OP *karša*- was one-sixth of the Babylonian *mana* 'mina' (weight; not unit of value). Elam. transcribes *kur-ša-um*, = *kršam*, which may mark the word as netter, since Elam. transcriptions commonly represent the nom. sg. of the foreign word; but the other evidence is rather for the masc. *kuršā* ism. (§252D; Lg. 19.227-9; not ndm.) Wa 1. *karšaya* lsm. (§251C; Lg. 19.227-9; not npm.) We 1; Wd 1.

kāsaka-sb. 'semi-precious stone'; Elam. *ga-si-qa* causes König and Wb. to write *kās'ka*, but this is not warranted by the OP writing. Deriv. of Iran. root **kas-* (§9.V, §87, §126, §146.II), = Skt. *kaś-* 'be visible, appear, shine' (so König, Burgbau 61; not to Skt. *kācā-* 'crystal, quartz', despite Bv. BSLP 30.1.61); for meaning, cf. NEng.

brilliant. Cf. also Scheil 21.29; Wb. Afof 7.42; Hz. AMI 3.65, ApI 230-3; Bv. Gr. §273. See also *kāsakaina*-. *kāsaka* nsm. DSf 37, 39.

kāsakaina-adj. 'of semi-precious stone', namely, of lapis lazuli: adj. to preceding (§147.-III). *kāsakaina* nsm. DPi; XPi.

Kuganakā-sb. 'Kuganaka', a town in Persia: Elam. *ku-ug-gan-na-qa-an*, Akk. *ku-gu-na-ak-ka*. *Kuganakā* nsf. DB 2.9.

Ku'duru-sb. 'Kunduru', a town in Media: Elam. *ku-un-tar-ru-iš*, Akk. *ku-un-du-ur*. *Ku'duruš* (§22) nsm. DB 2.65.

Kūru-sb. 'Cyrus', founder of the Persian Empire: Elam. *ku-raš*, Akk. *ku-ra-aš*, Gk. *Κύρος* (§164.V). *Kūruš* nsm. CMA 1; CMb 1; CMe°. *Kūrauš* gsm. DB 1.28, 39, 53; 3.25; 4.9, 27f; DBb 5f; DBh 6f.

Kūša-sb. 'Ethiopia', a province of the Persian Empire: Elam. *ku-ša-a-ja*, Akk. *ku-u-šu*, Heb. *kūš*. See also *Kūšiya*-. *Kūša*-absm. DPh 6; DSf 43f; DH 5.

Kūšiya-adj. 'Ethiopian'; pl., a province of the Persian Empire: adj. to preceding (§144.III). *Kūšiya* (sic!) nsm. A?P 28. *Kūšiyā* npm. DNā 30; DSe 30°; XPh 28 (written *Kūšiya*, §51; cf. Lg. 13.298).

zauḏā-sb. 'hat, cap' (§100, §143.IV): Av. *zaoḏa*-, Oss. *zodā*, NPers. *zoš*, Arm. (borrowed) *zoir* 'headband' (cf. Duchesne-Guillemin, BSOS 9.865, for further connections). See also *tigra-zauḏa*-. [*zauḏā*m] asf. DB 5.22.

Xaršādašyā (or *Xaršāšyā*), word of doubtful meaning, Se; apparently gsm. of owner's name. Justi, INB 173, reads lines 1-3-2, and gets *Xišyāršā*, approximately the Akk. form of the name of Xerxes (§163.VII); against this, see Wb. KIA 131.

xraθu-sb. 'wisdom', meaning given by Akk. equivalent *lēmē hiṣṣatum* 'word or message of wisdom': Av. *xratav*- *xraθw*- 'geistiges Wollen und Können' (Bthl. AiW 535), Skt. *krātu-* 'power', Gk. *κρᾶτος* 'strong' (§33, §81, §103.I, §153.III, §179.-n2); cf. Hz. RHRel. 113.27-9, ApI 235-7. *xraθum* asm. DNb 3.

Xšaθrita-sb. 'Khshathrita', name assumed by the Median rebel Phraortes (§9.II, §78): Elam.

ša-at-tar-ri-da, Akk. *ḥa-ša-at-ri-it-ti*; shortening of compound name (§145, §164.III) such as **Xšaθra-dāra-* (found in Phl., cf. Justi, INB 176). *Xšaθrita* nsm. DB 2.15°; 4.19; DBe 6.

xšaça- sb. 'kingship, kingdom': Av. *xšaθra-*, NPers. *šahr* 'city', Skt. *kṣatrá-*, pIE **q̥betro-*, deriv. of root in OP *xšay-* (§78, §148.III). See also *Artaxšaça-*, *Xšaθrita-*, *xšaçapāwan-*. *xšacam* nsm. DB 1.44, 45; DPh 4; DH 3. *xšaçam* asm. DB 1.12, 25 bis, 26, 41, 42f, 50, 60, 61, 80f; DPd 3; DSf 10f; DSm 3°; DSp 2°; DZe 3f; XPa 19; XPb 29f; XPd 19; XPf 46; XPg 14; XSc 5; XV 27°; A¹Pa 24°; A²He 18, 19f. *xšaçam-šim* DB 1.59.

xšaçapāwan- sb. 'satrap': Gk. *σατραπης*; *xšaça-* + root *pā-* 'protect' + suffix *-van-* (§155.IV, §160.Ia). *xšaçapāwā* nsm. (§124.5, §187) DB 3.14, 56.

xšan- vb., see *axšata-*.

xšap- sb. 'night': Av. *xšap-*, NPers. *šāb*, Skt. *kṣap-* (§102, §142). *xšapa-ōā* gsf. DB 1.20 (for case, §188.III, cf. Skt. gen *kṣapas* . . . *usras* 'night and day', RV 6.52.15, 7.15.8; gen. riming with acc. *rauca* in phrase, §318, rather than acc. *xšapam* re-made to *xšapa* to rhyme with *rauca*).

xšay- vb. 'rule': Av. *xšā(y)-*, Skt. *kṣāyati* 'possesses', Gk. *κτάομαι* 'I acquire', *κτῆμα* 'piece of property', pIE **q̥pe-* (§102). See also *xšaça-*, *xšāyabiya-*, *Xšayāršan-*. *xšayamma* nsm. ptc. mid. (§213, §241) DNb 15.

upari + *xšay-* 'rule over': *upariya[xšayaiy]* 1st sg. inf. mid. DB 4.64f. (Tm. Lex. 85) is an erroneous restoration for *upariyā[yā]m* as read by Cameron (already conjectured by Wb. KIA 66, ZDMG 61.729).

pāti- + *xšay-* 'have lordship over': *pātiyaxšayaiy* 1st sg. inf. mid. (§213, §233.III) DNa 19; DSe 17f; XPh 17.

xšāyabiya- sb. 'king'; possibly in original adj. use, 'royal', DB 1.8 (Bthl. AiW 553): pAr. **kšājatija-* (Med. *-thy-*, Bv. Gr. §147, Hz. AMI 3.97; not orig. *-thija-*, as Mt. Gr. §147 had it), to root in OP *xšay-* (§9.III, §80, §126, §144.VI).

xšāyabiya nsm. AmH 1, 1f, 2, 4, 8, 10; AsH 1, 1f, 2f, 5; CMa 1f; CMb 1°; CMc°; DB 1.1 bis, 2 bis, 4, 6, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 18, 21, 24, 27, 27f, 29, 35, 44, 48 bis, 60, 61, 71f, 72, 73, 75, 76, 81f, 83, 90f; 2.1, 5f, 8, 11, 11°, 14, 17°, 18, 29, 37, 43, 49, 57, 64, 66, 70f, 78f, 80, 91, 92; 3.1, 9, 11, 20, 21f,

28, 29, 40f, 49f, 53, 54, 64, 69, 75, 76f, 83, 83f; 4.1, 3, 5, 11, 17, 21f, 25, 31, 33, 36f, 37, 40, 43f, 45f, 50, 53, 57, 59, 62, 67 bis, 70, 72, 76f, 80, 86f, 87, 88; 5.1, 3f, 14f, 18, 20f, 30f, 34; DBa 1, 1f, 2, 2f, 5, 9, 14; DBb 6f; DBe 6f; DBd 6f; DBe 9; DBf 5f; DBg 6f; DBh 8f; DBi 9f; DBj 4f; DPa 1, 2, 3; DPd 5, 6, 12f; DPe 1, 2, 3, 6, 19; DNa 8, 9, 10, 11, 15f, 31, 34, 40, 48; DNb 5f, 59; DSb 2, 3f, 5f, 7; DSl 1f; DSm 6°; DE 12f, 13, 14f, 16f; XPa 6, 7 bis, 8, 11, 18; XPb 12, 13, 14f, 16, 22; XPd 9 bis, 10, 11, 15; XPe 1, 2; XPf 8f, 9, 10, 11f, 16, 25f, 28, 35, 36, 44; XPg 2, 6; XPh 7, 7f, 8, 9, 14, 15, 29, 29f, 56f; XSa 1, 2; XSc 1°, 1, 1f°, 3°, 3f°; XE 12f, 13f, 14f, 16; XV 10 bis, 11, 12f, 17, 17f; A¹Pa 9°, 10°, 11°, 12°, 17f, 20; A²Sc 2, 2°, 3, 4; A²Pa 5f (§247E), 9 bis, 10, 11, 21f, 24; Wa 3f; Wb 1f, 2f, 4f, 5f; Wc 2f, 3f, 5f, 6f; Wd 3, 4, 5f, 6f; AVsb-d.

xšāyabiya asm. AsH 7f; DPd 2f; DNa 5, 6f, 33f; DNb 4f; DSm 4; DSt 5f°; DE 7f, 9f; XPa 4, 5; XPb 7f, 9f; XPd 5f, 7; XPf 5, 6f, 23f; XPh 4f, 5f; XE 8, 10; XV 6, 7f; A¹Pa 6°, 7°; A²Pa 7.

xšāyabiya gsm. AmH 3; AsH 3f; CMb 2; DB 3.59; DPd 10f; DNe 2; DNd 1f; XPa 10; XPb 19f; XPd 13f; XPe 3f; XPf 14; XPh 11; XSc 2; XE 19f; XV 15; A¹Pa 15°. *xšāyabiya* as gsm. (§313.II) A²Pa 12f, 14, 15, 16, 17f.

xšāyabiya npm. DB 1.8 (or nsf. adj. ?), 10, 10f; 4.51; DBa 13, 16, 17f.

xšāyabiya apm. DB 4.7, 32.

xšāyabiyanām gpm. AmH 2; AsH 2; DB 1.1f; DBa 2; DPa 2f; DPe 2f; DNa 9; DSb 4f; DE 14; XPa 7; XPb 13f; XPd 10; XPe 2f; XPf 9f; XPh 8; XSc 1; XE 14; XV 11; A¹Pa 10f°; Wb 3f; Wc 4f; Wd 4f. *xšāyabiyanām* (§52.III) A²Sc 2f; A²Pa 10. On the title 'king of kings', see von Wesendonk, Or. Stud. Pavry 488-90.

Xš nsm. (§42) DPb; DPh 1 ter, 4; DŠa 1 bis, 2, 3; DŠc bis; DŠd 1 bis, 1° bis, 3°; DŠe 8°, 8, 9°, 10°, 14°, 31°, 42, 50°; DŠf 6 quater, 8, 55°; DŠg 1° quater, 3°; DŠi 1, 1° ter, 3; DŠj 1 bis, 1°, 2°, 5; DŠk 1 bis, 2, 4; DŠm 1° bis, 2°, 3°; DŠn 1°; DŠo 3°; DSt 7°, 10°; DŠy 1 bis, 2 bis; DZh 1, 2 bis, 3°; DZc 5 ter, 5°, 7; DH 1 ter, 3; XPe 6 ter, 7, 10, 11; XPj quinques; A¹I ter; D²Sa 2°; D²Sb 1° ter, 1, 3°; A²Sa 1 quater; A²Sb ter; A²Sd 1 quater, 2; A²Ha 1 bis, 1° bis; A²Hb; A²Hc 7, 8 ter, 16 bis; SDa; SXa 2; SXb 2; SXc 1; XVs; AVsa.

Xšm asm. DŠe 5, 6; XPe 4, 5; DŠa 3; A²He 5, 6. *Xšyam* DŠf 4, 4f, 10, 15, 17; DŠi 3°; DŠn 2; DŠp 2; DZe 3.

Xšyā gsm. DZc 3; A²Hc 10, 11, 12, 13. *Xšhyā* DPc; DPi; XPe 9, 14; XPi²; XPk; XH; A¹I bis; D²Sb 2^o; A²Sa 1, 2 bis, 3; A²Sb; A²Sc 0; A²Ha 2, 3, 3^o, 4. *Xšāhyā* (§53) A²Sd 2. *Xšyahyā* XPj; *Xšyahiyā* (§27) XPjv. *Xš* as gsm. (§313.II) A²Hb.

Xšānām gpm. XPe 6. *Xšyānām* DSa 1f; DSc; DSd 1; DSe 8f; DSf 6; DSh 1^o; DSi 1^o; DSj 1; DSk 1f; DSm 1^o; DSy 1; DZb 2; DZc 5; XPj; A¹I; D²Sb 1^o; A²Sa 1; A²Sd 1; A²Ha 1^o; A²Hc 8. *Xšyanām* (§52.III) DPh 1; DH 1. *Xšyānā* (§52.V) A²Sb.

Xšayāršan- sb. 'Xerxes': Elam. *ik-še-ir-iš-ša*, Akk. *hi-ši-'ar-ša*, Gk. *Ξέρξης*: from *xšaya-* 'king', Av. *xšaya-*, to root *xšay-*, + *aršan-* 'male' (§131): 'Hero among Kings', cf. Skt. *rāja-rṣabha-* (Bthl. AiW 550; but Hz. AMI 1.121n, Bv. Gr. §290, take second part to be *arša-* 'just', on which cf. §162.n1, §187.n2; cf. also Hz. AMI 7.82-137, esp. 135-6, on which see Henning, BSOS 10.502-3). Decl., §187.

Xšayāršā nsm. XPa 6, 11, 17; XPb 11f, 21f; XPe 6, 9f; XPd 8f, 15; XPe 1; XPf 8, 15, 27, 44; XPg 1; XPh 7, 13, 28f, 56; XPj bis; XPk; XSa 1; XSc 1^o, 3^o; XE 12; XV 9, 16; A¹Pa 19f; A²Pa 16, 16f (both as gen., §313.II); SXa 1; SXb 1f; SXc 1; XVs.

Xšayāršām asm. XPa 4; XPb 7; XPe 4; XPd 5; XPf 5; XPh 4; XE 7f; XV 6.

Xšayār[šāha] gsm. XPi; [*Xšayār*]šāha XH. *Xšayāršāhyā* (§57) A¹Pa 14f; A¹I bis; A²Ha 3, 3f. *Xšayārcahyā* (§49b) A²Sa 2 bis. *Xšayāršāhyā* A²Hc 12, (as nom., §313.I) 12f. *Xaršadašyā*, q.v.

xšnā- vb. 'learn, come to know, know': Av. *xšnā-*, Skt. *jñā-*, Gk. *γινώσκειν*, Lt. *gnōscō*, NEng. *know*, pIE **ǵnō-* (§96, §110, §212). See also *xšnav-*, *dan-*. *adānā* inf. (NPers. *dānām*, §68, §210) DB 1.51; DSh 3. *xšnāsāhy* 2d sg. subj. (§212, §227.1) DNa 42. *xšnāsāhiy* subj. (§62, §97, §110, §122) DB 1.52.

xšnav- vb. 'hear, satisfy' (§96): cf. Av. *xšnav-* 'Genüge haben an', adj. *xšnav-* 'Genüge leistend', ptc. *xšnūta-*, sb. *xšnūtay-* 'Zufriedenstellung' (Bthl. AiW 557-60); apparently an extension of root *xšnā-* 'learn' (cf. pIE **dō-* and **doy-* 'give'), with semantic development 'learn, hear of, hear', and 'hear, hearken to, satisfy' (Lg. 15.171; cf. also Bv. TPS 1945.47-50). Hz. Apl 238-40 gives an impossible equation with Skt. *śru-* 'hear' (pIE

**klu-*); Sen 247, 251, has wrong meanings. Pisani, Acme 1.319-20, gives another etymology. See also *uzšnaw-*.

xšnuta- past ptc. pass. (§71, §242.I), cf. *uzšnaw-*: *xšnuta* nsm. 'satisfied' DNb 26. [*xšnutam*] nsm. 'heard' DNb 53.

ā + xšnaw-: *āxšnautiy* (§71, §122, §208) 'satisfy' DNb 24. *āxšnāvāhy* 2d sg. subj. (§227.I) 'satisfy' DNb 29f. *āxšnūdiy* 2d sg. inv. (§208, §237.I) 'hear' DNb 54.

gaiθā- sb. '(living) personal property, cattle': Av. *gaēθā-* 'individual living being, pl. world; household, property', Phl. *gēhān* 'world' (from gen. pl.), to root pIE **ǵei-* seen in OP *jw-* (§69, §101, §151). For varying interpretations, see Tm. Lex. 85, with lit. *gaiθām-cā* (§39) asf. DB 1.65.

gaud- vb. 'conceal': Av. *gaoz-*, Skt. *gūhāti* (§88).

apa- + *gaud-* 'conceal, hide away': *apagau-dayāhy* 2d sg. subj. (§227.I) DB 4.55, 57f. *apagau-daya* 2d sg. inj. (§215, §224, §227.II, §237) DB 4.54.

gaub- vb. 'say', mid. 'call one's self' (§213): Sas. Phl. *gōwēt* 'he says', NPers. *gōyād*, inf. *guftān*: perhaps a *-bh-* extension of pIE root **ǵheu-* seen with *-s-* extension in *gauša-* (q.v.; Bv. BSLP 31.2.70). *gaubataiy* mid. (§235.I) DB 2.21, 31, 51; 3.15, 59. *agaubātā* inf. mid. DB 1.84, 93; 2.66f; 3.35, 55 (written *agauratā*, §54.II), 89f; 4.82. *agaubātā* 3d pl. inf. mid. (§236.II) DB 2.93. *gaubataiy* subj. mid. (§235.I) DB 2.84; 3.86.

Gaubariwa- sb. 'Gobryas', ally of Darius against Gaumata: Elam. *kam-bar-ma*, Akk. *gu-baru-*, Gk. *Γωβρίπης*; from *gaw-* 'cattle' + **bariwa-*, cf. Skt. *bharu-* 'lord', to vb. *bar-* (§35.II, §101, §122, §142, §143.II, §150, §153.I, §160.Ib): 'Cattle-Possessor' (Justi, IFA 17.111; otherwise Foy, ZDMG 54.360). *Gaubariwa* nsm. DB 4.84; 5.7, 9, 11; DNc 1.

Gaumāta- sb. 'Gaumata', Median pretender who took the name Smerdis (§164.I): Elam. *kam-ma-ad-da*, Akk. *gu-ma-a-tū*; from *gaw-* 'cattle' + ptc. *māta-* of unknown meaning (§242.II). *Gaumāta* nsm. DB 1.36, 44, 46, 64, 65, 70; 4.7; DBb 1f. *Gaumātam* asm. DB 1.49f, 54, 57, 73; 4.81.

gauša- sb. 'ear': Av. *gaoša-*, NPers. *gōš*, Skt. *ghōṣa-* 'noise'; Iran. root **gauš-* 'hear', pIE **ǵheus-* (§70, §101, §143.I). *gaušā* adm. (§189) DB 2.74,

89. *gauṣāyā* idm. (§189; with sg. ending, Lg. 19.225) DNb 53.

gāṭu- sb. 'place, throne, place of battle' (JNES 4.49-50): Av. *gāṭav-* *gāṭu-*, NPers. *gāh*, Skt. *gātu-*, to pAr. root *gam-*, pIE **g^{em}-* 'come' (§68, §81, §153.III, §179.n2). *gāṭum* asm. DNa 41f. *gāṭavā* lsm. (§137, §182.II) DB 1.62f, 66, 69; DNa 36; DNb 35 (JNES 4.49-50); DSe 36f, 44, 44f; XPf 33 (as abl., §182.III, though without *hacā*: Lg. 9.41-6; Bv. BSLP 33.2.148-50; Wb. ZfA 41.319-20; Schaeder, SbPAW 1935.503; HZ. AMI 4.130-2, 8.45, ApI 177-80), 35f; XPh 34.

gad- vb., see *jad-*.

Ga^{dāra}- sb. 'Gandara, Gandaritis', a province of the Persian Empire: Elam. *gan-da-ra*, Akk. *gan-da-ri*. See also *Gadāraya-*. *Gadāra* nsm. DB 1.16; DPe 1.18; DNa 24f; DSe 24°; DSm 9°; XPh 25. *Gadārā* absm. DSf 34.

Ga^{dāraya}- adj. 'Gandarian': adj. to preced- ing (§144.III, §167). *Gadāraya* nsm. A?P 12.

Ga^{dutava}- sb. 'Gandutava', a district in Arachosia: Elam. *gan-du-ma-+*. Cf. Tm. Lex. 86. *Gadutava* nsm. DB 3.66.

gan- vb., see *jan-*.

gand- vb., see *gasta-*.

gam- vb. 'come': Av. *gam-*, Skt. *gam-*, Gk. *βαίω*, Lt. *veniō*, Gt. *qiman*, pIE **g^{em}-* (§101, §244). See also *gāṭu-*.

ā + gam- 'come': *āgamiyā* opt. (Skt. *gamyāt*; §67.I, §101, §122, §132.2, §218.II, §223.I, §228.II) DPd 19.

ava- + gam- 'go down, fall down': [*avagmat*]ā nsf. past ptc. (§244) DSe 46f (conj. of Kent, cf. JAOS 54.46).

parā + gam- 'go forth': *parāgmatā* nsf. past ptc. (§101, §103.IV, §122, §132.2, §244) DNa 44f.

ham- + gam- 'come together, assemble': *ham- gmatā* npm. past ptc. (§101, §103.IV, §132.2, §140.V, §244) DB 2.32, 38, 43, 52, 58; 3.65. See also *Haḡmatāna-*.

gay- vb., see *jiv-*.

gara- 'devouring', see *bātugara-*.

garta- sb., either 'cave' or 'wagon', see *Asa- garta-*.

Garmapada- adj. 'Garmapada', the fourth month, June-July: Elam. *karmabadaš*, Akk. *du-*

'ūzu. From *garma-* 'heat', Av. *garōma-*, Skt. *gharmā-*, Lt. *formus* 'hot', NEng. *warm*, pIE **g^hormo-*, cf. Gk. *θερμός* (with analogical *-e-*), + *pada-* 'step, station' (§29, §31, §149.I, §161.Ib, §165): 'Heat-Station Month'. *Garmapadahya* gsm. DB 1.42; 3.7f, 46.

gav- sb. 'cow, cattle' (§101): Av. *gāuš*, Skt. *gāuṣ*, Gk. *βοῦς*, NEng. *cow*, pIE nom. **g^uōus*: in *Gaubarwa-*, *Gaumāta-*, perhaps in *Ṡatagu-*.

gasta- adj. 'repugnant, evil'; nt. as sb., 'evil, harm': past ptc. (§85, §242.I) of vb. **gant-* **gandh-* 'smell', Av. *gantī-* 'evil odor' (AiW 493), *duž-ganti-* 'evil-smelling' (AiW 757), Skt. *gandhā-* 'odor' (Bv. Gr. §179); for meaning, cf. Lt. *odor* 'smell', *ōdī* '(I have smelled), I hate', *odium* 'dislike, hatred'. Not abstract to same root, **gant-tāt-*, nom. *gastā*, abl. shortened by haplology, as taken by HZ. AMI 8.68, ApI 173-7. *gastā* nsf. DNa 57f. *gastā* absn. DNa 52; XPh 57f; A²Ša 5°; A²Sdc 4 (*gāstā* da, db; §53); A²Ha 6°.

gud- vb., see *gaud-*.

gub- vb., see *gaub-*.

grab- vb. 'seize (as possession), seize (as prisoner)', pres. *garbāya-* (§30, §217): Av. *grab-*, pres. *gūrūvāya-*, Skt. *grabh-*, pres. *grbhāyati*, NEng. *grab*, pIE **ghrebh-*. See also *Patigrabanā-*. *agarbāyam* 1st sg. inf. DB 2.4 bis; 4.7, 32; 5.25f; DNa 17; DSe 16; DZc 8. *agarbāya* inf. DB 2.88; 3.74, 90°; 5.12. *agarbāya** 3d pl. inf. (§232.II) DB 2.13; 3.48, 49; 5.27f. *agarbāyatā* inf. mid. (§235.II) DB 1.42, 43, 81; 3.82f. When meaning 'seize as prisoner' (DB 2.4 second occurrence, 13, 88; 3.48, 49, 74, 90; 4.7, 32; 5.12, 25f, 27f) perhaps not *agarb-* but *āgarb-*, from *ā + grab-* (see below).

ā + grab- 'seize (as prisoner)': *āgarbūta* nsm. past ptc. pass. (§30, §217, §242.II) DB 2.73. For uncertain examples, see under *grab-* (uncompounded).

-cā (i.e. *-cā*) encl. conj. 'and': GAv. *-cā*, LAv. *-cā*, Skt. *ca*, Gk. *καί*, Lt. *-que*, pIE **q^{ue}-*. *-cā* . . . *-cā* 'both . . . and' DB 1.65, DNb 32; *-cā* . . . *-cā utā* 'both . . . and . . . and' DB 1.66-7. *-cā* DB 1.65 ter, 66, 66f; DPd 9f; DNb 32 bis; XPh 41, 51, 54. *-ca-maiy* DNb 28, 51, 52 (§51).

+++ *canām*, see *ustašanā-*.

canah- sb. 'desire', see *Aspacanah-*; cf. also *kam-*.

car- vb. 'move', see *abiciariš*; cf. also under *ucāra-*.

cāra- (§126), see *ucāra-*.

caša- sb. 'eye': to root in Skt. *caṣ-* 'see, speak', derivatives *caṣas-* *caṣu-* *caṣus-* *caṣan-*, and Av. *čašman-*, Phl. NPers. *čašm* 'eye'; initial *u-* of *ucašma* is an error (Bv. TPS 1945.53-4, quoting Jn. IF 25.182). The stem is *caša-*, not *cašman-* (Kent, Lg. 19.225-6), since the nom.-acc. of nt. *casman-* would be *cašmā* and not *cašma*. Cf. §102, §143.I, §187.n1. Attempts to explain the erroneous *u-* of *ucašma*, Wb. ZDMG 61.726; Wackernagel, KZ 61.205-8. *cašam* as. DB 2.75, 89 (Cameron found *I cāšma* legible in 89, but only the final *m* in 75); *caša[m]* (case and form uncertain) DSq 2.

ci- interrog.-indef. pron. 'what, any'; collateral stem (§201) to OP *ka-*. See also *-ciy*, *ciā*, *cinā*, *ciyākara-*. *ciš-ciy* as. 'anything' (§9.VI, §105, §132.2, §201) DB 1.53, Lt. *quicquid*, pIE **q^{id}-q^{id}*: reduplicated form with Med. sandhi; see OP *-ciy* for exact cognates.

-ciy encl. particle, emphasizing or generalizing, nsm. or as. of *ci-*: Av. *-ci*, Skt. *cid*, Gk. *τῑ*, Lt. *quid*, pIE **q^{id}* (§40, §84, §113, §191.III, §201, §228.n1). In the following combinations: *aciy* (q.v.) XPf 21. *aniyaš-ciy* nsm. DB 4.46; XPa 13; *aniyaš-c* (§52.I) XPh 41f; *aniyai-ciy* npm. XPf 29. *awaš-ciy* nsm. DNb 55; as. DNb 53f, 57; XPa 20; XPc 14; XPf 48. *a[vā]m-c* (§52.I) DB 5.2f. *kaš-ciy* nsm. DB 1.49, 53; DSe 37. *ciš-ciy* as. DB 1.53. *parwam-ciy* DB 1.63, 67, 69. *yacy* (q.v.) DNb 35, 36, 57. *harw-ciy* DPe 23f. *hakaram-ciy* DNb 34f. *[hacā-ci]y* DSf 23. *vašnā-[ci]y* XPh 7f, less likely than *vašnā[pi]y*, see under *apiy*.

Ci^cizri- sb. 'Cincikiri', father of Martiya (§163.V): Elam. *ši-in-ša-ak-ri-iš*, Akk. *ši-in-ša-aḥ-ri-iš*. *Cicizraiš* gsm. (§179.IV) DB 2.9.

ciā adv. 'so long', correlative with *yālā* 'until': from *ci-* + suffix seen in Gk. *ἐπει-τα* 'then' (§191.II; wrongly König, RuID 72, and Sen 40). DB 2.48, 63.

ciça- sb. 'seed, lineage': Av. *ciθra-*, NPers. *cihr* 'origin' (§78, §148.III). In *Ariyaciça-*, *Ciça-tazma-*.

Ciça^atazma- sb. 'Ciçantakhma', a Sagartian

rebel: Elam. *ši-iš-ša-an-tak-ma*, Akk. *ši-it-ra-an-taḥ-ma*, Gk. *Τετραταίχμης*. From *ciça-* (§9.n1) + *tazma-* 'brave' (§9.II): 'Brave-by-Lineage' (§160.Ie); the *-m-* is Median (§163.II; Jacobsohn, KZ 54.261; Bv. BSLP 31.2.79). For the nasal ending the prior element, see §159.n1. *Ciçatazma* nsm. DB 2.79; 4.20; DBg 1f. *Ciçatazma* as. DB 2.87f. *Ciçatazmā* ism. DB 2.86.

ci[nā] emphasizing adv. after neg., 'at all': Av. *cinā* 'also, likewise'; perhaps isn. of *ci-*, cf. JAOS 58.116-7, 324, and Harl, KZ 63.2 (not *ci[tā]*, with Sen 134). DSe 36.

ciyākara- (§53) adj. 'how great'; nt. as sb., 'how great a thing': **ciya(n)t-*, cf. Skt. *kiyat* nsm. 'how much, how many', + *kara-* to root *kar-* 'make' (§160.Ia; Bthl. AiW 597; hardly to *kara-* 'time', cf. *hakaram*, as taken by MB Gr §293, Hz. ApI 101-3). *ciyakaram* nsm. (§259) DNā 39; *ciyakaram* DNb 50; *ciyakaram-ca-maiy* (written *-r^mm^em^eciy^a*; §41, §51, §133, §138.I; Lg. 15.173, against Hz. ApI 240) DNb 51, 51f.

Cišpi- (so Schaefer, SbPAW 1931.641.n4; *Caⁱšpi-* acc. to Justi, INB 152, on the evidence of certain spellings in Greek) sb. 'Teispes', King of Elam about 610 B.C., ancestor of Cyrus and Darius: Elam. *ši-iš-pi-iš*, Akk. *ši-iš-pi-iš*, Gk. *Τελσπης* (§117, §124.3, §164.V). *Cišpiš* nsm. (§24, §179.IV) DB 1.5°; DBa 8. *Cišpaiš* gsm. (§24, §179.IV) DB 1.5f; *Cišpaiš* (§24, §179.IV) AmH 3; DBa 8.

ja^atar- sb. 'smiter, slayer': Av. *fantar-*, Skt. *hantr-*; pIE **g^hen-lor-*, agent noun to OP root *jan-* (§154.II). *jatā* nsm. (§186.I) DB 4.58, 78.

jad- vb. 'pray, ask', with acc. of person and acc. of thing: Av. *jad-* (*gad-*, Bthl. AiW 487), pres. *jaīdya-* (§214), Gk. aor. inf. mid. *θερασθαί*, pIE **g^hedh-*. *jadiyāmiy* 1st sg. (§226.I) DPd 2I; DNā 54; XPh 59f; XSc 4.

jan- vb. 'strike; smite, defeat (enemy in battle); mould (brick)': Av. *Jan-* (*gan-*, Bthl. AiW 490), Skt. *han-*, Gk. *θελει* 'strikes', *φόνος* 'murder', Lt. *dē-fendit* 'wards off', pIE **g^hen-* (§101, §110, §208); see also *jatar-*.

ja^atiy (Skt. *hanti*; §208, §228.I) DSe 36, 40. *ajanam* 1st sg. inf. (§110, §122, §208) DB 1.89, 95; 2.69; 4.6f; 5.25; XPh 34. *aja^a* inf. (§101, §208) DB 2.26, 36, 41, 46, 55, 61, 87, 98°; 3.7, 18, 39, 46, 63, 68, 88; 5.11; DSe 34. *ajaniya* inf. pass.

(§220) DŚf 29. *jadyi* (Skt. *jahā*; §101, §122, §208, §237.I) 2d sg. inv. DB 2.31, 51; 3.15. *jatā* 2d pl. inv. (§208, §231) DB 2.21, 84; 3.58, 86.

ava- + *jan-* and *ava-* + *ā* + *jan-* 'smite down, slay' (apparently *ava-* in *avajata*, *ava-ā-* in *avājan-iyā*, others ambiguous; cf. §206c, JAOS 62.274): *avājanam* 1st sg. inf. (§226.II) DB 1.57, 59, 73, 83; 2.5; 4.81; 5.13, 27°. *avāja** inf. (§228.II) DB 1.31 bis; 3.75. *avājana** 3d pl. inf. (§208, §232-II) DB 2.13. *avājanīyā* opt. (§206c, §223.I, §228.II) DB 1.51, 52 (§53, JAOS 62.274; hardly with Foy, KZ 35.34). *avajata* nsm. past ptc. pass. (§122, §242.I) DB 1.32 (error for *avājata*, acc. to Gray AJP 21.13, Bthl. AiW 491).

pati- + *jan-* 'fight against': *patiyajata* inf. mid. (§140.III, §208, §235.II) DNā 47.

fra- + *jan-* 'cut off': *frājanam* 1st sg. inf. (§226.II) DB 2.74, 89.

vi- + *jan-* 'shatter': *vijanā*tiy* 3d pl. subj. (§208, §222.III, §232.I) A*Sa 5°, A*Ha 7° (conj. Kent).

jav- vb. 'press forward': Skt. *jū-* 'press forward, impel quickly, excite, promote', pres. *jāvate* 'hastens', caus. *jāvayati*. Cf. Bv. BSLP 33.2.152; Hz. AMI 4.127, 8.37-8, 65-6, Apl 366-7; Wb. ZfA 41.320; Bailey, BSOS 7.292-4; Schaefer SbPAW 1935.502; Kent, Lg. 9.43, 231.

abi- + *jav-* caus. 'promote, increase, add to': *abiyajāvayam* 1st sg. inf. (§215) XPg 9; *abijāva-yam* (§23.I, §140.III) XPf 40.

jīyamna- ptc. as adj. 'growing old', nt. as sb. 'end' (§109, §241): Av. *jīyamna-*, ptc. to root *jyā-* 'grow weak', Skt. *jināti* 'grows old'. *jīyamnam* asn. DB 2.62.

jiv- vb. 'live': Av. *jīvati* (*gay-*, Bthl. AiW 502), Skt. *jīvati*, Lt. *vīvit*, pIE **gʷiyeiti* (§216); see also *gaiḁā-*, *jīva-*. *ajwatam* 3d du. inf. (§229) DŚf 14; XPf 21. *jīvā* 2d sg. inv. (§237.I) DB 4.56, 75.

jīva- adj. 'living': Av. *jīva-*, Skt. *jīvā-*, Lt. *vīvos*, pIE **gʷiyo-*, cf. **gʷiyo-* in Gk. *βίος* 'life', **gʷigʷo-* in OEng. *cwicu* 'living', NEng. *quick* (§101, §114, §150). See also *jiv-*. *jīva* nsm. XPh 48, 54. *jīva-diy* A*Sd 3 (dubious §22, §55.II; cf. JAOS 51.229, Scheil 21.93, Wb. AfOF 7.45). *jīvahyā* gsm. DB 5.19f, 35.

jū- vb., see *jav-*.

-ta- encl. demonstr. pron. 'this, it': Av. Skt. *ta-*, cf. OP *tya-*. Only *-tā* apm., referring to *patikarā*,

in *avabāša-tā* DB 4.72 (§133, §196; JAOS 62.272-3).

taumā- sb. 'family' (§149.I): Av. *taoxman-*, NPers. *tuzm*, Skt. *tokā-m* 'offspring', *tōkman-tokma-s* 'young blade of barley'; *-xm-* became OP *-hm-* (§103.II, §118.II), but remained in Med. (Bv. BSLP 31.2.76-9, Gr. §133; wrongly Mt. Gr. §75, Kent JAOS 35.329-31). *taumā* nsf. DB 1.8; 4.56, 58f, 64, 75, 79; DBa 13. *taumām* asf. DB 4.88. *taumāyā* gsf. (§119) DB 1.9, 28f, 45, 49; 2.16, 81; 4.19f, 22; DBa 15; DBe 8; DBg 11f. *taumāyā* absf. DB 1.61f.

tauman- sb. 'power, strength': deriv. of root *tav-* 'be strong', with suffix *-man-* as in Skt. *nāma* 'name', Lt. *nōmen* (§122, §155.III). For separation from *taumā-* 'family', see Tm. Lex. 91, and Kent, JAOS 35.329-31. See also *tauiyāh-*. *taumā* nsn. (§187) DB 4.74, 78; 5.19°, 35. *taumanišaiy* (= *taumaniš-šaiy*; §41, §130, §138.I, §187) ipn. DNb 25f (Lg. 15.171-2, 176; not gen. sg. with Hz. Apl 327; hardly loc. sg. with Sen 247; possibly acc. du., 'two powers [of mind and of body]', with Pisani, Riv. Stud. Or. 19.88-9).

tauiyāh- adj. 'stronger': comp. to **tauma-*, adj. to *tauman-* 'power'; for formation (§48, §122, §156.III, §190.I-II), cf. Skt. *sthūrā-* 'strong' and comp. *sthāuīyas-*, Av. *stūra-* and comp. *staoīyah-*, *tazma-* 'brave' and comp. *taīsyah-*: JAOS 58.324. *tauiyā* nsm. (§185.IV) DSe 39 (not to pres. ptc. *tavya-nt-*, as taken by Hz. Apl 328).

takabara- adj. 'wearing the petasos' (§76.V, §160.Ia), as proved by Akk. 'who bear shields on their heads' (Andreas, Verh. d. 13. Internat. Orientalisten-Kong. 1902, 96-7; Wb. AbkSGW 29.1.33; other views by Foy KZ 35.63, 37.545-6, Bthl. AiW 626, Tm. Lex. 91, PAPA 44.liii-iv). *takabarā* npm. DNā 29; DSm 10f°; A*P 26 (for nsm., §56.III).

tazma- adj. 'brave' (§9.II, §103.II, §149.I; with Med. *-xm-*, Bv. Gr. §133): Av. *tazma-*, NPers. *tāhm*; in *Čiğaltazma-*, *Taxmaspāda-*.

Taxmaspāda- sb. 'Takhmaspada', one of Darius's generals: Elam. *tak-mas-ba-da*; *tazma-* 'brave' + *spāda-* 'army' (§9.II, §103.II, §116, §161.IIa, §163.II). *Taxmaspāda* nsm. DB 2.82, 85.

taš- vb. 'be active': contamination of pIr. **taš-*, Av. *taš-* 'cut, form', Skt. *takṣ-* 'form by cut-

ting', Gk. *τέκτων* 'builder', Lt. *texit* 'braids, weaves', pIE **teḱp-*, and pAr. **tyakš-*, Av. *θwaxš-* '(mid.) be busy', Skt. *twakṣ-* 'create, work', pIE **tueqḗp-*. Cf. also Hz. ApI 322-4, and *ustašanā-*.

ham- + *taxš-* 'work with, cooperate with, effect': *hamtaxšataiy* mid. (§140.V, §213, §235.I) DNb 16. *hamataxšaiy* 1st sg. inf. mid. (§213, §233.III) DB 1.68, 70. *hamataxšatā* inf. mid. (§235.II) DB 4.65f. *hamataxšatā* 3d pl. inf. mid. DB 4.82.

tacara- sb. 'palace': NPers. *tāzār*, Elam. *da-iš-ša-ra-um*, Akk. *bit* (§76.V, §148.I). Cf. Gray, AJP 53.67; Hz. Klio 8.51, AMI 2.77; Hinz, ZDMG 95.227. *tacaram* asm. DPa 6; XPj. *dacaram* (§49a) DSd 3.

tanū- sb. 'body, self' (§153.II): Av. *tanū-*, Skt. *tanū-*; cf. Debrunner, IF 52.136. Decl., §183.I. *tanuš* nsf. DNb 33. *tanūm* asf. XPf 31.

tar- vb. 'cross over': Av. *tar-*, Skt. *tārati*, caus. *tārdyati*, Lt. *trāns* ptc. as prep. 'across', cf. NEng. *through*. See also *tara*.

vi- + *tar-* 'go across', caus. 'put across': *viyatarayam* 1st sg. inf. (§215) DB 5.24f. *viyatarayā-mā* 1st pl. inf. (§230.II) DB 1.88.

tara prep. with acc. 'through': Av. *tarō*, NPers. *tūr*, Skt. *tīrās*; formed on root *tar-* (q.v.) similarly to *para* (q.v.). *ta[ra]* DZc 12.

Tāravā- sb. 'Tarava', a town in Persia; Elam. *+ra-ū-ma*, Akk. *ta-ar-ma-*. *Tāravā* nsf. DB 3.22.

tarsa- pres. stem. of vb. 'fear', with *hacā* + abl.: Av. *trāsati*, NPers. *tārsād*, pIE **tr̥s-ske-ti* (§31, §97, §212), cf. pIE **tres-* in Skt. *trāsati*, Gk. *τρεῖς*, also **trem-* **trep-* in Lt. *tremil* 'trembles (with fear)', *trepidus* 'agitated (with fear)'. *īarsatiy* (§228.I) DPd 11f. *tarsa^atiy* 3d pl. (§232.I) DSe 38f. *atarsa* inf. DB 1.50f. *atarsa^a* 3d pl. inf. (§232.II) DB 2.12^a; DPe 9. *tarsam* 1st sg. inj. (§224, §237) DPe 21.

tav- vb. 'be strong': Av. *tav-*, Skt. *tu-*, cf. Gk. *ταῦπος* 'bull', Lt. *taurus*. See also *utava-*, *tauman-*, *tawīyah-*, *tunwa^a-* (but cf. Hz. ApI 328-33). *tāvayati* (§122, §123.2, §215) DNb 33f. *atāvayam* 1st sg. inf. (§215) DNb 47.

taš- vb., see under *taxš-*; in *ustašanā-*.

¹*Tigra-* sb. 'Tigra', a fortress in Armenia: Elam. *ti-ig-ra* (§103.IV). *Tigra* nsm. DB 2.39.

²*tigra-* adj. 'pointed' (§103.IV, §148.I): Av.

tiyri- 'arrow', Skt. *tigmā-* 'pointed', cf. with strong grade Av. *bilaēya-* 'two-edged', Skt. *tējate* 'is sharp'. See also *tigraxaudā-*. *tigrām* asf. DB 5.22.

Tigrā- sb. 'Tigris' (§76.V, §103.IV, §107, §166): Elam. *ti-ig-ra*, Akk. *dā-iq-lat*, Gk. *Τίγρις*. *Tigrām* asf. DB 1.85, 88.

tigraxauda- adj. 'wearing the pointed cap' (§161.IIa), as is shown in the sculpture of Skunkha the Scythian at Behistan (cf. also Hdt. 7.64): ²*tigra-* 'pointed' + *xaudā-* 'cap' (§159). *tigra-xaudā* nsm. DNb 26, DSe 25^a, XPh 27; for nsm. (§56.III) DN xv, A?P 15.

tunwa^a-t- adj. 'powerful': ptc. (§210) to **tunauti*y, pres. to *tav-* (§122; JAOS 15.170; otherwise Hz. ApI 329-32). Decl., §190.I, §240. *tunwā* nsm. (§210.I) DNb 10. *tunwa^atam* (§39) DB 4.65. *tunwa^atahyā* gsm. DNb 9.

tuwam pron. 'thou': GAv. *tūm*, LAv. *tūm*, Skt. *tvām*, pIE **tuyom*; cf. Skt. *tvām*, Gk. Dor. *τῷ*, Lt. *tū*, Gt. *pū* (§76.I, §137). Decl., §194. *tuwam* nsm. DB 4.37, 41, 67, 70, 87; *tuwa* (§52.V; not *tūw* = pIE **tū*, as taken by Hz. ApI 329) XPh 46. *θuwām* asm. (Skt. *tvām*; §81, §114, §132.3) DB 4.43, 53, 55, 74; DSt 9f. *taiy* gsm. (Skt. *te*, Gk. adv. *τοι*) DNb 58 (§133). *-taiy* encl. gsm. in the following: *Auramazdā-tay* (§52.II) DB 4.58; *Auramazdā-taiy* DB 4.78; *ala-taiy* DNb 43, 45; *ava-taiy* DB 4.76, 79; *utā-taiy* DB 4.56, 58, 73f, 75, 77f, 79; *tya-taiy* DNb 53; *parta[m-taiy]* DNb 54; *mā-taiy* DNb 52, 55 (cf. *mā* : *taiy* 58); *haw-taiy* DNb 57.

³*tya-* rel. pron., def. art., demonstr. pron.; cf. similar stem in Skt. (Ved.) demonstr. *tya-*; recent (Iran. or OP) contamination (§261; Ig. 20.1-8) of demonstr. *ta-*, Av. Skt. *ta-*, Gk. *το-*, pIE **to-* (cf. Lt. *is-tul*, NEng. *tha-t*) with rel. stem *ya-*, Av. Skt. *ya-*, Gk. *ῥα-*, pIE **ja-* (rather than extension of stem *ta-* by suffix *-(i)ja-*, as taken by MB Gr. §331), and written *t^aya-* rather than *tⁱya-* because of the similar orthography of nsm. *hya*, nsf. *hyā* (not because unaccented, as taken by MB Gr. §331); *t-* unchanged before *i* by influence of the *ta-* from which the word is derived (Foy, KZ 35.4n; Bthl. Gdr. IP §416a.n1). Decl., §198; uses, §261, §262. See also ²*tya* conj., *hya*.

(1) Rel. 'who, which': *tyam* asm. DB 3.60, 70. *tyaiy* npm. DB 1.9, 15; 4.50, 61, 63, 80; 5.22; DBa 15; DPe 13, 13f; DPh 5; DNb 28, 41; DSe 28^a,

28f°; DSf 47f, 49, 51°, 52, 54°; DH 4; XPh 24.
tyai-šaiy (§136) DB 1.57; 2.77; 3.48, 51, 74, 90, 91.
tya as npm. (§52.I) XPh 23.

tyām asf. DB 4.70f; DPd 7. *tya* as asf. (§56.V)
 AmH 5; AsH 13°. *tyā* npf. DB 1.13, 18; 2.6; 4.33;
 DPe 9, 14f; DSf 45. *tyaiy* as npf. (§258.IV)
 XPh 31. *tyā* apf. DPe 7; DNā 17, 40; DSe 16.
tyaišām gpf. DSm 6°; XPh 15.

tya nsn. (§40) DB 1.27, 61, 67; 2.91; 3.10, 20,
 53, 76; 4.1f, 42, 49°, 53; DNā 48; DNb 2, 11, 29,
 54, 56; DSe 31, 43; DSf 36; DSj 5°; DSn 2°; DZc
 9, 10; XPa 19; XPb 23; XPf 26, 37, 46; XPg 4;
 XPh 42; XV 19; A³Pa 26. *tya-šām* DB 1.19;
 DNā 20; DSe 19°; XPh 17f. *tya-maiy* DNb 48;
 DSe 52°; DSf 19°; DSS 7°; XPa 19f; XPb 24, 30;
 XPe 13 bis; XPD 19; XPi 38, 47; XSe 5°; XV 27°;
 A³Pa 24°; A³He 20. *tya-taiy* DNb 53. *tya-patiy*
 XPa 15. *tya* asn. DB 1.44, 72; 4.3, 40, 59, 75, 79;
 5.2; DPd 4; DNb 22, 24; DSA 4; DSf 20f, 22°;
 DSj 2°, 4; DSI 3; DH 3; XPa 14, 15; XPi 41;
 XPh 43, 49, 52; A³SA 5°; A³SD 3; A³Ha 7. [tya]-
šām DNā 36f. *tya-maiy* DPh 8; DH 6. *tya-patiy*
 XPi 40f. *tyanā* isn. DSf 42. *tyā* npn. in *tyā-*
maiy DNb 13. *tyā* apn. DB 1.64; DNb 46, 49.
tyā-diš DB 1.65.

(2) Def. art., 'the': *tyam* asm. DB 1.50, 54, 57,
 73, 89, 95; 2.21, 25f, 35, 41, 46, 55, 61, 69, 87, 97°;
 3.7, 18, 38, 46, 62f, 67f; 4.81; DSe 39. *tyam-*
šām DB 5.12°.

tyām asf. DB 1.69, 71; 4.87; DNā 59. *tya* as
 asf. (§56.V) AsH 9, A³Se 6. *tyaišām* gpf. DPe 3f.
tya nsn. DNā 21; DSe 20°, 38; XPh 19. *tya* asn.
 DB 1.81; DSf 11 bis; DSm 4° bis; DSp 2°, 3°;
 DZc 4 bis. *tyanā* isn. DB 1.23.

(3) Demonstr. pron., 'this': *tyā* ndm. DSf 14.
tyaiy apm. DB 3.73.

²*tya* conj. 'that', nt. sg. of preceding; cf.
 similar uses of Gk. *ὅτι*, Lt. *quod*, NEng. *that*,
 NGm. *dass*. In various uses (§299):

(1) 'that', introducing clause of fact as object,
 DSf 28 bis, 29.

(2) 'that', introducing clause of volition, with
 opt., DNb 8, 10, 19.

(3) 'that', introducing indirect or direct quota-
 tion, DB 1.32, 52; DNā 38f.

(4) 'because', introducing causal clause, DNb
 33 (*tya-maiy*).

(5) 'so that', introducing result clause, DB 4.34;
 DNb 7.

(6) *mā-tya* 'in order that ... not, lest, not', DB
 4.43, 48, 71, and in *mā-tya-mām* DB 1.52.

(7) *yadā-tya* 'where' XPh 35f, cf. *yadāyā* 'where'
 XPh 39.

(8) *yabā tyā* 'when' XPh 29.

Θaigarci- adj. 'Thaigarci', third month, May-
 June: Elam. *sākurrisiš*, Akk. *simannu* (§30, §72,
 §87, §126, §152.I, §165); an etymology as
 'Garlic-Collecting Month', involving normaliza-
 tion *Θaigraci-*, is given by Justi, ZDMG 51.243
 (cf. Bthl. AiW 786). *Θaigarcaiš* gsm. DB 2.46f.

θakata- ptc. adj. 'completed': Av. *sak-* '(of
 time) pass', pIE **kēq-*; fut. ptc. pass. (§244) like
 Av. *yazata-* 'worthy of worship' (Bv. BSLP
 30.1.68-70), passing into past meaning, like Skt.
pacatā- 'cooked', Gk. *ἀπι-δελ-ετος* 'much pointed
 out, famous' (Schwyzer, Griech. Gram. 501-2);
 rather than pres. act. ptc. *θaka'-t-* made thematic
 (cf. Bthl. WZKM 22.79-80). *θakata* nsn. DB
 3.8. *θakātā* npn. DB 1.38, 42, 56, 90, 96; 2.26f,
 36, 42, 47, 56, 70, 98; 3.19, 39f, 47, 63, 68, 89.

Θatagu- sb. 'Sattagydia', a province of the
 Persian Empire: Elam. *sa-ad-da-ku-iš*, Akk. *sa-*
al-la-gu-iš, Gk. *Σατταγυδία* (§67, §87, §122, §153.I,
 §161.IIa, §204.V). From *θata-* 'hundred', Av.
sata-, Skt. *śatám*, Gk. *ἑκατόν*, Lt. *centum*, NEng.
hundred, pIE **knto-m*, + *gaw-* 'cattle': 'having
 hundreds of cattle' (hardly '[Land of] Seven
 Streams', with Hz. AMI 1.99n, 3.100-2, 8.73,
 König RuID 63). See also *Θataguiya-*. *Θataguš*
 nsm. DB 1.17; 2.7f; DPe 17; DNā 24; DSe 23°;
 DSm 10°; XPh 22.

Θataguiya- adj. 'Sattagyidian': adj. to preced-
 ing (§144.III, §167). *Θataguiya* nsm. A³P 11; for
-guiyih, unless *-gudaya* is to be read (§54.I, §167),
 cf. Gk. *Σατταγυδαί*, in which case the etymology
 given under *Θatagu-* must be revised.

θad- vb. 'seem': Av. *sand-*, Skt. *chand-* (§87,
 §215). *θadayātaiy* subj. mid. (§222.II) DB 4.19;
 DSA 5; DSj 6 (for text, see under *fraša-*; cf. §54.I).
θadaya inj. (§224, §228.II, §237) DNā 58; DNb
 53.

θadaba, word of uncertain meaning, Sb 3.

θanwaniya- sb. 'bowman': deriv. (§144.IV) of
 stem in Av. *θanwar/n-* 'bow', cf. Skt. *ghanwan-*
 'bow' (§83.II, §114, §155.IV) and Hz. Apf 339.
 See also *θhanwaniya-*. *θanwaniya* nsm. DNb
 42.

θard- sb. 'year': Av. *sarəd-* 'year', NPers. *sāl*, Skt. *śarad-* 'autumn' (§31, §87, §142). For the chronology of the rebellions against Darius, see Hist. App. IV. *θardam* asf. DB 5.3. *θarda* gsf. DB 4.4f, 41, 45, 52, 60.

θarmi- sb. 'timber' (§6, §29, §34, §152.IV): no probable etymology, despite König, Burgbau 52-4; HZ. AMI 3.58; Gray, AJP 53.67-8. *θarmiš* DSf 30.

θah- vb. 'declare, say': Av. *sah-*, pres. *sapah-*, Skt. *śāsati*, Lt. *cēnsēt*, pIE **kens-* (§87); perhaps lacking the nasal in the OP present (§108.n1; MB Gr. §134, cf. Wackernagel, IF 45.321-7; dubious theories on the pronunciation, HZ. AMI 3.83-6).

θātiy (§131, §213, §228.I; JAOS 35.332-4) AmH 4, 9; AsH 5; CMB 3; DB 1.3, 6, 8f, 11, 12f, 17, 20, 24, 26f, 35, 43, 48, 61, 71, 72, 81, 83, 90; 2.1, 5°, 8, 11, 13, 18, 29, 37, 42, 49, 57, 64, 70, 78, 91, 92; 3.1, 9, 10, 19, 21, 28f, 40, 49, 52f, 54, 64, 69, 75, 76, 83; 4.1, 2, 31, 33, 36, 40, 43, 45, 50, 52f, 57, 59, 61, 67, 69, 72, 76, 80, 86, 88; 5.1, 14, 18, 20, 30, 33f; DBa 4, 9, 13f; DPd 5, 12; DPe 5, 18; DPh 3; DNā 15, 30, 47; DNb 5, 22; DSA 3; DSD 2f°; DSe 14, 30°, 41, 49°; DSf 8, 55; DSG 2f; DSI 2f; DSj 2, 4f°; DSk 3; DSI 1; DSm 3; DSo 2°; DSt 6f; DZc 7; DH 3; XPa 11, 17; XPb 21; XPe 9; XPd 15; XPf 15, 27, 43f; XPg 1; XPh 13, 28, 56; XPj; XSa 1; XSe 2f°; XV 16; A¹Pa 17; D²Sb 3°; A²Se 1; A²Sc 1°; A²Sd 2; A²Ha 1; A²Hc 7, 15; A²Pa 8, 21, 23.

abāham 1st sg. inf. (§131, §132.2-3, §213) DB 2.20, 30, 50, 83; 3.14, 85; DNā 37. *abāha* inf. DB 1.75; 2.10°, 15, 80; 3.25, 57f; 4.8, 11, 13, 16, 19, 21, 24, 27°, 29; DBb 4; DBc 5; DBd 3; DBe 5; DBf 3; DBg 4f; DBh 4; DBi 4; DBj 3. *θāhyā-mahy* 1st pl. pass. (§220, §230.I) DB 1.7; DBa 10f. *abāhya* inf. pass. (§220) DB 1.20, 23f; DNā 20; DSe 19°; *abāhiya* (§27) XPh 18. * *θāhy* 2d sg. subj. (§131, §222.II, §227.I) DB 4.55, 58. *θastanaīy* inf. (§132.2-3) DB 1.53f.

θikā- sb. 'gravel, rubble, broken stone' (wrongly König, Burgbau 50, cf. Kent, JAOS 53.14): probably pIE **kigā-* (§87, §143.IV), cf. Skt. *sikatā-* 'sand, gravel' (with Prakrit *s* for Skt. *ś*, or borrowed from an Iranian dialect, Bv. BSLP 30.1.60-1), and perhaps OP *Sikayawatiš* (with Med. *s-*), fem. to **sikayas-ant-* (cf. Bv. BSLP 30.1.61; HZ. AMI 3.55-6; Kent, JAOS 51.203). *θikā* nsf. DSf 25, 28. *θikām* asf. DSf 27.

θuxra- sb. 'Thukhra', father of Otanes (§163.Ib, §164.III): Elam. *du-uk-kur-ra*, Akk. *su-uh-ra-*. Perhaps same as Av. *suxra-* 'red', NPers. *surx*, Skt. *śukrā-* 'bright' (§87, §103.I, §148.I; cf. Foy, KZ 35.20). *θuxrah[y]ā* gsm. DB 4.83.

θuravāhara- adj. 'Thuravahara', second month, April-May: Elam. *turmār*, Akk. *aḫḫāru*. Cp'd of *θūra-* 'vigorous', Av. *sūra-*, Skt. *śūra-*, Gk. *κῡρος* 'valid', pIE **kūra-* (§87), + *vāhara-* 'spring time', Skt. *vāsará-* 'bright', NPers. *bāhār* 'spring', Lith. *vāsara* 'summer' (§118.I, §126, §143.II, §148.I, §154.I; cf. Bv. Origines 16): '(Month) of Strong Spring' (§161.IIa, §165). *θuravāharahya* gsm. DB 2.36, 41, 61; 3.39.

čay- vb. 'lean': Av. *sray-*, Skt. *śri-*, Gk. *κλίνει*, Lt. *in-clinat*, NEng. *lean*, pIE **klei-* (§94).

ni- + *čay-*, causative (§123, §215) 'restore'; form influenced by *dāraya-* in Av. and OP (Ware, JAOS 44.285-7): *niyačārayam* 1st sg. inf. DB 1.64.

čita- adj. 'third': Gk. *τρίτος*, pIE **tritos* (§204.-III). See also *čitiya-*. *čitām* asf. DB 5.3 (JNES 2.109-10).

čitiya- adj. 'third': Av. *θitiya-*, Sks. *ṛtīya-*, Lt. *tertius*, pIE **tritiyo-* (§78, §144.II, §204.III); see also *čita-*. *čitiyām* asn. as adv. DB 2.43.

Čūšā- sb. 'Susa', a capital city of Darius, in Elam: Elam. *šu-ša-an*, Akk. *šu-ša-an*, Gk. *Σούσα* (§78, §117). *Čūšāyā* 1sf. DSf 22, 34, 56; DSo 3f.

ḏā- vb. 'give': Av. Skt. *dā-*, Gk. *δίδωμι*, Lt. *dat* 'gives', *dōnum* 'gift', pIE **dō-* (§62, §76.III). *dadātūw* inv. (§209, §237.II) DPd 23f; DNā 55; XPh 60.

ḏā- vb. 'put, make, create': Av. *dā-*, Skt. *dhā-*, Gk. *τίθημι*, Lt. *fecit* 'made', NEng. *do*, *deed*, pIE **dhē-*. See also *wadā-*, *dātā-*, *dāna-*. *adadā* inf. (§209, §228.II) DPd 3; DNb 1, 2; DSe 2°, 3°, 3f, 4. *adā* aor. (§62, §76.III, §122, §218.II, §228.II) DNā 2, 3 bis, 4; DSf 1f°, 2 bis, 3, 9; DSP 2°; DSt 2°, 3, 3f°, 4°; DZc 1, 2 ter; DE 3, 4, 5, 6; XPa 1f, 2, 3 bis; XPb 3, 4, 5, 6; XPe 2 bis, 3 bis; XPd 2, 3, 4 bis; XPf 2, 3 bis, 4; XPh 2 bis, 3 bis; XE 3f, 5, 5f, 6; XV 3, 4 bis, 5; A¹Pa 2°, 3°, 4°, 4f°; A²Hc 2, 3, 4 bis; A²Pa 2, 3, 4 bis.

daīy, see *-di-*.

daiva- sb. '(false) divinity, demon' (cf. HZ. RHRel. 113.32-7, AMI 8.74-5, ApI 126-30): Av.

daēva, Skt. *devā* 'deity', Lt. *dīvos*, *deus*, pIE **deiyō-* (§76.III, §114, §143.III). See also *daiva-dāna-*. *daivā* npm. XPh 36, 38, 39.

daivadāna- sb. 'sanctuary of false divinities' (§147.I, §160.Ib): *daiva-* + *dāna-* (in derogatory sense, 'den', acc. to Hz. AMI 8.75, ApI 131). *daivadānam* asm. XPh 37f (written *-d^aav^mm^a* in second copy, cf. §51, Lg. 13.293).

daug- vb., see *hadugā-*.

dauštār- sb. 'friend': NPers. *dōst*, Skt. *joṣṭār-* 'loving'; agent-noun (§154.II) to root *dauš-*, Av. *zaoš-* 'enjoy', Skt. *juṣ-*, Lt. *gustat* 'tastes', NEng. *choose*, pIE **ǵeus-* (§88). *dauštā* nsm. (§124.5, §186.I) DB 4.56, 69, 74; DNb 7, 8, 12; DSj 4.

dacara-, see *tacara-*.

dāta- sb. 'law': Av. *dāta-*, NPers. *dāt*; nt. ptc. to **dā-* (§122, §242.II). See also *Vahyazdāta-*. *dātam* nsn. DNa 21; DSe 20^o, 37; XPh 18f. *dātā* isn. (less probably absn., §172) DB 1.23; XPh 49, 52. [*dātā* npn. DNb 58.

datasa, KT's reading, with first and third characters uncertain, DB 4.71f; read *utava*, q.v.

Dātuvahya- sb. (§164.V) 'Dātuvahya', father of Megabyzus (§163.Ib): Elam. *da-ad-tu-man-ja*, Akk. *za-'tu'-a*; cf. Hz. AMI 1.84n. *Dāt[u]-vahyahyā* gsm. DB 4.85.

Dādarši- sb. 'Dadarshi', (1) an Armenian, (2) a Persian, satrap in Bactria: Elam. *da-tur-ši-iš*, Akk. *da-da-ar-šu*. Deriv. of *darš-* 'dare', with reduplication; Skt. *dādṛṣi-* 'bold' (§30, §76.III, §152.I, §164.IV). *Dādaršiš* nsm. DB 2.29, 31f, 48; 3.13, 15. *Dādaršim* asm. DB 2.33, 38, 44.

**dan-* vb. 'flow': Skt. *dhān-vatī*. *danu[vaīy]* DZc 9 (or *danu[taiy]* mid., Wb. KIA 104, after alternative suggestion of Bthl. AiW 683); §216, §216.n1.

**dan-* vb. 'be acquainted with', see *xšnā-*.

dāna-, in *apadāna-*, *daivadāna-*: Skt. *dhāna-m* 'container, receptacle'; from OP **dā-* + suffix *-na-* (§147.I).

**dar-* vb. 'hold; (intrans.) dwell': Av. *dar-*, Skt. *dhṛ-*, Lt. *fir-mus* 'firm', Lith. *daryti* 'to make', pIE **dher-* (§76.III, §122). See also *Upadarma-*, *Dārayavau-*, *durūva-*, *Vidarna-*. Present stem *dāraya-* and conj., §215. *dārayāmiy* 1st sg. (§226.I) AmH 5f; AsH 11, 14; DB 1.26; DPh 4f;

DNb 14; DH 4. *dārayatiy* DNd 2 (reading certain, acc. to Wb.'s marginal note to AbkSGW 29.-142). *dāraya^atiy* 3d pl. (§232.I) XPh 23f, 24f. *adāraya* inf. (§228.II) DB 1.85; 2.9; 3.23; DNa 41; DSe 20^o; XPh 19; *adārayiya* DNa 22 (§48; Wb. AbkSGW 29.33, cf. Kent, JAOS 35.347n; wrongly Hz. ApI 132, as passive). *adā[rayat]ā* inf. mid. with passive meaning DB 4.90f (§235.II; JAOS 62.268). *adāršiy* 1st sg. aor. mid. (§218.I, §233.V) DPe 8. *adāriya* inf. pass. (§220, §228.II) DB 2.75, 90.

ham- + *dar-* 'get hold of, obtain': *hamadārayaiy* 1st sg. inf. (§233.III) DB 1.26.

**dar-* vb. 'be angry', see *dartana-*.

daraniya- sb. 'gold': Av. *zaranya-* Ars. Phl. *zarēn*, NPers. *zārr*, Skt. *hīranya-m*, pIE **ǵhl-enjō-* (§32, §66.II, §88, §126, §144.IV), cf. NEng. *gold*. See also *dāraniyakara-*. *dāraniyam* nsn. DSf 35. *dāraniyam* asm. DSf 49f. But Gk. *δάρειος*, a Persian gold coin, is from the name of Darius (Bv. BSLP 30.1.59), and not from a short form of *dāraniya-* (as taken by Mt. Gr. §129, Hz. ApI 134-5).

dāraniyakara- sb. 'goldsmith': NPers. *zārgār* 'goldsmith'; *dāraniya-* with *vriddhi*, + *kara-* 'maker' (§126, §143.V, §160.Ia; König, Burghau 65; Hz. AMI 3.73-4; Kent, JAOS 53.21). *dāraniyakarā* npm. DSf 49 (on Frag. Theta, Scheil 21, plate 11, see §44; König, Burghau, Tafel 5; Kent, JAOS 53.21, against 51.195-6).

Dārayavau- sb. 'Darius' (I, son of Hystaspes, king 522-486 B.C.; II, son of Artaxerxes I, king 426-04 B.C.): Elam *da-ri-ja-ma-u-iš*, Akk. *da-ri-ja-muš*, Gk. *Δάρειος* (by haplology for **Δάρειαιος*; Keiper, Acta Sem. Phil. Erlangen, 1.253). From pAr. **dḥaraia-*, ptc. to root in OP *dar-* (§162, §240), + pAr. **yasu* asn. 'the good' (§153.I), see OP *vau-*: 'He who holds firm the good' (Hz. Arch. Hist. Iran 40, ApI 255, 267, takes as hypocoristic of **dāraya-vahu-manah-* 'Holder of Good Thought'; this is rejected by Nyberg, Rel. 361).

Dārayavauš nsm. (§118.IV, §124.2) DB 1.1, 4, 6, 9, 11, 13, 17f, 20f, 24, 27, 35, 44, 48, 61, 71, 73, 81, 83, 90; 2.1, 5, 8, 11, 13f, 18, 29, 37, 42f, 49, 57, 64, 70, 78, 91, 92; 3.1, 9, 10f, 19f, 21, 29, 40, 49, 53, 54, 64, 69, 75, 76, 83; 4.1, 2f, 31, 33, 36, 40, 43, 45, 50, 53, 57, 59, 61f, 67, 69f, 72, 76, 80, 86, 88; 5.1, 14, 18, 20, 30, 34^o; DBa 1, 4f, 9, 14; DPa 1;

DPb; DPd 4f, 5, 12; DPe 1, 5f, 19; DPh 1, 3f; DNa 8, 15, 30f, 40, 47f; DNb 5; DSA 1, 3; DSb 1f°; DSc; DSd 1°, 3°; DSe 8, 14, 30f°, 41°, 49f; DSf 5f, 8, 55; DSg 1, 3; DSI 1, 3; DSj 1, 2, 5; DSk 1, 3f; DSL 1; DSm 1, 3°; DSñ 1°; DSo 2f; DSq 2; DSt 7°; DSy 1; DZa; DZb 1; DZe 4, 7; DE 12; DH 1, 3; XPe 11; XPf 16f, 30, 33; XPg 6; XSa 2; XV 17; D²Sa 2; D²Sb 1°, 3°; A²Sa 3; Wa 2f; Wb 1; Wc 2; Wd 2; SDa; SDb. *Dārayavahauš* as nsm. XPf 25 (§51; Lg. 9.39).

Dārayavauum asm. DPd 2; DNa 5; DNb 4; DSe 5°; DSf 3f; DSñ 2; DSp 1f°; DSt 5°; DZe 3; DE 7; XPf 22f; D²Sa 2f.

Dārayavahauš gsm. (§118.IV, §124.2) DB 3.58f; DPc; DPd 10; DPi; DNe 1f; DNd 1; DZc 3; XPa 9f; XPb 19; XPe 8f, 14; XPd 13; XPe 3; XPf 13f, 17; XPh 11; XPj; XPk; XSe 2°; XE 19; XV 14f; A¹Pa 16. *Dārayavauš* as gsm. XPf 28 (§51; Lg. 9.39); (§313.II) A²Sb, A²Sd 2, A²Hb, A²Pa 13f, 14, 17, 18. *Dārayavaušahyā* gsm. (§57) A¹I; A²Sa 1, 1f, 2f, 3; A²Se 0 bis; A²He 9f, 10 (as nom., §313.I), 13, 14 (as nom.). *Dārayavaušahyā* gsm. (§52.VI, §57) A²Ha 2, 2°, 4, 4°.

dāru- sb. 'wood': Av. *dāuru-*, Skt. *dāru-*, cf. Gk. *δάρυ* 'spear'. *dāruw* (§181) nsm. DSf 41, in phrase *asā dāruw* 'ebony', lit. 'stone wood' (§308.-n1), so called because of its hardness; but also probably *asā* because of the assonance translated Akk. *aban* 'stone', cf. Hebr. *eben* 'ebony', Gk. *ἔβενος*, from Egyptian *hbnj* 'ebony' (J. Duchesne-Guillemin, BSOS 10.925-7 [1942], noting that acc. to Hdt. 3.97 the Egyptians paid a tribute of ebony logs to the Persian King). Not to be normalized *dāruwa* to root *'dar-* and the phrase taken as 'copper' (Scheil 21.30; Kent JAOS 51.208, 53.18-9), or as 'iron' (Bv. BSLP 30.1.60; who also suggests that *dāruwa* may be an adj. referring to some kind of tree); not *asā* + instr. *dāruw* 'window frames of wood' (König, Burgbau 64-5); not *asā sārwa* 'lead' (Hz. Apl 299), to Av. *srva-* 'lead' (Bthl. AiW 1649), for the slight traces do not confirm initial *s*°. [*dāruw* asn. DSf 51 (so Hinz, Orientalia, soon to appear; not [*išmal*]*w*, see Lex. s.v.).

darga- adj. 'long': GAv. *'daraga-*, LAv. *darāya-*, NPers. *dēr*, Skt. *dārgah-*, pIE **d̥lgha-*, cf. Gk. *δολιχός*, Lt. *longus* (§31, §68, §101, §143.III, VI). *dargam* asn. as adv. 'for a long time' DB 4.56, 75.

daršana- (or perhaps *zartana-*, with Med. z) sb. 'anger': Av. *zarāta-* 'enraged', Skt. *hṛyātē* 'is angry' (§34, §147.V, §238). [*dāršana-* lsm. DNb 13f (conj. of Kent, JNES 4.46-7; cf. §238.n1).

darš- vb. 'dare': GAv. *darāš-* 'deed of violence', Skt. *dhyā-nōti* 'dares', NEng. *dare* (§76.III, §117). See also *Dādarši-*, *daršam*. *adaršnauš* imf. §30, §84, §210.I, §228.III) DB 1.53.

daršam adv. 'mightily': asn. to adj. *darša-* (§143.I), to root *darš-* (against this, Hz. Apl 135-6). DB 1.50 (MB Gr. §366; wrongly Kent, JAOS 35.336-42); 4.37; DNb 14, 15, 50.

dasta- sb. 'hand': Av. *zasta-*, NPers. *dāst*, Skt. *hāsta-*, pIE **ghasto-* (§88, §116, §145). See also *dastakarta-*. *dastayā* lsm. DB 4.35. *dastabiya* idm. (§189) DNb 41.

dastakarta- adj. 'handmade': *dasta-* + ptc. *karta-* (§160.Ic), to *kar-* 'make'. [*dasta*]*kartam* (restored after the Elam., Wb. ZDMG 91.85, Hz. Apl 136-8) nsm. as sb. 'handiwork', DSe 42f.

Daha- adj. 'Dahian'; pl., a province of the Persian Empire: Akk. *da-a-an*, Gk. *Δάαι* (§76.V; Lg. 13.298; Hz. AMI 8.72). *Dahā* npm. XPh 26.

dahyu- sb. 'land, province, district': GAv. *dahyu-*, LAv. *dahyu-* *daiōhu-*, NPers. *dih* 'village', Skt. *dāsyu-* 'stranger, demon' (§124.2, §153.IV, §166). Decl., §183.II. See also *visadahyu-*.

dahyāuš nsf. AmH 5, 8f (as lsf. §314b); DB 1.59; 2.28, 53, 59, 72; 3.9, 11, 20, 23, 66, 75, 79f; 5.4, 13f, 29f; DPd 6. *dahyāuš-maiy* DB 4.39. *dahyāum* asf. (§53, §72) AsH 8, 11, 13; DPd 15, 18; DNa 53. *dahyāwam* (§124.VI) XPh 33, 58f. *dahyanwā* (*dahyiwā* Wb.) lsf. (§48, §124.2, §137) DB 1.34.

dahyāwa npf. (§124.7) DB 1.13, 17, 18, 23, 41; 2.6°; 4.33; DPe 7, 14; DNa 17, 39; DSe 15f, 32f; DSm 5f°; XPh 15. *dahyāwa* apf. DB 1.21, 47, 67; 4.92; XPh 31, 35. *dahyūnām* gpf. DB 1.2; DBa 3; DPa 4; DPe 3; DNa 10; DSb 6f; DSe 9°; DZb 2f°; DZe 5; DE 15; XPa 7f; XPb 15; XPe 7; XPd 10f; XPf 10f; XPh 8f; XSe 2°; XE 15; XV 11f; A¹Pa 11f°; A²Se 3f; Wb 5; Wc 6; Wd 6. *dahyūnām* (§23.II) DPh 2; DH 1f. *dahyūšwā* lpf. DB 1.35.

DHum (§42) asf. DSf 58; DSj 6°. *DHyavum* (§53) A²Pa 26. *DHnām* gpf. DSA 2; DSd 1; DSf 6; DSg 1°; DSI 1°; DSk 2; DSm 2°. *DHyūnām*

DSy 2; XPj; A¹I; D²Sb 1; A²Sa 1; A²Sd 1; A²Ha 1^o; A²He 8; A²Pa 11.

¹*dā*- vb. 'see': Av. ²*dā(y)*- 'see' (Bthl. AiW 724), NPers. *dādān*, Skt. *dhī*- 'think'. *dādiy* 2d sg. inv. (§65, §129, §209, §218.II, §237.I) DNā 41; DNb 57.

²*dā*- vb. 'take by force (a thing from a person, 2 acc.), deprive (a person of a thing, 2 acc.)': Av. *zināiti* 'harms' (*zyā*-, Bthl. AiW 1700), Skt. *jināti* 'oppresses', *jāyati* 'conquers' (§88), cf. Gk. βιά 'violence'. *adīnam* 1st sg. inf. (§210.II, §226.II) DB 1.59. *adīnā* inf. (§210.II, §228.II) DB 1.44f, 46, 66. *dūtām* asm. past ptc. pass. (§242.I) DB 1.50.

-di- encl. pron. 'him, them', usually with masc. antecedent: Av. *di*- (Bthl. AiW 684); starting by wrong division of *pasāvad-im* etc., where *-im* is acc. to **is*, Lt. *is*, and extended (§195.II; Caland, KZ 42.173; Mt. MSLP 19.53-5, Gr. §166); on competition with pron. *-ši*-, see Bv. Gr. §345.

-dim asm. (§195.II) in *pasāva-dim* (with fem. antecedent) DNā 33; *anu-dim* DNb 16, 18; *avaḥā-dim* DNb 17; *hau-dim* DSf 32.

-diš apm. (§195.II) in *tyā-diš* DB 1.65 (with collective sg. masc. antecedent); *naiy-diš* DB 4.73, 78; *paribarāh-diš* DB 4.74; *vikanāh-diš* DB 4.77; *avaḥā-diš* DB 5.17, 33; *ava-diš* DNā 21, DSe 20^o, XPh 19; *utā-diš* DNb 46f (with nt. antecedent); *hau-diš* DSs 6^o (with antecedents of different genders). Written as separate word in *drauga diš* DB 4.34 (with fem. antecedents); *pasāva diš* DB 4.35; *avaḥā diš* DB 4.36.

dāiy DB 5.11, as separate word, properly *vīzyā* with wrongly inserted divider following; read *vīy-amarda* with Wb. ZfA 46.55, see under *mard*- (not apm. with Kent, JAOS 62.273; not gen.-dat. sg. with Wb. KIA 73n, Bv. Gr. §345, Gray AJP 53.69).

-diy emphatic encl. particle: Av. *zī*, Skt. *hi*, Gk. encl. *-χί* in *vaí-χί* 'yes indeed', *oú-χί* 'not at all', pIE **ǵhī* (§88, §191.I). *uḥraštā-diy* DB 4.69 (JAOS 35.351-2; not pron. apm., with Bv. BSLP 31.2.63-4, Gr. §345); hardly *vašnā*-[*dīy*] XPg 7f (despite Lg. 9.320; see under *apiy*); *j'va-diy* A²Sd 3 (JAOS 51.229).

didā- sb. 'wall, stronghold, fortress': NPers. *diz*, pIE **dhīgḥā*-, cf. Skt. *dehī*- 'wall', Gk. *ρεῖχος*,

NEng. *dike, ditch* (§76.III, §88, §143.IV, §166). Cf. also *paradayadām*. *didā* nsf. DB 1.58; 2.39, 44; 3.61, 72; DSe 46; DSf 42. *didām* asf. DB 2.78; DSe 48^o; DSf 54.

dipi- sb. 'inscription': Elam. *tup-pi*, Akk. *duppu* (§152.I): borrowed from Sumerian *dup*- (Bv. Gr. §282; hardly contamination of Iran. **ripi*- = Skt. *lipi*- 'smearing, writing', with Sum. *dup*-, as taken by Pisani, Riv. Stud. Or. 14.320, as Skt. *lipi*- 'writing' indicates writing with ink rather than engraving on stone). *dipī[s]* nsf. DB 4.90, 91f. *dipim* asf. DB 4.42, 48, 70, 73, 77, 89; XV 22, 24. *dipiyā* lsf. (§179.V) DB 4.47.

dug- vb., see *hadugā*-.

Dubāla- sb. 'Dubala', a district in Babylonia: Elam. *du-ib-ba*-+ (§6, §107). *Dubāla* nsm. DB 3.79.

dūra- adj. 'far (in time or space)': Av. *dūra*-, NPers. *dūr*, Skt. *dūrā*- (§148.I). See also *dūradaša*, *dūaišta*-. *dūrai* lsn. as adv. 'afar, far away, far and wide' (GAv. *dūirē*, LAv. *dūire*, Skt. *dūrē*; §65, §191.III) DNā 44. *dūrai* *apiy* DSe 11, DZc 6, DE 18, XPa 9, XPb 18, XPe 8, XPd 13, XPf 13, XPh 10, XE 18, XV 14, A¹Pa 14f^o, A²He 17. *dūrai* *apiy* DNā 12, *dūrayapiy* DNā 46 (§48, §136).

dūradaša adv. 'from afar', with preceding *hacā*: *dūra*- + adv. *-dā* as in *avadā* + abl. *-ša* as in *avadaša* (§135, §191.II; JAOS 54.37). DSf 23.

duruj- vb. 'lie, deceive': Av. *druj*- 'lie' (*draog*-, Bthl. AiW 767), pres. *družaiti*, sb. *druzš* 'principle of evil, devil', Skt. *druhyati* 'deceives', Gm. *trügen*, pIE **dhruh*- (§76.III). See also *dranga*-. *adurujīya* inf. (§101, §103.IV, §113, §128, §132.1, 2, 3, §214, §228.II) DB 1.39, 78; 3.80; 4.8, 10f, 13, 16, 18, 21, 24, 26f, 29; DBb 2f; DBc 2f; DBd 2; DBe 3f; DBf 1f; DBg 2f; DBh 2f; DBi 2f; DBj 2f. *adurujīyaša** 3d pl. inf. (§214, §218.I, §232.III) DB 4.34f. *duruxtam* nsn. past ptc. pass. (§103.IV, §122, §128, §132.1, 3, §242.I) DNb 52, 55f; asn. DB 4.44f, 49f.

duruwa- adj. 'firm, secure': Av. *druwa*-, Skt. *dhrwā*-; deriv. to root in OP **dar*- (§122, §128, §150). *duruwā* nsf. DB 4.39.

dūaišta- adj. 'very long, very far': superl. to *dūra*- (§156.III, §190.II, §191.III; MB Gr. §275), cf. Skt. *daviṣṭhā*- with slightly different formation.

duwāi[ta]m asn. as adv. 'for a long time' DPe 23 (cf. remarks s.v. *hyā*).

duwara-sb. 'door': Av. *duar*-, Skt. *dhvar*-, Gk. *θūpā*, Lt. *forēs*, NEng. *door*, Lith. *dvāras* 'court-yard', pIE **dh̥yōr*- *dhur*- and its extended forms **dh̥yōro*- etc.; see also *duwarθi*-. *duwarayā-maiy* lsn. (§136) DB 2.75; 89f.

duwarθi-sb. 'portico, colonnade': *duwar*- 'door' + *varθi*- 'cover, protection', to root *var*- 'cover', with haplology (§34, §129, §152.IV, §160.Ia; Bthl. AiW 766). *duwarθim* asm. XPa 12.

duwīlāparanam adv. 'one after the other, in succession', a meaning agreeing with Elam. *šamak-mar* 'ex ordine': *duwītā* (§191.III, §204.II), MPers. *dūt* 'one or other of two' (Bthl., quoted by Tm. Lex. 102), cf. OP *duwītiyam* 'a second time', Skt. *dvīṣ* 'twice', Lt. *bis*, + *paranam* 'before, previously' (Tm. l.c., and Vdt. Stud. 1.8). This is better than Tm.'s 'long aforetime', adv. *duwītā* 'long', GAv. *daibitā*, Skt. *dvitā* (cf. OP *duwīštām*), + *paranam* (as above); also than KT's *duwīlāparnam* 'in two lines', containing the cognate of Skt. *parṇā*- 'wing' (supported by Wb. ZDMG 61.724-5, KIA 10-1, and by Hz. AMI 1.112n). DB1.10; DBa 17.

duwītiya-adj. 'second': GAv. *daibitya*-, LAv. *bitiya*-, Skt. *dvītiya*-, pIE **dyūtīyo*- (§76.III, §144.II, §204.II). See also *duwīlāparanam*. *duwītiyam* asn. as adv. 'a second time', DB 2.37f, 57, 3.77; as inner obj., 'a second (uprising)', DB 3.24 (not *duwītiya-ma udapatatā* 'was second to rise up from me', as Bthl. AiW 964 takes it, since *udapatatā* nowhere else takes an expression of the person against whom uprising is made).

duš-insep. prefix 'ill': Av. *duš*-, Skt. *duṣ*-, Gk. *δυσ*- (§76.III); in *dušiyāra*-, *duškarta*-.

dušiyāra-sb. 'evil year, bad harvest, famine': *duš*- + *yār*- 'year' made thematic, Av. *yār*-, Gk. *ώπā* 'season', NGm. *Jahr* (§140.VII, §143.II). *dušiyāram* nsn. DPd 19f. *dušiyārā* absn. DPd 17.

duškarta-adj. 'ill-done', opposite of *naiba*- (Hz. ApI 143-4): *duš*- + *karta*- 'done, made', past ptc. pass. to *kar*-. *duškartam* nsn. DSe 31f; XPh 42.

draug-vb., see *duruj*- and *draujīya*-.

drauga-sb. 'the Lie', the evil force opposed to Ahuramazda, Avestan *Druj*: Av. *draoga*-, NPers.

durōy, Skt. *drōgha*- *droha*- 'malicious' injury', pIE **dhrougho*-, cf. NGm. *Trug* 'deceit', and OP *duruj*-, *draujana*-, *draujīya*- (§70, §76.III, §101, §103.IV, §106, §122, §128, §132.2, 3, §143.I, V). *drauga* nsm. DB 1.34, 4.34; DPd 20. *draugā* absn. DB 4.37; DPd 17f.

draujana-adj. 'deceitful', i.e. 'adherent of the Lie': deriv. of *drauga*- (§101, §132.2, §147.II), cf. GAv. *drāyvant*- 'adherent of the *Druj*' (Hz. ApI 140-1). *draujana* nsm. DB 4.38, 63, 68. *draujana* asm. DNb 12.

draujīya-vb. 'regard as a lie', denom. to *drauga*- (§217). [*draujīyāhy* 2d sg. subj. (§222.II, §227.I) DB 4.43.

drayah-sb. 'sea': Av. *zrayah*-, NPers. *dāryā*, Skt. *jrāyas*- 'expanse', pIE **gr̥eṃs*- (§88, §113, §128, §156.II). Decl., §185.I. See also *para-draya*. *draya* asn. DB 5.23; DPe 15; DZc 10. *drayahyā* lsn. (§136, §251A; wrongly taken as gen., Hz. ApI 141-3) DB 1.15, DPe 14, DSe 28*; *drayahiyā* (§27) XPh 23.

naiy adv. 'not': Av. *nōit*, Phl. *nē*, Skt. *ned*; from pIE **ne*, Skt. *na*, Lt. *ne-scio* 'I don't know', + **id*, asn. of pron. *i*-, Lt. *id*, OP *id-am*, etc. (§69, §84, §191.I, §291.II, §292a). DB 1.32*, 48, 49 ter, 52, 53, 71, 91*; 2.21, 24, 31, 51, 84; 3.15, 86; 4.44, 47 bis, 51, 55, 58, 63 bis, 63f, 64*, 65 bis; 5.16*, 31; DPd 11; DNb 7f, 12, 13, 21, 23, 36, 40; DSe 36, 40 bis, 43*; DSj 3; XV 22. *nai-maiy* (§136) DB 4.64. *nai-mā* DNb 8, 10, 19. *nai-pati-mā* (§133) DNb 20. *nai-šim* DB 4.49. *naiy-diš* (§136) DB 4.73, 78.

naiba-adj. 'beautiful, (religiously) good', replacing GAv. *vahu*- 'good', and opposite of *duš-karta*- (Hz. AMI 8.68, ApI 266-7): NPers. *nēv* 'brave, good' (§11, §75.V, §143.III). *naibā* nsf. DPd 8. *naibam* nsn. XPa 13, 16; XPg 4; XV 20. *naibam* asn. DSc 32*; Dsi 4*; DSp 2f*; XPh 43.

naucaina-adj. 'of cedar': NPers. *nōž*, *nōžān* 'pine cone'; therefore *naucaina*- 'pine-cone-shaped' (§147.III), appropriate to the cedar (König, Burgbau 53-4; Hz. AMI 3.58). *naucaina* nsm. Dsf 30f.

naθ-vb. 'perish', causative (§123.2, §215) 'injure, destroy': Av. *nas*-, Skt. *naś*-, Gk. *νέκω*

'corpse', Lt. acc. *nec-em* 'destruction', *nocet* 'harms', pIE **nek-* (§87).

vi- + *naθ-* caus. 'injure, harm': *vināḁayatiy* (§215) DNb 17f. *viyanāḁaya* inf. (§122, §123.2, §215) DB 4.66. *vināḁayaⁱtiy* 3d pl. subj. (§222.II, §232.I) A^s5a 5°, A^sHa 7° (conj. Kent). *vināḁayaⁱš* opt. (§215, §223.II, §228.III) DNb 20, 21. *vinastahyā* gsm. past ptc. pass. as sb. (§93, §122, §242.II) DNb 18.

Nadiⁱtabaira- sb. 'Nidintu-Bel', a Babylonian rebel: Elam. *nu-ti-ut-be-ul*, Akk. *ni-din-tuⁱbēl* (§75.V, §76.V, §107). *Naditabaira* nsm. DB 1.77, 92f; 2.1; 4.12; DBd 1. *Naditabairam* asm. DB 1.80, 84; 2.4, 5. *Naditabairahyā* gsm. DB 1.85, 89, 95.

napāt- sb. 'grandson': Av. Skt. *napāt-*, Lt. *nepōs*, pIE **nepōt-* (§75.I, §110, §142). *napā* nsm. (§124.5, §188.I) AmH 4; DB 1.3; DBa 4; A^sPa 16°.

Nabukdracara- sb. 'Nebuchadrezzar', son of Nabonidus; name assumed by the rebels Nidintu-Bel and Arkha: Elam. *nab-ku-tur-ra-sir*, Akk. *nabu-kudurri-ušur* (§32, §33, §75.V, §128, §163.-VI). *Nabukdracara* nsm. DB 3.80f, 89; 4.14, 29f; DBd 3f; written *Nabukuracara* (§52.VI) DBi 5f. *Nabukⁱdracara* (§22) DB 1.78f, 84, 93.

Nabunaila- sb. 'Nabonidus', last king of the New Babylonian Empire, 556-39. B.C.: Elam. *na-bu-ni-da*, Akk. *nabū-na'id*; Gk. *Ναβύνηρος* (Hdt. 1.74, etc.). *Nabunailahyā* gsm. DB 1.79. *Nabunailahya* (§36.IVb) DB 3.81; 4.14, 30; DBd 5f; DBi 7f.

nāman- sb. 'name': Av. *nāman-*, NPers. *nām*, Skt. *nāman-*, Lt. *nōmen*, pIE **nōmen-*, cf. Gk. *ὄνομα*, NEng. *name* (§109, §110, §155.III). See also *Anāmaka-*.

nāma^a, suffixless lsn. used with masc. and nt. generic nouns to denote specification (§112, §187, §251C, §312): DB 1.28, 30, 36, 37, 74, 77, 92; 2.8f, 9, 14°, 19, 22, 29, 33, 49, 65, 79, 82, 95; 3.5, 12, 13, 22 bis, 31, 34, 44, 51, 56, 78, 84; 4.8, 10, 12f, 15f, 18, 20, 23, 26, 29, 83 bis, 84 bis, 85, 86°; 5.5, 8, 27; DSe 45°; DSf 31, 46; DZc 9; XPf 18, 19; A^sHe 14f; A^sPa 19, 20; Sa 2f.

nāmā, either as n. **nāmā* or lsn. *nāmā^a* (with lengthened grade), specialized for similar use with fem. generic nouns because of similarity of ending (§67.II, §187, §249L, §312; cf. Tm. Lex. 105,

with lit.; not with Foy, KZ 35.11, 37.505, IF 12.172n, nor with Debrunner, IF 52.153): DB 1.58, 58f; 2.27f, 39, 44, 53, 59, 72; 3.11, 23, 61, 66, 72, 79; 5.4°.

nay- vb. 'lead': Av. *nayeiti*, Skt. *nāyati*. Conj., §213. *anaya* inf. DB 2.88; 3.88°; 5.12. [*ā*]naya^a 3d pl. inf. (§232.II) DB 5.28. *anayatā* inf. mid. as pass. (§235.II) DB 1.82, 2.73; 5.26°. Some or all of these are possibly *ānay-*, from *ā* + *nay-*.

fra- + *nay-* 'lead forth, provide': *frānayam* 1st sg. inf. (§226.II) DB 1.87.

nar- sb. 'man': Av. Skt. *nar-*, Gk. *ἄνθρωπος*, cf. Lt. *Ner-ō*; in *ūw-nara-* (§142).

nāw- sb. 'ship': Skt. *nāus*, Gk. *ναῦς*, Lt. *nāv-is*, pIE **nāw-* (§142). See also *nāviyā-*. [*nāwa*] npf. (§183.IV) DZc 11 (supplied by Tm. Lex. 52).

navama- adj. 'ninth': Av. *naoma-*, Skt. *navamā-*, pAr. *navama-* remade from pIE *neḡeno-* after pAr. *dašama-* 'tenth' (§149.II, §204.IV), cf. Lt. *nōnus*. *navama* nsm. DB 1.10; DBa 16f.

nāviyā- fem. adj. as sb., 'navigability', i.e. 'impossibility of fording the river on foot': Av. *nāvaya-* 'navigable', Skt. *navyā-*, adj. to *nāv-* 'ship' (§144.V). Hardly collective, 'collection of ships, flotilla', and certainly not lsf. to *nāv-*, 'on ship-board'; cf. König, RuID 70-1, and esp. Kent, JAOS 62.269-71 (with lit.), 63.67. *nāviyā* nsf. DB 1.86.

nāh- sb. 'nose': Av. *nāh-*, Skt. *nās-*, Lt. *nārēs*, NEng. *nose*, pIE **nās-* (§110, §142). *nāham* asm. (§118.I, §185.IV) DB 2.74, 88f.

nī- prep. and verbal prefix 'down': Av. *nī*, Skt. *nī-*, pIE **nī-*; in adv. *nīpadiy*, and with verbs *ar-*, *kan-*, *ḡay-*, *paīθ-*, *yam-*, *stā-*, *had-*.

nīj- verbal prefix 'away': sandhi form of pIE **nīs-* before voiced stops, generalized, cf. Av. *nīš-*, Skt. *nīṣ-* (§120); with verb *ay-* 'go'.

nīpadiy phrasal adv. and prep., 'on the track of, close after': prep. *nī-* + loc. *padiy*, to *pad-* 'foot' (§76.III, §136, §140, §191.IV). *nīpadiy* adv. DB 2.73; prep. with acc. DB 3.73.

nīpišti- sb. 'impression': deriv. of *nī-* + *paīθ-* (§152.III). [*nīpiš*][*tiyā*] lsf. DB 4.90 (conj. of Kent, JAOS 62.268).

niyāka- sb. 'grandfather': Av. *niyāka-* (§146-III); cf. *apaniyāka-*. [*niyāka* nsm. DSf 13; [*n^oyā*]kama (§22; for *-kam-maiy*, §41, §52.I, §130, §138.I) asm. A^oSa 4.

niyāšādayam, see *had-*.

Nisāya- sb. 'Nisaya', a district in Media: Elam. *nu-iš-ša-ja*, Akk. *ni-is-sa-a-a* (§116). Perhaps from *ni-* 'down' + *sāya-*, to root Av. *si-say-* 'lie', Skt. *śī-*, Gk. *κείραι* 'lies', pIE **kēi-*. *Nisāya* nsm. DB 1.58.

nīšādayam, see *had-*.

nūram adv. 'now': Av. *nūram*; from pIE **nā* 'now' (Av. *nū*, Skt. *nā*, Lt. *nu-nc*, NEng. *now*) + final of (pAr.) **dūram* 'long' (§148.I), cf. *dūraiyy*. DB 4.53.

pā- vb. 'protect': Av. *pā-*, pres. *pāiti*, Phl. *pātan*, Skt. *pā-*, pres. *pāti* (ablaut, §122). See also *xšaça-pāvan-*. *apayaiy* 1st sg. inf. mid. (Bv. BSLP 33.2.151-2; Kent, Lg. 9.42; §71, §214, §233.III; wrongly to Skt. *pt-* 'swell', Wb. ZfA 41.320-1) XPf 39. *pādiy* 2d sg. inv. (§208, §237.I) DPe 21f. *pātuv* (§208, §237.II) ASH 12, 14; DPd 16; DPh 10; DNa 52; DSe 50; DSf 57; DSj 6°; DSn 2°; DSt 8°; DII 8; XPa 18, 20; XPb 28; XPc 12, 15; XPd 18; XPf 45, 48; XPg 13; XPh 57; XSe 5°; XV 25f; A^oPa 22f; D^oSa 3; A^oHb°; A^oHe 19. *pā^otuv* 3d pl. inv. (§237.II) A^oSa 5°; A^oSd 4; A^oHa 6°; A^oPa 25. *pāta* nsm. past ptc. pass. (§242.II) DPe 22.

pāti- + *pā-* mid. 'protect one's self against', with *hacā* + abl.: *patipayawā* (§28; not wrongly written, despite MB Gr. §69) 2d sg. inv. mid. (§71, §214, §237.III) DB 4.38.

paith- vb. 'cut, engrave, adorn': Av. *paēsa-* 'adornment', Skt. *pīśati* 'cuts, adorns', Gk. *ποικίλος* 'variegated', OCS *pīsati* 'to write', pIE **peik-*, cf. Lt. *pingū* 'embroiders, paints' (Wb. AfOf 7.42). Cf. also *nipišti-*, *paīšiyā-*, *Paīšiyāwādā-*, *pisa-*. *apiba* inf. DSf 54 (§211; cf. König, Burgbau 72). [*ap*]i[θ]i[ya] inf. pass. (§220) DB 4.91 (JAOS 62.268). [*p*]ištā nsf. past ptc. pass. (§242.I) DSf 42 (Bv. BSLP 30.1.63; König, Burgbau 71; not [d]ištā with Hz. Apl 121-5).

ni- + *paith-* 'engrave, inscribe, write': *niyapaišam* 1st sg. aor. (§92, §102, §130, §218.I, §226.II) DB 4.71. *nipaištanaiy* inf. (§93, §122, §238) XV 24f. *nipištām* asf. past ptc. pass. (§93) XV 22f.

nipištā npf. XPh 31. *nipištām* nsn. (§122) DB 4.47, 47f; DNB 57°; DSe 52.

paīšiyā- sb. 'script, written text': deriv. of *paith-* (§89, §144.V). See also *Paīšiyāwādā-*. *paīšiyā* nsf. DB 4.91 (conj. of Kent, JAOS 62.268).

Paīšiyāwādā- sb. 'Paishiyauvada': Akk. *pi-ši'-lu-ma-du*. Perhaps, with Justi, IFA 17.107, 'Pasargadae', from *paīšiyā-* 'writing' + **wādā-* 'abode' (§72, §89, §126, §127, §142, §166, §166.I): 'Home of the Archives and Sacred Writings' (on Pasargadae, cf. also König, RuID 66; but Hz. Apl 275-6, modifying his view in AMI 1.86n, takes prior element to be *pāti-*, *pāti-* becoming *paš-*, with epenthesis; Bthl. AiW 907-8 normalizes *Piši-* after the Akk., but gives no etymology). *Paīšiyāwādām* asf. DB 3.42. *Paīšiyāwādāyā* absf. DB 1.36f.

paīcamām adj. 'fifth', asf.; wrong restoration of Wb. at DB 5.3 (cf. Kent, JNES 2.109).

pat- vb. 'fly': Av. *pat-aiti*, Skt. *pāt-ati*, Gk. *πέτεται*, Lt. *petil* 'seeks', pIE **pet-*.

ud- + *pat-* 'rise up, rebel' (cf. Bv. TPS 1945.64-66): *udapatatā* inf. mid. (§84, §213, §235.II) DB 1.36, 38, 74, 78; 2.10, 14f; 3.24, 79.

patiy adv., prep., prefix (§140.I, §191.I): Av. *paiti*, Gk. (dial.) *ποτί*, pIE **poti*, cf. pIE **proti* in Skt. *prāti*, Gk. Hom. *ποτί*, classical *πρός* (cf. Lg. 20.9-10).

(1) Adv. 'thereto, again': DB 2.37, 43, 57; 3.64, 77. *pāti-maiy* (§136) DNB 32f. *nai-pāti-mā* (§133, §136) DNB 20. *yadi-patiy* (§136) DNa 38. *tya-patiy* XPa 15; XPf 40f.

(2) Prep. (§271) with acc.: DB 5.2 'during'; DNB 22 'against' (Hz. Apl 273 reads *par[s]aiy* 'in court', sb. to root *fraθ-*); postposed DB 2.62 'on'. Encl., with acc. 'during' DB 1.20 (§133, §136); with inst. 'near, at' DB 2.16°, 3.26; with loc. 'on, upon' DB 2.76, 91; 3.52, 92. Bv. BSLP 42.2.70 takes all these as adverbs except DB 2.62, DNB 22.

(3) Prefix with verbs *avahya-*, *ay-*, *xšay-*, *jan-*, *pā-*, *fraθ-*, *ā-bar-*, *zā-*; prior element in nouns *patikara-*, *Patigabanā-*, perhaps *Pātišwari-* and *Paīšiyāwādā-*, and in phrasal adv. *patipadam*; cf. also *pāiš*, *pāišam*.

patikara- sb. 'picture, (sculptured) likeness': Phl. *patkar-*, NPers. *pāikār-*; *pāti-* + *kara-* to root

kar- (§143.V). *patikaram* asm. DSn 1°. *patikarā* apm. DB 4.71, 73, 77; DNa 41.

Patigrabanā- sb. 'Patigrabana', a town in Parthia: Elam. *pat-ti-ig-rāb-ba-na*; from *pati-* + root *grab-* + suffix (§33, §103.IV, §147.I). *Patigrabanā* nsf. DB 3.4f.

patipadam phrasal adv. (§191.IV) 'on its base, in its own place': *pati-* (§136, §140.I) + acc. *padam* (see *pada-*; §76.III, §122). DB 1.62.

patiś- prep. with acc. 'against': *pati-* + adv. *-s*, cf. Lt. *ex*, *abs*, *ops*- in *os-tendō*, *sup*s- in *sus-tineō*, Skt. *ni* and *niś*, Gk. ἀπὸ ἄψ, ἀμολι ἀμολις. See also *patiśam*. DB 1.93; 2.33, 38, 43f, 52f, 58, 67; 3.36, 43, 65.

patiśam adv. 'in addition': extension of *patiś-*, cf. for formation Osc. *per-um* 'without' to (Lt.) *per*, and for meaning Gk. πρὸς δέ 'and besides', Lt. *atque* from **ad-que* 'and thereto' (OP *pati*y, Gk. πρὸς, Lt. *ad* agree in marking something as an addition). *patiśam* DB 4.89 (*p*^a probable but not certain KT); [*patiśam* DB 4.90 (restoration of König, Klotho 4.45; see also Kent, JAOS 62.267-8).

Pātiśuvari- adj. 'Patischorian' (§167): Elam. *ba-ut-ti-iś-mar-ri-iś*, Akk. *pa-id-di-iś-bu-ri-iś*, Gk. (pl.) Πατισχορείς. Perhaps pAr. **pati-*, with vridhhi (§126), + **sūāra-* '(of the plain) before the Hvara Mts.' (§117), with combination (§140.VI) of sandhi forms (so Ilz. ApI 183-4, who however disregards the *ā* in the penult of the OP). *Pātiśuvariś* nsm. DNe 1.

paṭi- sb. 'path, way' (§76.II, §152.I, §179.III): Av. *paṭ-* *paṭā-*, Skt. *panthan-* *paṭh-*. *paṭim* asf. DNa 58.

pad- sb. 'foot': Av. Skt. *pad-*, Gk. ποδ-, Lt. *ped-* (§142); in *nipadiy*, cf. also *pada-*, *pāda-*, *pasti-*.

pada- sb. 'footing, step, station': Av. *paḍa-* 'foot (as measure)', Skt. *padā-* 'step, footstep, place', Gk. τέδιον 'ground'; extension of *pad-* (§143-II). In *Garmapada-*, *patipadam*; see also *pad-*, *pāda-*.

pāda- sb. 'foot': LAv. *pāda-* 'step, pace', Skt. *pāda-* 'foot', Gt. *fōtu-*, extension of stem in pIE nom. **pōd-s*, acc. **pōd-m*, seen in Gk. Dor. πῶς (§76.III, §122, §126, §143.II). Cf. also *pad-*, *pada-*. *pādaibiyā* idm. (§189) DNb 41.

par- vb. 'communicate': Av. **par-* 'hindurch-, hinübergehen' (Bthl. AiW 851), Gk. πείρω 'I pierce (as with a spit)', Gt. *faran* 'to travel'. *parta[m-taiy]* nsn. past ptc. pass. (§242.I) DNb 54 (dubious conj. of Kent, Lg. 15.167, 173-4).

**para-* adj. 'later', possibly in *hyāparam* (q.v.): Av. *para-* 'farther', Skt. *pāra-* 'distant', Gk. πέρων 'beyond'.

**para* prep. with acc. 'beyond' (§32, §63.I): Av. *parō* 'before', Skt. *purās* 'before', Gk. πᾶρος 'before'; DPe 15; DPh 5; DH 4f. See also *para-dayadām*, *paradraya*.

parā postpos. with acc. 'along', and verbal prefix 'forth' (§132.3): Av. **parā* 'before', Skt. *purā* 'before, formerly', Gk. παρά 'alongside'; in *avaparā* and with *ay-*, *ur-*, *gam-*, *bar-*.

parauaiy Isn. as sb. 'in the cast': *p^araui^ay^a* DPe 15, a misreading for *p^ara : d^ara y^a* (uninscribed space between *r^a* and *y^a*) = *para : dra ya*; see under *paradraya*.

paradayadām sb. asf., perhaps 'pleasant retreat' (§55.II, §143.IV): A3Sd 3. Possibly miswritten *p^araid^ayadām* for *p^araid^aid^am* = *paridai-dam*, Av. *pairidāēza-* 'Umwallung, Ummauerung' (Bthl. AiW 865), borrowed in Gk. παράδεισος 'park', cf. JAOS 51.229; or for *p^araid^aid^am* = *paralidām*, from **para* 'beyond' + *didā-* 'wall' (q.v.), as 'that which is beyond or behind the wall' (cf. Scheil 21.93; Bv. BSLP 30.1.67 *jivadiy paradayadām* 'paradis de vie').

paradraya phrasal adv. 'across the sea' (§14, §191.IV): **para* 'beyond' + acc. *draya* 'sea'. DNa 28f; DSe 29°; XPh 24. *paratraya* (§48) A?P 24 (Ilz. ApI 142). As two words, *para draya* DPe 15 (Cameron, JNES 2.307-8).

parana- adj. 'former': deriv. (§147.II) of stem in OP **para*, *parā* (cf. Bthl. AiW 854), Av. **parā*, *parō*, Skt. *purā* 'formerly' (hardly to be normalized *parna-*, with MB Gr. §267, to Gt. *faīrneis* 'old'). See also *duvitāparanam*. *paranam* asn. as adv. 'formerly' DB 1.51, D^aSb 3.

pariy prep. and prefix 'around, about': Av. *pairi*, Skt. *pāri*, Gk. περί, Lt. *per* 'through', pIE **peri* (§64, §75.I, §113, §140.I). Prep. with acc. 'about' DB 1.51. Prefix with *ay-*, *bar-*; cf. also *pariyana-*.

pariyana-sb. 'superiority': deriv. (§147.II) of *pariy*, in meaning seen in Av. *pairi* 'vorne, über ... hin', Skt. *pāri* as prefix 'much, excessively', cf. Gk. *περιστός* 'excessive' (otherwise Hs. ApI 273, Sen 250). *pariyanam* nsm. DNb 52.

paru- adj. 'much, many': Av. *pouru-*, Skt. *purū-*, Gk. *πολύς*, Gt. *filu*, pIE **pulu-* (§63.I, §107). See also *paruzana-*. *paruw* nsm. (§114, §127, §140.I) DB 4.49; DSf 56 bis. *parūnām* gpm. DSf 4, 5; DE 9, 10; XPa 5 bis; XPb 9, 10; XPe 4f, 5; XPd 6f, 7f; XPf 6, 7; XPh 5, 6; XE 9f, 11; XV 7, 8; A¹Pa 7°, 8°; A²He 6 bis. *parūnām* gpf. DPe 4. *parūnām* (§23.II) gpm. DNb 6, 7; DSe 6, 7; A³Pa 6, 7.

paruwa- adj. 'being before in time or place' (§35.II): Av. *paurna-*, Skt. *pūrva-*, pIE **pṛyo-* (§68, §150), cf. Gk. Ion. *πρώτος* 'early'. See also *paruwiyata*, *paruwiyabā*. *paruwā* npm. 'former' DB 4.51. *paruwam* asm. as adv. 'formerly' DB 1.9; DBa 15f; DSe 43°, 47; XPh 36, 39; *paruwamciy* DB 1.63, 67, 69.

paruwiyata, adv. with preceding *hacā*, 'from long ago': **paruwīya-* (i.e. **paruya-*, deriv. of *paruwa-*), Av. *paouruya-*, Skt. *pūryā-*, + adv. suffix *-ta^h*, Av. *-tō*, Skt. *-tas*, Gk. *-ros*, Lt. *-tus* as in *funditus*, pIE **-tos* (§191.II). Cf. also *paruwiyabā*. DB 1.7, 8, 45; DBa 11, 12.

[*paruwiyabā* adv. 'at first attempt': **paruwīya-* (see *paruwiyata*) + adv. suffix *-bā*, Av. *-ba*, Skt. *-thā* (§191.II). DSj 3 (conj. of Brandenstein, WZKM 39.49–51; cf. note ad loc.).

paruzana- adj. 'having many men, or many kinds of men' ('having men of all tongues', Wb. ZfA 44.165, after the Akk.): *paru-* 'many' + *zana-* 'man' (§9.III, §88, §120, §161.IIa). *paruzanānām* (§140.I) gpf. DE 15f; XE 15f; A¹Pa 12°. *paruzanānām* (§23.II) XPb 15f; XPd 11. *paruwzanānām* (§23.II, §14) XPa 8; XPe 7; XPf 11; XPh 9; XV 12.

Parga- sb. 'Parga', a mountain in Persia: Elam. *par-rak-qa*, NPers. *Purg* (§30). *Parga* nsm. DB 3.44.

partara- sb. 'battle' (as in Elam. and Akk. versions): extension of *-r/n-* stem (§30, §148.I, §154.I), cf. Av. *pašana-* 'battle', Skt. *pṛtana-* 'battle, army', to root in Av. *parat-onte* 'they fight' (Bv. TPS 1945.63–4; not agency noun

'fighter, foe' as taken by Wb. KIA 90–1, Bv. Gr. §277; not *paratara-* 'foe', with Wackernagel, KZ 59.29–30, as compar. to [Skt.] *pāra-* 'distant' = RV 'enemy'). *partaram* asm. DNb 47.

Parṭava- (§29.n2, §31) adj. 'Parthian', also masc. as sb. 'Parthia', a province of the Persian Empire: Elam. *par-tu-ma*, Akk. *pa-ar-tu-ū*, Gk. *Παρθία*. Extension (§150) of stem seen with *vriddhi* in *Pārsa-*, but with dialectal difference in the *θ/s* (§9.VI, §87).

(1) 'Parthian': *Parṭava* nsm. DN iv; A²P 4. *Parṭawaibiš* ipm. DB 2.96.

(2) 'Parthia': *Parṭava* nsm. DB 1.16; 2.7, 92; DPe 15; DNb 22; DSe 21°; DSm 8°; XPh 20. *Parṭawaiy* lsm. DB 2.94°, 96°; 3.5, 10.

parua-, see *duwīlāparanam*, *parana-*.

¹*parsa-* vb., see *fraš-*.

²*parsa-* sb. 'court', only in Hs. ApI 273; for his *pal[rsaiy]* lsm. DNb 22, see under *paiiy*.

Pārsa- adj. 'Persian'; also masc. as sb., 'Persia', a province of the Persian Empire: Elam. *par-sin*, Akk. *pa-ar-su*, Gk. *Πέρσης, Περσία* (§9.VI, §87, §126, §143.III). See also *Parṭava-*.

(1) 'Persian': *Pārsa* nsm. DB 1.49; 2.18, 19, 49; 3.13, 26, 31, 32, 56, 84; 4.16, 26, 83, 84 bis, 85 bis, 86; 5.8°; DPe 22; DNb 13, 46; DN i; DSe 12f; DZc 7; XPh 12; A²P 1. *Pārsam* asm. DB 2.81; 3.2, 29f; DPe 21. *Pārsahyā* gsm. DNb 13f, 43; DSe 13; XPh 12. *Pārsā* ism. DPe 8.

(2) 'Persia': *Pārsa* nsm. AsH 3 (for loc., §52.I); DB 1.14, 41; 2.7; DPd 6f; DSm 6°. *Pārsam* asm. AsH 8f; DB 1.46; 3.33, 34; 4.9, 28; DZc 12. *Pārsam-cā* DB 1.66. *Pārsā* ism. XPa 14 (here 'Persepolis', acc. to Cameron, by letter; §166, §166.I). *Pārsā* absm. DNb 18, 46f; DSe 17°; DZc 7f, 10; XPh 16. *Pārsā* for lsm. AmH 2 (§56.V, §314b; wrongly Hs. AMI 4.132–4, 8.17–9, as instr. of extent); for nsm. AmH 5 (§53; not nsf. adj., as taken by Hs. AMI 8.20–1, 34). *Pārsaiy* lsm. DB 1.2, 34; 2.9°; 3.23, 24, 28, 34, 52, 53, 77; DBa 2.

pasā prep. 'after', temporal with acc. and local with gen. (Bv. BSLP 33.2.153): Av. *pasča*, NPers. *pās*, Skt. *paścā*, isn. to stem in Lith. (dat.) adv. and prep. *pāskui* 'behind, later, after' (Foy, KZ 35.26); pIE **po* as in Lt. *po-liō*, *positus*, Gk. *ἀ-πό*, + **sq^uē*, inst. to root noun from **seq^u-* 'follow', Av. *hacaite*, Skt. *sācate*, Gk. *ἐμεται*, Lt.

sequitur (§105; Uhlenbeck, Etym. Wtb. d. altind. Spr., s.v. *paçcā*). The *s* in *pasā* is OP for Med. *šc*, Av. *šc*, from pAr. *šc* (Bv. Gr. §114; otherwise Mt. Gr. §114). Less probably pAr. **pas* (Lith. *pās* 'at, to') from the same **po* + adv. -*s* as in OP *patiš*, + -*cā* ism. of stems in -*añc*-, for -*acā* (from **ṛcā*) by influence of contracted forms like Skt. *prācā* (**pra-acā*) to *prāñc*- (**pra-añc*-) 'forward', cf. similar analogical form in Skt. adv. *nīcā* 'downward' (for **nī-acā*) to *nyañc*-. Hardly from **pas* (as above) + -*ā* after its opposite *parā* 'before' (Bthl. AiW 879). Direct cognation with Lith. *pāskui* is eliminated by the second and third etymologies; with Av. *pasča*, Skt. *paścā*, by the third. *pasā* with gen. DB 3.32; with acc. XPf 3f and in *pasāva* (q.v.).

pasāva phrasal adv. (§191.IV) 'after that, afterwards': *pasā* + asn. *ava* (§131). DB 1.27, 30, 32, 33, 34°, 35f, 40, 43, 46, 54, 72, 73f, 75, 79, 82, 83, 86, 91, 94; 2.1, 3, 4, 12, 16, 19, 21, 27, 31, 32, 47, 49°, 51, 52, 62, 64, 67, 71, 72, 81, 84f, 94; 3.1, 4, 9, 12f, 15, 20, 25, 29, 33, 36f, 41, 50, 59, 70, 73, 75, 81, 84, 86, 90f°; 4.5, 35, 91; 5.3, 6, 9, 10f, 13, 21°, 23, 25°, 29; DSe 48; DSf 25; DZe 10; XPh 36; XSc 3; XV 23; A'Pa 21°; D'Sb 4°. *pasāva-šim* DB 2.76, 90. *pasāva-šaiy* DB 2.88. *pasāva-dim* DNa 33. *pasāva-maiy* XPh 32.

pasti- sb. 'foot-soldier': Skt. *pattī*-, from pIE **ped*- 'foot' (OP *pad*-) + suffix -*tī*- (§85, §152.III; Wb. Grab 40, Hz. ApI 94-8). *pastiš* nsm. DNb 43, 45.

pitar- sb. 'father': Av. *pitar*-, NPers. *piḍār*, Skt. *pītār*-, Gk. *πατήρ*, Lt. *pater*, Gt. *fadar*, pIE **pater*- (§63.II, §75.I, §76.I, §154.II); see also *hamapitar*-. *pitā* nsm. (§36.II, §124.5, §186.II) DB 1.4 bis, 5 bis, 6; 2.93; DBa 5, 6, 6f, 7, 8; DSf 12, 58; XPa 15; XPc 12; XPf 16, 17, 19, 23, 31, 33, 42; XPg 7; XSa 2; XV 18; A'Pa 20f; D'Sb 4°. *piça* gsm. (§78, §124.5, §186.II) XPa 20; XPc 14; XPf 35, 38, 47.

Pirāva- sb. 'Nile' (§75.V, §124.II, §166.V1): *Pirāva* nsm. DZe 9, in naming phrase, anacoluthic for abl. after *hacā*; either 'Ivory River', as deriv. adj. to *pīru*- 'ivory', or possibly plural 'The Tusks' (JAOS 51.209).

pīru- sb. 'ivory' (§75.V, §153.1): Elam. *pīru*-š, Akk. *pīlu*-, with cognates (or borrowings) in Eastern Asiatic languages (Przyluski, BSLP

27.3.220-2; Scheil, Rev. d'Assyr. 24.120; Bv. BSLP 30.1.62; König, Burgbau 66; Hz. AMI 3.67-8). *pīruš* nsm. DSf 43.

piḥ-, vb., see *paiḥ*-.

pisa- sb. 'raft': perhaps originally 'cut material', from root *paiḥ*- (§143.III). *pisā* ism. or ism., with collective meaning (§255), DB 5.24.

piša- or *paiša*-, vb. stem, see *paiḥ*-.

Putāya- adj. 'man of Put, Libyan' (§75.V, §76.V, §144.III); pl., 'Libya', a province of the Persian Empire (Cameron, JNES 2.308-9): Elam. *pu-ū-ti-ia-ap*, Akk. *pu-u-ia* (Lg. 13.299, 15.165). *Putāya* nsm. A?P 27. *Putāyā* nsm. DNa 29f; DSe 29°; XPh 28.

puça- sb. 'son': Av. *puḍra*-, Ars. Phl. *puhr*, NPers. *pus*, Skt. *putrā*-, Osc. *puclō*-, pIE **putlō*- (§64, §75.I, §78, §148.III). *puça* nsm. AmH 3; AsH 4; Cmb 2°; DB 1.3, 28, 39, 53, 74, 78, 79; 2.9; 3.25, 79, 81; 4.9, 14, 28, 30, 83, 84° bis, 85 bis, 86; DBa 3; DBb 6; DBd 6; DBh 7; DBi 8f; DPa 5; DPb; DPe 5; DPh 2; DNa 13, 14; DSA 2; DSb 10; DSc; DSD 2; DSe 12, 13; DSf 7; DSG 2°; DSi 2°; DSj 2°; DSk 3; DSsm 2°; DSY 3; DZb 5f; DZe 6; DE 20; DH 2; XPa 10; XPb 20; XPc 9; XPd 14; XPc 4; XPf 14; XPh 11, 12; XPj; XPk; XSc 2; XE 20; XV 15; A'Pa 15f; A'I bis; D'Sb 2°; A'Sa 1, 2 bis, 3 bis; A'Sb; A'Sc 0° bis; A'Sd 2; A'Sha 2°, 3, 3°, 4, 4°; A'She 10, 11, 12, 13f, 15; A'SPa 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20; Wa 7; Wb 8; We 9; Wd 9; Sa 8°. *puçā* nsm. XPf 28; as nsm. A'IIb (§53; with -*ā* after *napā*, acc. to Brd. WZKM 39.92).

furnah- sb., see *Vidaḥfarnah*-.

fra- prefix 'before, forth' (as prep., not found in OP): Av. *frā*, Skt. *pra*, Gk. *πρό*, Lt. *prō*-fessus, Gt. *fra*-, pIE **pro*- (§33, §61, §75.II, §106, §132.3). Found with verbs *aiš*-, *jan*-, *nay*-, *var*-, *mā*-, *sā*-, *haj*-; in nouns *framātar*-, *framānā*-, *Frawarti*-; in phrasal adv. *frāharavam*; with suffixes and extensions, in *fratama*-, *fratarā*-, *fraḥara*-, *frawala*-, *fraša*-.

fratama- adj. 'foremost': *fra*- + superl. suffix -*lama*-, Av. *fratama*-, Skt. -*lama*- (§190.III). *fratamā* nsm. DB 1.57; 2.77; 3.48f, 51, 74, 90°, 91.

fratarā- adj. 'prior, further': *fra*- + comp. suffix -*lara*-, Av. *fratarā*-, Skt. adv. *pratarām*, Gk. *πρότερος* (§106, §190.III). *fratarā* nsm. DNb 38 (Sen 249 needlessly takes as error for *fratarām*).

frataram asn. XPg 11; adv. 'previously' DB 3.26, A¹Pa 21.

fralarta DB 3.26, incorrect reading for *frataram* (Cameron).

fraθ- vb. 'ask, examine, investigate, punish': Av. *fras-*, Skt. *praś-*, Lt. *precor*, pIE **prek-*, with inchoative present **prk-ske-*, OP *parsa-*, Av. *pora-saiti*, NPers. *pursād*, Skt. *prcchāti*, Lt. *poscit*. Cf. also *ufrašta-ufrašta-*. *parsāmiy* 1st sg. (§30, §97, §130, §212, §226.I) DNb 19. *aparsam* 1st sg. inf. (§122, §132.3, §212, §226.II) DB 1.22; 4.67. *parsā* 2d sg. inv. (§212, §237.I) DB 4.38, 69. *fraθiyaiš* opt. pass. (§220, §223.II, §228.III) DNb 21 (not desid. fut. pass., as taken by Hz. ApI 167).

pati- + *parsa-* 'examine, read' (on meaning, Bv. BSLP 31.2.71-2): *patiparsāhy* 2d sg. subj. (§222-II, §227.I) DB 4.42. *patiparsātiy* subj. (§222.II) DB 4.48.

fraθara- adj. 'superior': *fra-* + variant compar. suffix *-thara-* seen in Av. *fraθara-* (§149.I, §190.III; Wb. ZfA 41.319; Bv. 33.2.150-1, 34.1.33-4, HZ. AMI 4.126-7, 8.39-40, ApI 166-7), cf. superl. *-thama-* in Skt. *prathamā-* 'first'. Cf. also *uraθara-*. *fraθaram* asn. XPf 26f, 37.

Frāda- sb. 'Frada', a Margian rebel: Elam. *pir-ra-da*, Akk. *pa-ra-da-*; perhaps thematic noun-stem (§141) to *fra-* + **dā-*, with vridhhi (§126), cf. Av. *frūd-* 'to further, increase' (Bthl. AiW 1012), but more probably hypocoristic to a compound name (§164.III; Bthl. AiW 1013) of which the prior part was the participial stem to the same compound verb (§162), cf. Av. adj. *frūdaḡyāθā-* 'prospering the household', sb. *frūdaḡšav-* 'Promoter of flocks' (name of a divinity; Bthl. AiW 1013-4). Not with Sen 52 (*fra-* + OP **ad-* 'drive', Av. *azaiti*, Skt. *ājati*, Lt. *agit*), nor with Justi, INB 101 (*fra-* + *had-* 'sit', with loss of intervocalic *-h-*). *Frāda* nsm. DB 3.12; 4.23; DBj 1.

framātar- sb. 'master, lord' ('giver of judicial decisions', acc. to Hz. ApI 150-4): *fra-* + root *mā-* + agent suffix *-tar-* (§154.II). *framātāram* asn. (§124.VI, §186.I) DNā 7f; DSe 7; DSf 5; DE 11; XPā 5f; XPb 11; XPe 5; XPd 8; XPf 7f; XPh 6; XE 11; XV 9; A¹Pa 8^o; A²He 7. *framatāram* (§52.III) A³Pa 8.

framānā- sb. 'command' ('judgment, decision', acc. to Hz. ApI 144-50): Phl. *framān*, NPers.

fārmān; *fra-* + *mā-* + suffix *-nā-* (§128, §147.I), cf. Skt. *pramāṇa-m* 'measure, standard'. *framānā* nsf. DNā 57; DNb 28; DSj 3^o. *framānāyā* isf. DNb 37.

fravata adv. 'forward, downward': Phl. *frōt*, NPers. *fārōd fārō*; from **frava-*, extension of *fra-* as in Gk. *πρώτος* 'first' from **proya-*, + *-los* as in *amata* (§191.II; JAOS 51.204, 53.15; Bv. BSLP 30.1.59; hardly with König, Burgbau 51; not identical with Skt. isf. *pravātā* 'downhill'). DSf 23f, 28.

Fravarti- sb. 'Phraortes', a Median rebel: Elam. *pir-ru-mar-ti-iš*, Akk. *pa-ar-ū-mar-ti-iš*, Gk. *Φραόρτης*: identical either with Av. *fravaši-* 'guardian angel, soul', from *fra-* + *var-* 'protect' + *-ti-* (§31, §152.III) as 'Protection', or with Av. *fraorati-* 'Sichbekennen zu', from *fra-* + *var-* 'choose (religiously)' + *-ti-* (Bthl. AiW 991, 992, 976; Nyberg Rel. 334-5, prefers second view); as man's name, probably hypocoristic of a longer compound (§164.II). *Fravartiš* nsm. DB 2.14, 66, 71, 73; 4.18; DBe 1f. *Fravartim* asn. DB 2.17. *Fravartaiš* gsm. DB 2.69, 93.

fras- vb., see *fraθ-*.

fraša- adj. 'excellent' ('tauglich', König Burgbau 48, Brd. WZKM 39.37): Av. *fraša-* 'directed toward, useful', formed on adv. *fraša* to *frānk-*, Skt. adv. *prācā* to *prāñc-*, from *pra-* + *añc-* (Bthl. AiW 1006-7); the irregular *-š-* for *-s-* of *šy-* may be a contamination of **frasa-* and **frašya-* (otherwise Bthl. IF 2.266-7; borrowed from Avestan acc. to Hz. ApI 162). Hz. ApI 156-65 (recanting derivation from *fra-* + *xšāy-* 'shine', 'brilliant', AMI 3.1-11) takes as deriv. of *pra-*, through an idiom of racing or fighting, as 'extra (certamen), hors (concours)', and therefore 'incomparable, supreme'. Cf. also Hz. RHRel. 113.26; Bailey, BSOS 6.595-7; Kent, Lg. 15.169. *frašam* nsm. DSā 5, DSj 6 (see *frašta-*, for reading). *frašam* asn. DNb 2; DSf 56, 56f; DSō 4^o; DSs 1^o.

frašta DSā 5, DSj 6: discussed by Bv. BSLP 30.1.63-4, Gr. §103, Gray AJP 53.67, Brd. WZKM 39.20-1; but *frašam* *θadayātaiy* and not *frašta* *θadayāmai* (§54.II) should be read in both passages (Hz. AMI 3.9-10, ApI 156-8). See under *fraša-*.

fraharawam, phrasal adverb (§191.III), 'in all': *fra-* (§140.I) + *asn. harawam* with variant orthography (§22, §26), to *haruwa-*. DB 1.17.

baug- vb. 'free': Av. *baug-*, NPers. *boztān*; in *Ātīyābaušna-*, *Bagabuxša-*.

Bāxtri- sb. 'Bactria', a province of the Persian Empire: Elam. *ba-ak-ši-iš*, *ba-ik-tur-ri-iš*, Akk. *ba-aḫ-tar*, Gk. (nt. pl.) *Βάκτρα* (§9.I, §79, §103.III). OP *ī*-stem, for older *i*-stem (§152.II), seen in Av. *bāxdi*. *Bāxtriš* nsf. DB 1.16; DPe 16; DNa 23; DSe 22; DSm 9°; XPh 21. *Bāxtriyā* Isf. DB 3.13f, 21. *Bāxtriyā* absf. DSf 36.

bag- vb., see under *bagā-*, *bāji-*.

bagā- sb. 'god': Av. *bagā-* 'lot, good fortune', Skt. *bhāga-* 'dispenser (of good fortune)', Gk. *-φayos* 'eater', OCS *bagŭ* 'god', pIE **bhago-* (§101, §122, §143.I, V, VI); cf. Hz. Apl 105–10. See also *Bagābigna-*, *Bagabuxša-*, *Bāgayādi-*, *bāji-*. *bagā* nsm. AmH 6; AsH 6; DNa 1; DNb 1; DSe 1°; DSf 1°; DŠs 1°; DSt 1; DZe 1°; DE 1; XPa 1; XPb 1; XPe 1; XPd 1; XPf 1; XPh 1; XE 1; XV 1; A¹Pa 1°; A²Hc 1; A³Pa 1, 25. *bagāha* npm. (§10, §119, §172) DB 4.61, 63. *bagānām* gpm. AsH 7; DPd 1f; DPh 9; DSf 9; DSp 1°; DH 7; XE 2; XV 2; A²Hc 2. *bagābiš* ipm. DPd 14f, 22, 24; DSe 50f°; DSt 8; XPb 28f; XPe 12f, 15; XPd 18; XPg 13f; XSc 5°; XV 26; A¹Pa 23°. *BGibiš* (§42) ipm. D²Ša 3.

Bagābigna- sb. 'Bagabigna', a Persian, father of Hydarnes: Elam. *ba-qa-pi-ig-na*; from *bagā-* 'god' + *-bigna-*, ptc. in *-na-* of an unidentified verbal root, cf. perhaps Skt. *bija-m* 'seed' (§75.III, §103.IV, §160.Ic, §243). *Bag[ā]bignah[ya]* gsm. DB 4.84f.

Bagabuxša- sb. 'Megabyzus', an ally of Darius against Gaumata: Elam. *ba-qa-bu-uk-ša*, Akk. *ba-qa-bu-ki-šu*, Gk. *Μεγάβυκος*. From *bagā-* 'god' + deriv. of root *baug-* 'free' (§102, §151): 'God-freed' (§160.Ic). *Bag[ab]uxša* nsm. DB 4.85.

Bāgayādi- adj. 'Bagayadi', seventh month, Sept.–Oct.: Elam. *bagiātiš*, Akk. *tašritu*. From *bagā-* 'god', with vriddhi (§126, §165), + *yad-* 'worship', with lengthened vowel (§126, §165) and formative *-i-* (§152.I): 'God-Worship Month' (§159, §161.Ia), probably referring to Mithras, since Phl. and NPers. call this month *Mīhr*

'(Month of) Mithras' (Justi, ZDMG 51.247; Bthl. AiW 952-3). *Bāgayādiš* gsm. DB 1.55.

bāji- sb. 'tribute': NPers. *bāz*; deriv. (§152.I, §165) of root seen in Skt. *bhāga-* 'portion, dispenser', OP *bagā-* 'god', the verb being Skt. *bhājati* 'apportions', Av. *bag-*, Phl. *bāxtān* (§101, §122, §123, §126). *bājim* asf. DB 1.19; DPe 9f; DNa 19; DSe 18; XPh 17.

bābugara- sb. 'drinking cup, saucer': if genuine (§55.II; JAOS 56.215; Schaefer, SbPAW 1935. 489–96), from *bātu-* 'wine' (§153.I; etymology uncertain, but Iiz. Apl 114 quotes *βατιῶν* from Athenaeus, bk. xi, page 784a, as the Persian word for 'phiale, cup') + *-gara-* (§143.I) 'devouring, drinking' (§160.Ia), cf. Av. *aspō.garō* 'horse-devouring', Skt. *aja-garā-* 'goat-swallower, boa constrictor', Gk. *δηρο-βόρος* 'people-devouring', Lt. *carni-vorus* 'flesh-eating', from root in Av. *gar-* 'devour', Skt. *girdāti*, Lt. *vorat*, pIE **g^her-*. Bv. JAs. 228.233–4 suggests, and Hz. AMI 8.9–17, Apl 113–5, accepts cognation rather with Skt. *galati* 'drips', *gālayati* 'pours', as 'wine-pourer', cf. Lt. *libāre* 'pour (as an offering to the gods)', and NPers. *piyāla* 'drinking cup', from **pati-gāra-*. *bābugara* nsm. (§56.V) AI.

band- vb. 'bind': Av. *band-*, Skt. *bandh-*, Gt. *bindan*, pIE **bhendh-*. See also *badaka-*. *basta* (NPers. *bāst*) nsm. past ptc. pass. (§67, §85, §120, §122, §132.1, §242.I) DB. 1.82; 2.75, 90; 5.26. *bastā* apm. DB 3.88°.

bandaka- sb. 'subject, servant' (cf. König, RuID 64): Phl. *bandak*, NPers. *bāndāh*; deriv. (§146.II) of OP **ba^ada-* 'bond, fetter', Av. *banda-*, Skt. *bandhā-*, to pIE root **bhendh-* (OP *ba^ad-*: §39, §75.III, §111, §122, §132.1). *badaka* nsm. DB 2.20, 30, 49f, 82; 3.13, 31, 56, 85; 5.8. *badakā* npf. DB 1.19.

Bābiru- sb. (*Bābairu-* because of Pali *Bāveru-*, MB Gr. §80) 'Babylon', a city (§56.III, §166); 'Babylonia', a province of the Persian Empire; by transfer, 'Babylonian': Elam. *ba-pi-li*, Akk. *bab-ilu*, *bab-ilāni* 'gate of the god(s)', Gk. *Βαβυλών* (§75.V, §107). See also *Bābiruwiya-*. *Bābiruš* nsm. DB 1.14, 80; DPe 10f; DNa 26; DSe 25f°; DSm 7°; XPh 22; as ethnic (§56.III), DN xvi, A?P 16. *Bābirum* asm. DB 1.83f, 91 bis; 2.2, 3, 3f; 3.82, 84, 87; 4.15, 30. *Bābirauš* absm. (§168, §182.III) DB 2.65. *Bābiraw* lsm. DB 1.78, 81;

2.5, 6; 3.79, 83, 92; 4.2; DBd 7f; DBi 11 (written *Bābraw*, §22); DSf 33 as loc. with *yātā*, 33 as abl. with *hacā* (hardly a real abl., corresponding to Av. *-aui* despite Hz. AMI 3.55n, Kent JAOS 53.16).

Bābirwiya-adj. 'Babylonian': deriv. (§144.III) to preceding. *Bābirwiya* nsm. DB 1.77, 79; 3.81; 4.13; DSf 29f. *Bābirwiya* asm. DB 3.86. *Bābirwiya* npm. DB 3.78; DSf 53f. *Bābirwiya* apm. DB 3.88.

bar-vb. 'bear, lift up, esteem': present stem *bara-*, Av. *baraiti*, NPers. *bārād*, Skt. *bhāratī*, Gk. *φέρει*, Lt. *fert*, Gt. *batrīþ*, pIE **bhere/o-* (§213). See also *ubarta-*, *uṣabāri-*, *Gaubaruwa-*, *bara-*. *bara^{tiy}* 3d pl. (§122, §232.I) DB 5.22f (written *bar^{tiy}*, §22); DNa 42. *abaram* 1st sg. inf. (§61, §75.III, §226.II) DB 1.22; 4.66. *abara* inf. (§40, §84, §228.II) DB 1.25, 55, 88, 94; 2.25, 34f, 40, 45, 54, 60, 68, 86, 97°; 3.6, 17, 37, 45, 62, 67 (written *ar^{ar}*, §54.II), 87; 4.61, 62; DNa 50f; DSf 19°, 32; XPh 33, 45. *abaraⁿ* 3d pl. inf. (§10, §40, §84, §106, §232.II) DPe 10; DSe 18°; DSf 34. *abarahaⁿ* 3d pl. inf. (§10, §218, §232.III) DNa 19f; XPh 17 (written *ab^{ar}*, §54.I). *abara^{ti}* 3d pl. inf. mid. (§10, §236.II) DB 1.19. *abariya* inf. pass. (§35.I, §220, §228.II) DSf 23°, 31f, 35, 36, 38f, 40, 43, 45. *abariyaⁿ* 3d pl. inf. pass. (§220, §232.II) DSf 41, 47. *baratuw* inv. (§237.II) AmH 11°; DPd 14; DSk 5. *bartaniy* inf. (§238) DNb 47.

ā + *bar*- 'perform': *ābaratiy* (§213, §228.I) DNb 25. Cf. also Hz. ApI 110-1, who refers to *ā-bar*-certain other forms listed above as augmented forms of uncompounded *bar*-.

pāti- + *ā* + *bar*- 'bring back, restore': *pātiyā-baram* 1st sg. inf. DB 1.68 (but *-ā*- perhaps only by influence of *parābartam*, JAOS 62.275; §53, §206c).

parā + *bar*- 'bear away, take away': *parābara* inf. DB 1.71, 96. *parābartam* nsn. past ptc. pass. (§242.I) DB 1.62, 67f.

pari- + *bar*- 'protect, preserve' (cf. Hz. ApI 112-3): *paribarāmiy* 1st sg. (§226.I) DNb 17. *paribarāhy* 2d sg. subj. (§27, §136, §222.II, §227.I) DB 4.78; *paribarāhⁿ-diš* (§27, etc.) DB 4.74. *pari-barā* 2d sg. inv. (§237.I) DB 4.72, 88.

fra- + *bar*- 'proffer, grant': *frābara* inf. AmH 7; AsH 9; DB 1.12, 25, 60f; DPd 3f, 7f; DPh 8; DNa 33; DSf 11; DSm 3°; DSp 2°; DSs 6; DZc 4; DH 7; A^{He} 18f, 20.

bara-sb. 'bearing, bearer': Av. *-bara-*, Skt. *-bhara-*, Gk. *-φορος*, pIE **bhoros* (§32, §122, §143.I, VI), to root *bar*- 'bear', in *arštubara-*, *takabara-*, *vaḡabara-*; also *bāra*- 'borne by, rider of', with *vridhhi* (§122, §126, §143.I), in *asabāra-*, cf. *uṣabāri-*. See Hz. ApI 95.

bard-vb. 'be high': Av. *barəz*- 'high', *barəz-ant*- 'lofty', NPers. *burz* 'high', Skt. *bṛhānt*- 'lofty', OHG *berg* 'mountain', pIE **bhergh-*; in *Bardiya-*, *baršan-*, probably in *brazman-*.

Bardiya-sb. 'Smerdis', brother of Cambyses (§164.III): Elam. *bir-ti-ia*, Akk. *bar-zi-ia*, Gk. *Σμέρπης* (§29.n2, §30). Deriv. (§144.IV) of OP *bard*- 'be high' (§75.III): 'The Exalted'. *Bardiya* nsm. DB 1.30, 32, 39, 52f; 3.25, 35, 54; 4.9, 27, 82; DBb 4f; DBh 5. *Bardiya* asm. DB 1.31 bis, 51.

baršan-sb. 'height, depth' (§31): Av. *barəzan-* (Bthl. AIW 950); deriv. of OP *bard*- (§75.III, §155.I; Scheil 21.26; König, Burgbau 51; Hz. AMI 3.57; Bv. Gr. §312; Kent, JAOS 51.204, 53.15). *baršā* ism. (§96, §120) DSf 26, 26f.

bav-vb. 'become, be': present stem *bava-* (§213), Av. *bavaiti*, Skt. *bhāvati*, Gk. *φύει* 'grows', Lt. *fuā* 'I was', Lith. *būti* 'to be', NEng. *be*, pIE **bheu-*. See also *būmi-*. *bavatiy* (§122, §228.I) XPh 55, 56. *bavatiy* 3d pl. (§232.I) DNb 14 (*bavatiy* in 2d copy, Hz. ApI 115; cf. §48). *abavam* 1st sg. inf. DB 1.28, 60, 72; 4.5; 5.4°; DSm 6°; XPh 35, 36f; XPh 30; XSc 4°. *abava* inf. (§228.II) DB 1.32, 33, 34, 40, 48, 77, 80; 2.16f, 17, 80, 94; 3.10, 11, 20, 27, 28, 76, 82, 83; 5.5, 14°, 30; DSf 25; XPh 26. *abavaⁿ* 3d pl. inf. (§112, §232.II) DB 1.76; 2.7, 93; 3.78; 4.34. *bavatiy* subj. (§222.II, §228.I) DNa 43, 45f; DNb 59 (Ig. 15.74; confirmed by photograph, JNES 4.44). [*biy*]*ā* 2d sg. opt. (§114, §218.II, §223.I, §227.II) DB 4.69. *biyā* opt. (**bhy-ī-ēt*, Bv. Gr. §232, comparing Av. *buyāt* from **bhu-ī-ēt*; but Bthl. Gdr. IP 1. §143 takes as **bhy-ī-ī-ēt*, = Lt. *fiet*, which may be either non-thematic opt. or thematic subj.; §114, §122, §208, §218.II, §223.I, §228.II) DB 4.56 bis, 58, 59, 74f, 75, 78f, 79°.

bigna-, in *ā-bigna-*, see *Bagābigna-*.

būmi-sb. 'earth (= world or ground)': Av. *būmī-*, NPers. *būm*, Skt. (RV) nom. *bhūmī* *bhūmīḥ*; deriv. of root *bhav-* (see *bav-*) in grade *bhū-*, cf. Skt. aor. *abhmī*, Gk. *ἐφῶ* (§11, §65, §152.IV, §179-III).

būmim asf. DNā 2, 32; DSe 2°; DSf 1; DSt 2; DZe 1f; DE 2; XPā 1; XPb 2; XPe 1; XPd 2; XPf 2; XPh 1f; XE 3; XV 2f; A¹Pa 2°; A²Hc 2. *būmām* asf. (§55.I) A³Pa 2. *būmiyā* Isf. (§179.II) DNā 11f; DSb 9; DSe 10; DSm 5; DSs 2°, 3°; DZb 4; DZe 6; DE 17f; XPā 9; XPb 17; XPe 7f; XPd 12; XPf 12, 25; XPh 10; XPj; XE 17; XV 13; A¹Pa 13°; A²Sc 4°; Wb 7; Wc 8; Wd 8.

BU nsf. (§42) DSf 24, 28. *BŪyā* Isf. DSd 2°; DSf 7, 15, 16, 18, 24°; DSg 2; DSi 2, 4; DSj 1°; DSY 2; DSb 2; A²Sa 1; A²Sd 2; A²Ha 2; A²Hc 9, 17; A²Pa 11.

brātar- sb. 'brother': Av. *brātar-*, NPers. *birādār*, Skt. *bhrātar-*, Gk. *φάρτηρ* 'clan-brother', Lt. *frāter*, OCS *bratrŭ*, Gt. *broþar*, pIE **bhrāter-* (§62, §75.III, §128, §154.II). *brātā* nsm. (§124.5, §186.II) DB 1.29f, 39f.

brazmaniya- adj. 'prayerful, reverent' (cf. Kent, Lg. 21.223-9), with *braz-* rather than *barz-* (§33; cf. Elam. *pir-ra-us-man-ni-ja*, Akk. *bi-ra-za-man-ni-i*): deriv. (§144.IV) to pAr. antecedent of Skt. *brāhman-* 'religious devotion, prayer', cf. identical Skt. deriv. *brahmanyā-* 'religious', to pIE root **bhergh-* (see OP *bard-*; §75.III, §95, §120, §155.III; Henning, TPS 1944.108-18). For other views, see Kent, Lg. 13.301; Hartmann, OLZ 40.145-60; Nyberg, Rel. 367, 478; Hz. AMI 8.69, Apl 116-8 (to Av. *barag-* 'to welcome', *barag-* 'rite', *baraxda-* 'beloved'; wrongly, since this would give OP **bragman-*); Christensen, Essai sur la démonologie iranienne 40-1; Henning, BSOS 10.506; Abayev, Iranskie Yazyki 1.134; Scherman, JAOS 65.141-3 n.23. Cf. also O. M. Dalton, Treasure of the Oxus 94-5. On form and meaning of Phl. *brahm brahmak*, see Henning, TPS 1944.108-18. *brazmaniya* nsm. XPh 41, 51, 54 (hardly *brazmaniya* isn. modifying *urtā*; also not *-niya* apn. 'divine' with Sen 155, nor adn. in elliptic dual with Pisani, see under *arta-*).

mē, of dubious meaning, Se 1; taken by Justi, IFA 17.112, to be an abbreviation for OP **māraka* 'seal', NPers. *mārāh*.

ma-, stem of 1st person pron. in obl. cases of sg.; see *adam*.

mā conj. 'not', in prohibitions etc.: Av. Skt. *mā*, Gk. *μή*, pIE **mē* (§109, §191.I, §292b). With subj.: DNb 55 (*mā-taiy*), 58. With opt.: DB 4.59, 69, 79°; DPd 18, 19 bis, 20; XPh 39. With

inj.: DB 4.54; DPe 21; DNā 58, 59, 60; DNb 52 (*mā-taiy*). With inv.: DNb 60. With lost verbs: DNb 57, DSq 4 bis; with restored subj. A²Sa 5° bis, A²Ha 7, 7°. See also *mātya*.

mā- vb. 'measure': Av. Skt. *mā-*, Lt. *mētior* 'I measure'.

ā + *mā-* 'extend': *āmātū* npm. past ptc. pass. (§242.II) 'noble' DB 1.7; DBa 11.

fra- + *mā-* 'command' ('decide, judge', acc. to Hz. Apl 154-6; 'plan,' Hinz, ZDMG 95.233-5); see also *framātar-*, *framānā-*. *framāyātā* inf. mid. (§214, §235.II) XPg 5. *framātām* nsn. past ptc. pass. (§242.II) DSf 19f°, 56.

maub- vb. 'flee': meaning established by Elam. and Akk. versions (Hüsing, KZ 38.258); probably to Skt. *mūñhate* 'flees' (Jn. JAOS 38.122). *amūba* inf. (§211) DB 2.2, 71; 3.41f, 71.

Maka- sb. 'Maka', a province of the Persian Empire (lit. on location given in JAOS 56.217-8): Elam. *ma-ak-ga*, Akk. *ma-ak*, cf. Gk. pl. *Mákai* (§99, §132.2, §144.III). See also *Maciya-*. *Maka* nsm. DB 1.17; DPe 18.

magu- sb. 'Magian', member of a priestly order of Media: Elam. *ma-ku-iš*, Akk. *ma-gu-šu*, Gk. *Máynos* (§153.I). Uncertain material on meaning and etymology, König, Klotho 4 chap. 12, and RulD 66. *maguš* nsm. DB 1.36, 44, 46, 64, 66, 70f; 4.8; DBb 2. *magum* asm. DB 1.50, 54, 57, 73; 4.81.

Maciya- adj. 'Macian'; pl., name of a province of the Persian Empire: deriv. of *Maka-* (§99, §113, §132.2, §144.III). *Maciya* nsm. A²P 29. *Maciyā* for nsm. (§56.III) DN xxix. *Maciyā* npm. DNā 30; DSe 23f; XPh 25.

mātar- sb. 'mother': Av. *mātar-*, Skt. *mātār-*, Gk. Dor. *μάτηρ*, Lt. *māter*, pIE nom. **mātē*, stem **māter-* (§15.II.1) in *hamātar-*.

mātya conj. 'lest, that not, not': *mā* 'not' + conj. *tya* (§133, §292b). *mātya-mām* (§133) DB 1.52. *mātya* DB 4.43, 48, 71.

mātišta- adj. 'greatest', equal to 'crown prince' in XPf (Speiser ap. Kent, Lg. 9.40-1; Hz. Apl 254-8): Av. *masišta-*, NPers. *māhist*, Gk. *μῆκιστος* 'longest' (radical vowel after that in *μῆκος* 'length'); superl. to pIE **maḱ-ros*, Gk. *μακρός*, Lt. *macer* 'thin', pIE root **maḱ-* (§87) 'be long and slender' + superl. suffix *-isto-* (§117, §156.III,

§190.II), Gk. *-ιστο-*, Av. *-išta-*, Skt. (with aspiration) *-iṣṭha-*. *maṭiṣta* nsm. AsH 6f; DB 2.13, 24; 3.70; DPd 1; DPh 9; DSf 9; DSp 1°; DH 7; XE 2; XV 1f; A²Hc 1. [*maṭiṣta*]-[*ām*] DB 5.27. *maṭiṣtam* asm. DB 2.20, 83; 3.12, 31, 57, 85; 5.6, 8, 12, 28f; XPf 32.

Māda- (§166.III) adj. 'Median'; masc. as sb. 'Media', a province of the Persian Empire: Elam. *ma-da*, Akk. *ma-da-a-a*, Gk. pl. *Mῆδοι*.

(1) 'Median': *Māda* nsm. DB 1.49; 2.14°, 16, 18, 82; 4.18; DN ii°; A²P 2. *Mādam* asm. DB 2.21, 82; 3.30. *Mādā* nrm. DSf 50, 54f. *Māda*[*ibi*]š ipm. DB 2.23. *Mādaišwa* lpm. DB 2.23.

(2) 'Media': *Māda* nsm. DB 1.15°, 41; 2.7; DPe 10; DNa 22; DSe 21°; DSm 8°; XPh 19. *Mādam* asm. DB 1.47; 2.22, 28f, 48f, 63, 65 bis; 3.32f; 4.20. *Mādam-cā* DB 1.66f. *Mādaiy* lsm. DB 1.34, 59; 2.15, 17, 22f, 28, 66 bis, 72, 92; 3.77; DBc 10f.

'*man-* vb. 'think': Av. *man-yete*, Skt. *mān-yate*, Gk. *μῆνω* ('I have thought of, I desire', Lat. *memini* 'I remember', pIE **men-*. See also *manah-*. *maniyaiy* 1st sg. mid. (§214, §233.II) DNb 38. *amaniyaiy* 1st sg. inf. mid. (§214, §233.III) DSI 3f. *maniyāhaiy* 2d sg. subj. mid. (§131, §222.II, §234.I) DB 4.39 (*man*[...]); DPe 20 (*maniyāhay*, §27, §52.II); DNa 38 (*maniyā*[...]); XPh 47 (*maniyāy*, without the *h*°: §27, §52.VI, Ig. 13.302; Hz. AMI 8.66, Apl 243-4). *maniyā*[*tay*] subj. mid. (§222.II) DB 4.50.

'*man-* vb. 'remain': Av. *man-*, iterative pres. *mānaya-* (§123, §215), Gk. *μῆνω*, Lt. *maneo*; probably specialization of pIE **men-* 'think' (see '*man-*') in meaning 'remain thinking'. *amānaya* inf. DB 2.48, 63; *amānaiya* (§48) DB 2.28.

mana^hwin- adj. 'mindful, wilful, hot-tempered': from *manah-* + *-win-* (§155.V), cf. Ig. 15.170, JNES 4.47 (Hz. ApI 242 otherwise, wrongly). *manawiš* (remade from *-vī*, §187) nsm. DNb 13.

manah- sb. 'thinking power, power of will' (Jn. Iran. Rel. §70; Kent, JNES 4.45-7, 232): Av. *manah-*, Skt. *mānas-*, Gk. *μῆνος* 'courage', pIE **menos* **menes-* (§124.4, §156.II). Decl., §185.I. See also *manawin-*, and *-maniš-* with reduced grade in second syllable, in *Arđumaniš-*, *Harā-maniš-*, perhaps *Imaniš-*. *manaš-cā* (§105) asn.

DNb 32. *manahā* isn. (JNES 4.45; wrongly gen., Hz. ApI 240-2 and Sen 235) DNb 14.

māniya- sb., probably 'personal property' in the houses; nt. adj. as collective sb., from *māna-*, GAv. *dāmāna-*, LAv. *nmāna-* 'abode, house' (§126), extension of root seen in Skt. *dāma-* 'house', Gk. *δομος*, Lt. *domus*. For varying views, see Tm. Lex. 116, with lit.; Gray, JAOS 21.17, 33.281-3; Bthl. AiW 1168; MB Gr. §261; Fay, JAOS 34.330-1. *māniyam-cā* asm. DB 1.65.

+*mamaila*, see *Atamaila*.

mayūza- sb. 'doorknob': Skt. *mayūkha-* 'peg', perhaps to Skt. *mi-* (pres. *mindti*) 'fix (as in the earth)' (§100, §143.III); cf. Hz. ApI 258-9. *mayūza* nsm. DPi; XPI.

mar- vb. 'die': Av. *mar-*, pres. *miryeite* (§122, §214), Skt. *mriyāte*, Lt. *moritur*, pIE **mer-*. See also *wāmaršiyu-*, *marika-*, *marta-*, *martiya-*, *amariyatā* inf. mid. (§35.I, §235.II) DB 1.43.

marika- sb. 'person of lower rank, subject', as shown by Akk. *u^ugal-la* 'menial': contracted (§23.I) for **mariyaka-*, deriv. of stem in Skt. (Vedic) *mārya-* 'young man, stallion', cf. Skt. *maryakā-* 'little man (said of a bull among cows)', Phl. *mērak* (from **maryaka*), Gk. *μείραξ* 'boy, girl' (from **meriāk-*); ultimate root pIE **mer-*, OP *mar-* (§122, §146.III). Cf. Hz. ApI 251-3, Bv. TPS 1945.43-4. *marikā* vsm. DNb 50, 55, 59°.

Māru- sb. 'Maru', a town in Media (cf. König, RuID 71): Elam. *ma-ru-iš*, Akk. *ma-ru-*. *Māru*š nsm. DB 2.22.

Mārgava- adj. 'Margian': adj. to *Margu-*, with vridhhi (§126, §143.II, V, VI). *Mārgava* nsm. DB 3.12; 4.24. *Mārgavaiš* ipm. DB 3.16.

Margu- sb. 'Margiana', a province of the Persian Empire: Elam. *mar-ku-iš*, Akk. *mar-gu-*, Gk. *Μάργος*, *Μαργίαν* (§31, §153.I). See also *Mārgawa-*. *Mārguš* nsm. DB 2.7; 3.11. *Mārgum* asm. DB 4.25. *Mārgaw* lsm. (§114) DB 4.25; DBj 5f.

marta- ptc. as adj. 'dead': Av. *mərsta-*, -NPers. *murd*, Skt. *mṛtā-*, Gk. *μωρός* (for **βπαρός*, with vowel assimilation), Lt. *mort-uos* (after *vī-vos* 'living'), pIE **mṛtos* (§30, §109, §122, §242.I); see OP *mar-*, and cf. Hz. ApI 249-51. *marta* nsm. XPh 48, 55. *martahyā* gsm. DB 5.20, 36.

¹*martiya*-adj. as sb. 'man': -*ījo*- extension of pIE **mortos*, Av. *marəta*- 'mortal, man', NPers. *mārd*, Skt. *mārta*- (§31, §106, §122, §242.II), cf. -*ījo*- extension in Av. *mašya*-, Skt. *mārtya*- (§144.IV). See also *umartiya*-, ²*Martiya*-.

martiya nsm. DB 1.21, 36, 48, 74, 77; 2.8, 14, 79; 3.12, 22, 70, 78; 4.38, 65, 68; 5.5°, 7°; DN_a 46; DN_b 16, 19, 21, 24; XPh 51. *martiyā* vsm. DN_a 56. *martiyam* asm. DB 3.57; DN_a 3; DN_b 12, 22; DSe 3; DSf 2, 16f; DSs 2f; DSt 3°; DZc 2; DE 4f; XPa 2; XPb 4f; XPe 2f; XPd 3f; XPf 3; XPh 3; XE 5; XV 4; A¹Pa 3f°; A²He 3f; A³Pa 3f. *martiyahyā* gsm. DN_a 4, 44; DN_b 3; DSe 4f; DSf 3; DSs 5°; DSt 4f°; DZc 2f; DE 6; XPa 3; XPb 6; XPe 3; XPd 4f; XPf 4f; XPh 4; XE 7; XV 5; A¹Pa 5°; A²He 4f; *martihyā* A³Pa 4f (§52.VI; hardly phonetic, as taken by Morgenstierne, Acta Or. 1.253). *martiyā* npm. DB 1.57f; 4.80, 82; DSf 47, 49, 51, 52, 54. *martiyā* apm. DB 2.77; 3.48, 50, 74, 90, 91. *martiyānām* gpm. DB 4.87f. *martiyābīš* ipm. DB 1.56f.

²*Martiya*-sb. 'Martiya', a Susian rebel: Elam. *mar-ti-ja*, Akk. *mar-ti-ja*; same as ¹*martiya*-, specialized as man's name (§163.Ib, §164.III; but cf. HK Iran. Eigenn. 13-4, Phil. 66.183-4, ApKI 1.54, 2.26). *Martiya* nsm. DB 2.8; 4.15; DBf 1. *Martiyam* asm. DB 2.12f.

mard-vb. 'crush': Av. *marəd*- 'destroy', Skt. *mṛd*- 'rub, crush', Lt. *mordet* 'bitos', pIE **murd*- (Foy, KZ 35.48). See also *Marduniya*-.

vi- + *mard*- 'destroy': *vimardatiy* (§30, §213) DSe 40f. *viyamarda* inf. (written *viya* : *marda*, §44; cf. also §52.IV, §228.II, and Lex. s.v. -*āi*-) DB 5.11.

Marduniya-sb. 'Mardonius', father of Gobryas: Elam. *mar-du-nu-ja*, Gk. *Μαρδόνιος*; perhaps deriv. to **marduna*- 'vintner' (§144.IV, §147-II, §153.I, §164.IV), cf. NPers. *mul* 'wine', Skt. *mṛdvikā*- 'grapevine' (Bthl. AiW 1151; otherwise Justi, INB 195), which possibly contains root *mard*- 'crush (the grapes in the wine-making)'. *Marduniyahyā* gsm. DB 4.84.

mav-vb. 'send': cf. Lt. *moveō* 'I move'. [am]-*āvatā* inf. mid. as pass. (§213, §235.II) DB 4.92 (dubious conj. of Kent, JAOS 62.269).

Mazdāh-adj. 'wise' (§156.I, §160.Ia): regularly compounded in *Auramazdāh*- (q.v.); both

parts declined, but without an intervening word-divider, in *Aurahya Mazdāha* (§185.IV) XPe 10.

maškā-sb. '(inflated) skin'; NPers. *mask*, Akk. *maš-ku-u* 'skin', Aram. *maškā*: borrowed from Semitic (§99, §109, §117, §143.IV; see MB Gr. §101). *maškāwā* lpf. (§72) DB 1.86.

māha-sb. 'month': Skt. *māsa*-, pIE **mēso*-; extension (§143.II) of pIE **mēs*-, seen in Av. *māh*-, NPers. *māh*, Skt. *mās*-, cf. also Lt. *mēnsis*, Gk. *μήν*, Gt. *mēna*, OHG *māno*, Lith. *mėnuo*, all meaning 'moon' or 'month'. *māhyā* gsm. DB 1.37f, 42, 56, 89, 96; 2.26, 36, 41, 47, 56, 61f, 69, 98; 3.8, 18, 39, 46f, 63, 68, 88 (for **māhahyā*, with contraction of -*āhah*- to -*āh*-, with Gray, AJP 21.13-4; rather than the usual interpretation as lsm. to stem *māh*-; §131, §165.n1, §185.IV).

miḥah-sb. (§156.II) 'evil', the opposite of *rāšta*-: Av. *miḥahya*- 'evil', *miḥaozta*- 'falsely spoken', Skt. *mith*- 'to meet (as friend or antagonist), engage in altercation'; cf. Hz. ApI 259-61, Kent Ig. 15.169-70, and *hamičiya*-. *miḥa* asn. DN_b 7, 9, 11.

Miθra-sb. 'friend'; as deity, 'Mithras': El. *mi-iš-ša*, Akk. *mi-il-ri*; Av. *miθra*-, NPers. *mihr* 'sun', Skt. *mitrā*- 'friend' (§9.VI, §33, §49c, §78, §148.III). Cf. *Vaumisa*- and probably *hamičiya*-. *Miθra* nsm. A²Hb; *M'tra* (§22) A³Sd 4, A²Ha 6; *M'θra* A³Sa 5, A³Pa 25. As gen. (§313.II), *M'tra* A²Ha 5°, *M'θra* A³Sa 4.

muθ-vb., see *mauθ*-.

Mudrāya-adj. 'Egyptian'; pl., also a province of the Persian Empire, 'Egypt'; masc. sg. as sb., 'Egypt', a province: Elam. *mu-iš-ša-ri-ja*, Akk. *mi-šir* (§6, §76.V).

(1) 'Egyptian': *Mudrāya* nsm. A²P 19. *Mudrāyā* npm. DSf 50f, 52, 55.

(2) 'Egyptians', as province: *Mudrāyā* npm. DPe 11f.

(3) 'Egypt': *Mudrāya* nsm. DB 1.15, 2.7°; DN_a 27; DSe 26°; DS_m 7°; XPh 23. *Mudrāyam* asm. DB 1.32, 33; DZc 8. *Mudrāyā* absm. DSf 41; DZc 11f. *Mudrāyay* lsm. DZc 9.

ya-rel. pron. 'who, which', generalized by encl. -*ciy* (cf. Hz. ApI 355-6): Av. Skt. *ya*-, Gk. *ᾱs*, pIE **ījo*-. See also *yātā*, *yabā*, *yadā*-, *yadiy*, *yaniy*, *yāvā*. *ya-ciy* nsm. (§105, §130, §197) DN_b 57. *ya-ciy* asn. DN_b 35, 36.

Yautiyā- sb. 'Yautiya', a district in Persia: Elam. *ia-ū-ti-ia-iš*, Akk. *i-ū-ti-ia*. *Yautiyā* nsf. DB 3.23.

yaud- vb. 'be in commotion', present stem *yauḍa*:- Av. *yaoz*- 'boil up' (§88), pres. *yaoza*- (Hz. AMI 8.67, ApI 362-5); not to Av. *yaod*- 'fight', Skt. *yudh*-, because of the difference in the present stem (Av. *yūdiyeiti*, Skt. *yūdhyati*; JAOS 58.116). *ayauḍa* imf. (§213) XPh 31f (not *āyauḍa* nsm. 'rebellion', as taken by Henning, BSOS 10.505, which is refuted by Akk. version). *ayauḍa** 3d pl. imf. (§232.II) DSe 33*. *yau[da*-tim] asf. pres. ptc. act. (§190.I, §240) DNa 32.

Yauna- adj. 'Ionian'; pl., also a province of the Persian Empire; masc. sg. as sb., 'Ionia', a province: Elam. *(i)-ia-u-na*, Akk. *ia-ma-nu*, Gk. *Ἰωνία*.

(1) 'Ionian': *Yauna* nsm. A?P 26. *Yaunā* nfm. DSf 33f, 48; as nsm. (§56.III) A?P 23.

(2) 'Ionians', as province: *Yaunā* nfm. DPe 12f; DNa 29; DSe 27f°; DSm 10°; XPh 23.

(3) 'Ionia': *Yauna* nsm. DB 1.15; DNa 28; DSm 8°. *Yaunā* absm. DSf 42f.

yāumani- adj. 'trained, skilled': adj. to **yauman*-, with vriddhi (§126, §152.I, §155.III), from root seen in Skt. *yāuti* 'harnesses, fastens', cf. Hz. ApI 365-6 (not with Sen 249, 'agile', from **yāuman-aina*-, fem. -i). See also *ayāumani*-. *yāumaini*š nsm. (with epenthesis, §127; Lg. 15.173) DNb 40.

yawiyā- sb. 'canal' (§48): NPers. *joi* 'water-course, canal', cf. perhaps Skt. (Vedic) *yaryā* isf. 'stream, river'; perhaps deriv. (§144.V) of root *ay-/i-/yā*- 'go' (JAOS 62.271). *yawiyā* nsf. DZc 10. *yawiyām* asf. DZc 8f, 12.

yakā- sb. (§6, §143.IV) a kind of wood (oak, Scheil 25.28, but if so, not cognate, Bv. BSLP 30.1.61; Afghan cypress, König, Burghau 54-61; mulberry, Wb. AfOF 7.42; teak, Hz. AMI 3.61-2; certainly not 'timber' in general, as taken by Gray, AJP 53.68). *yakā* nsf. DSf 34.

yacyi, see *ya*-.

yātā conj. and prep.; perhaps *yā* isn. or *yā** absn. of *ya*- + *-tā* as in *cilā*, q.v. (wrongly Sen 11).

(1) Conj. (§294) 'until': DB 1.25, 54, 69; 2.28, 48, 63; DNa 51; DNb 23; DSf 24; XPh 45f. 'when' DB 4.81. 'while' DB 2.6; 3.77. 'as long as' DB 4.51.

(2) Prep. with loc., 'unto': DSf 32, 34.

(3) Double prep., *yātā ā*, with abl. (not with acc., as taken by Schwentner, ZII 6.173), 'unto': DPh 6, 7; DH 5, 6.

yābā conj.: GAv. *yabā*, LAv. *yaba*, Skt. *yāthā*; rel. *ya*- + adv. Suffix *-thā* (§76.II, §113). It takes a verb in the indic, except that the pres. subj. shows future time in temporal clauses (DNb 28f); details of syntax, §295.

(1) 'as': DB 1.23 (*yabā-šām*), 63, 67, 69; 4.35, 52; 5.17°, 29, 33°; DNa 37; DSj 3; DZc 11°, 12.

(2) 'as well as', comparing clauses: DNb 39 (wrongly Hz. ApI 362).

(3) 'when': CMb 3; DB 1.31, 91°; 2.22, 65; 3.34; DNb 28f (*yabā-maiy*); DSi 3; XPI 25, 32 (*yabā-maiy*), 36; XPh 29 (*yabā tya*).

(4) 'after', with prec. or foll. *pasāva*: DB 1.27, 33, 72, 73; 2.32, 52; 3.3; 4.5; 5.3, 23°; DNa 31f; DSf 25; XSc 3°.

(5) 'that', introducing object clause: DB 4.44.

(6) 'so that', introducing result clause: DB 1.70; DSe 35, 39.

(7) 'because': DB 4.63.

yad- vb. 'reverence, worship', usually middle: Av. *yazaitē*, Skt. *yajati*, Gk. *ἄζεται*, pIE **jağ-* (§88, §113). See also *Āciyādiya*-, *āyadana*-, *Bāgayādi*-, **yadā*. *yadatniy* mid. (§213, §235.I) XPh 53. *ayadaiy* 1st sg. imf. mid. (§233.III) DB 5.16, 32; DSf 18°; DSk 5; XPh 40f. *ayadiya* imf. pass. (§220) DB 5.16°, 32. *ayadiya** 3d pl. imf. pass. (§220, §232.II) XPh 36, 40. *yadātaiy* subj. mid. (§222.II, §235.I) DB 5.19, 34f. *yadaišā* 2d sg. opt. mid. (§223.II, §234.II) XPh 50. *yadiyaiša** (§220, §223.II, §232.III; written *y'diyi'isā*, §55.I; cf. Hz. AMI 8.67, ApI 357-8) 3d pl. opt. pass. (Ogden ap. JAOS 58.325; not *yadiyai*š 2d sg. opt. mid. with Wb. Symbolae Koschaker 196, nor fut. pass. with Hz. AMI 8.67, ApI 357-8) XPh 39.

**yadā*- conj. 'where': GAv *yadā*, Skt. *yadā*; probably rel. nt. pAr. **jad* + postpos. *ā*. *yadā*-*tya* XPh 35f (§133, §296; cf. *yabā tya* XPh 29); *yadāyā* XPh 39 (perhaps error in writing, §55.I; but cf. Hz. AMI 8.66, ApI 358, Nyberg Rel. 477-8).

**Yadā*- sb. 'Yada', probably 'Anshan' (as shown by the Elam. translation 3.3 *an-za-an.mar*, read by Cameron; cf. §166.n2): not an abstract *yadā*- 'loyalty', to root *yad*- (q.v.), as commonly taken (wrongly also Foy, KZ 35.43; Hüsing, OLZ

8.513-6; Hz. ApI 244-9; Nyberg, Rel. 477-8). *Yadāyā* absf. (§141, §175) DB 3.26.

yadiy conj. 'if, when': Av. *yeidi*, Skt. *yādi*: perhaps pAr. nt. rel. **yad* + deictic *-i*. Syntax §297.

(1) 'if', with subj.: DB 4.38f, 54, 57, 72f, 77; DPe 19, 22; DNā 38 (*yadi-patīy*); DNb 29 (*yadi-vā*; cf. Hz. ApI 359); XPh 47 (*yadi-maniyāy*; §44, §52.VI); with opt., DNb 20f; with pres. ind., DNb 25 (*yadi-vā*).

(2) 'when', with inf. ind., DB 1.38, DSf 14; 'whenever', with pres. ind., DNb 38f, 39.

yāna- sb. 'favor, boon': Av. *yānā*-; deriv. of *yam*-, probably **ya*- from **īn*-, with lengthening and suffix *-na*- (§147.I). *yānam* asm. DPd 21, 23°; XSe 4°.

yaniy conj. 'where, whereon': lsn. **ya'mi* (= Skt. *yāsmi-n*, Av. *yahmy-a* 'where') to relative stem *ya*-, with *-n*- after isn. **yānā*, cf. isn. *tyānā* to *tya*- (hardly *yānaiy*, loc. formed on stem *yāna*- extracted from isn. **yānā*, as taken by Bthl. AiW 1262; not miswritten for *tyānaiy*, as taken by Müller, WZKM 7.112; other theories in Tm. Lex. 120 s.v.). Syntax §296. XV 22.

yam- vb. 'stretch, reach out': Av. *yam*- pres. *yasaiti*, Skt. *yam*-, pres. *yācchati*, OP pres. *yasa*-, pIE **īn-ske*-. See also *yāna*-.

ā + *yam*- 'reach out for, (mid.) take as one's own': *āyasatā* inf. mid. (§97, §215, §235.II) DB 1.47; 3.4, 42f.

ati- + *yam*- 'reach beyond, present, read aloud to': [a]tīya[sī]ya (§23.I, §140.III, §220) inf. pass. DB 4.91 (conj. of Kent, JAOS 62.268; for *-i*-, cf. *nīyasaya*, below).

nī- + *yam*- 'reach out and down; (caus.) set down': *nīyasaya* inf. caus. (§23.I, §140.III, §215) DNb 5, 46, 49 (Jn. JAOS 38.123-4; MB Gr. §199; Johnson, Gr. §478b; Hz. ApI 359-61).

yāvū conj. 'as long as', isn. of **yāva*-, extension of pIE rel. **yo*-, pAr. **ya*-, cf. Skt. *yāvat*, Av. *yavata*, Gk. *ἕως* (from **yāyos*); hardly from **yāva** *ā* = GAv. (Ys. 43.8) *yavaṭ ā*, with contraction (Wackernagel, KZ 46.275-80). With subj. to show future time (§298): DB 4.71, 74, 78; 5.19, 35°.

raucah- sb. 'day': Av. *raoçah*- 'light', Phl. *rōç*, NPers. *rōz*, Skt. *rōcas*- 'light', pIE **leuqos* (§70, §107, §156.II), cf. Gk. *λεukós*- adj. 'light'. *rauca* nsn. (§119, §185.I) DB 3.8. *rauca-pati-vā*

(§99, §133) asn. DB 1.20. *raucabiš* ipn. (§119, §185.I) DB 1.38, 42, 56, 89f, 96; 2.26, 36, 42, 47, 56, 69f, 98°; 3.18f, 39, 47, 63, 68, 88f.

raulah- sb. 'river' (§166): NPers. *rōð*, Skt. *srōtas*- 'current, river', pIE **sreutos* (§118.II, §156.II) to root **sreu*- 'flow'; perhaps same as Av. *θraotah*-, with sandhi initial (Bthl. Gdr. IP 1.§87.-n2, AiW 800). *raulā* nsn. anaecoluthic in naming phrase (wrongly gen.-abl. to stem *raul*-, Mt. MSLP 19.56-7, MB Gr. §167, §316) DZc 9.

Razā- sb. 'Rakha', a town in Persia: Elam. *ruk-qa-an* (§100). *Razā* nsf. DB 3.34.

raxθatuv DNb 60, inv. of vb. of unknown etymology and uncertain meaning (§76.II, V, §103.III, §213, §237.II), perhaps 'inflict punishment upon', cf. Akk. version (Lg. 15.174; see also Hz. ApI 284-5).

*ra*gu*- sb. 'speed, haste': Av. *rang*- 'leicht, flink werden' (Bthl. AiW 1511), Skt. *rāhale* 'hastens, speeds', *rāhas*- nt. 'speed, quickness' (for further connections, see Uhlenbeck, Wrtb. d. altind. Sprache 241). *ragam* asn. (or asm.?) as adv. (§143.I, §191.III) DB 4.44, perhaps with development to 'eagerly' or 'confidently'.

Ragā- sb. 'Rhages', a district in Media: Elam. *rak-qa-un*, Altk. *ra-ga*-, Gk. *Ράγης*, now Rāi near Teheran. *Ragā* nsf. DB 2.71f. *Ragāyā* absf. DB 3.2f.

raθa- sb. 'wagon' (§76.II, §143.III), see *uraba*-.

**rad*- vb. 'leave': Skt. *rah*-, pres. *rahati* 'separates, leaves', to pIE **reǵh*-, Av. *razah*- 'isolation', or to pIE **redh*-, NPers. (through Ars. Phl.) *rāhād* 'he gets free from'; Fr. Müller, WZKM 11.203-4; Foy, KZ 37.564-5; Bthl. AiW 1505; MB Gr. §192.

ava- + *rad*- 'leave, abandon': *avarada* 2d sg. inj. (§213, §224, §227.II, §237) DNā 60.

**rad*- vb. 'direct' Av. *raz*-, Skt. *rāj*- 'reign', Lt. *regō* 'I direct, rule', pIE **reǵ*-; in *uradana*-, *rāsta*-.

rādiy postpos. (§133) 'on account of', with gen.: NPers. *rā*, encl. postpos. as in *či-rā* 'why', also particle of various uses, often affixed to direct object for clarity; also OCS *radi*, postpos. with gen., 'on account of'; loc. sg. of *rād*- (§188.III), to root in Skt. *rādh*- 'effect, complete' (not to

²*rad-*, pIE ²*reġ-*, with Hz. ApI 280). DB 4.54; DNb 9, 10f; also in *avahyarādīy*, q.v.

ram- vb. 'be at peace', with prefix *ā*, in *Ariyāramna-*, q.v.

rasa- present stem of vb., see *ar-*.

rāsta- adj. 'straight, right, true', with nt. as sb.; ptc. of ²*rad-*: Av. *rāšta-*, Turfan Phl. *rāšt* 'true', Lt. *rēctus* 'straight', pIE ²**rēkto-* (§93, §93.-n1-2, §106, §122, §126, §242.II). Cf. *arštā-*. *rāstām* asf. DNā 59. *rāstam* nsm. DNb 11; asn. DNb 7.

... *rtaiyaiy*, see *vart-*.

Labanāna- (or *Labnāna-*) sb. 'Lebanon' (§6, §107), a mountain in Syria famous for its cedars. *Labanāna* nsm. DSf 31.

-vā encl. conj. 'or' (§133, §291.III); *-vā*, ... *-vā* 'either ... or ...': Av. *vā*, Skt. *vā*, pIE ²**uē*, cf. Lt. *-ve*. *xšapa-vā rauca-pati-vā* DB 1.20. *hya-vā* DB 4.68. *imai-vā* DB 4.71, 73, 77. *yadi-vā* DNb 25, 29.

vaina- present stem of vb. 'see (mid.) seem': Av. *vaēna-*, NPers. *bīnāš*, Skt. *veda* 'knows', *vindāti* 'finds', Lt. *videt* 'sees', *videtur* 'seems'; pAr. ²**uaid-na-*, pIr. ²**uaina-* (§69, §83.I, §130, §210.III; Reichelt, Aw. Elmb. §157). See also *Vīdāfarnah-*. *vaināmiy* 1st sg. (§226.I) DNb 36, 36f, 39, 40. *avaina* inf. DB 2.76, 90; DNā 32. *vainataiy* mid. as pass. (§235.I) DNb 2; XPā 16. *vaināhy* 2d sg. subj. (§37, §222.II, §227.I) DB 4.70, 73, 77; DNb 29. *vaināhiy* subj. (§222.II) DSj 5°. *vainātaiy* subj. mid. as pass. (§222.II) DNb 35.

va'u- adj. 'good' (§11, §153.I); nt. as sb. 'the good, (religious) goodness': Av. nsm. *vaphuš*, nsn. *vohu*, Skt. nsm. *vāsuṣ*, nsn. *vāsu*, pIE ²**uesu-*; in *Dārayavau-*, *Vaumisa-*, *Vahauka-*, *Vahyazdāta-*.

Va'umisa- sb. 'Vaumisa', a Persian officer of Darius: Elam. *ma-u-mi-iš-ša*, Akk. *ú-mi-is-si*, Gk. (Plutarch) *Ἰούσις*; cpd. of *va'u-* and *mātra-* 'friend' (§49c, §78, §148.III): 'Friend of the Good' §160.-Ib; cf. MB Gr. §51). *Vaumisa* nsm. DB 2.49, 51, 62. *Vaumisam* asn. DB 2.53, 58.

varš- vb. 'grow', see *Uvarštra-*.

²*vaj-* vb. 'be strong': Skt. *vaj-*, *ójas-* 'strength', Av. *aofah-*, Lt. *auget* 'increases': perhaps in *ābahavaja*, q.v.

²*vaj-* vb. 'put out (eyes)', cf. JAOS 62.274; etymology uncertain (dubious equations by Foy, KZ 35.39, and by Bv. Origines 7). *avajam* 1st sg. inf. (§213) DB 2.75, 89.

vačabara- sb. 'bowbearer' (JNES 4.233): *vača-* 'bow' (§78, §148.III; uncertain connections in Wb. AbkSGW 29.1.42, and in Bv. Gr. §105) + *bara-* (§160.Ia), to *bar-* 'bear'. *vačabara* nsm. DNd I.

van- vb. 'overpower, pack down': Av. *van-* 'superare', pres. *vanaiti* (Bthl. AiW 1350 *van-*; cf. JAOS 53.15-6, Wb. AfOF 7.41, Hz. ApI 346-7), Skt. *vānati* 'desires, gets by effort', Gt. *winnan* 'suffer', NEng. *win*. *avaniya* inf. pass. (§220) DSf 25, 29 (not *akaniy*, as read by Scheil 21.26; König, Burgbau 32; Hz. AMI 3.49, 54; Schaefer, Ung. Jrb. 15.562).

vayam pron. nom. pl. 'we', see *adam*.

Vāyaspāra- sb. 'Vayaspāra', father of Intaphernes: Elam. *mi-iš-par-+*, Akk. *mi-is-pa-ru-*. Acc. to Foy, KZ 35.63, *vayat-* 'weaving' (§162, §240), with *vridhhi* (§126), + *spāra-* 'shield' (§116, §143.III), 'Man of the Wicker Shield' (§163.Ib); cf. Av. *spāra-dāšta-* if 'having shield in hand' (epithet of Aši; the meaning is inappropriate, and the etymology is therefore rejected by Bthl. AiW 1358-9). *Vā[ya]sp[āra]hyā* gsm. DB 4.83.

var- vb. 'cover, protect; (mid.) choose, convince': Av. *var-*, pres. *varənav-* (*var-*, ²*var*, *var-* of Bthl. AiW 1360-3, and perhaps **var-*, are reducible to one root as to form and meaning), Skt. *vr̥ṇōti*, Gt. *warjan* 'ward off', Lt. *operit* 'covers' (from ²*op-uer-*); OP pres. *varnava-* (§30, §210.I), thematic. See also *duvarti-*, *Fravarti-*. *varnavataiy* mid. (§235.I) DNb 23. *ava[navatā]* inf. mid. (§235.II) DSf 17 (Hz. AMI 3.43; Kent, JAOS 53.11). *varnavataiy* subj. mid. (§222.III) DB 4.49. *varnavatām* inv. mid. (§237.IV) DB 4.42, 53.

vāra- sb., see *Uvārazmī-*.

varka- sb. 'wolf', see *Varkāna-*.

Varkāna- sb. 'Hyrcania', a district southeast of the Caspian Sea (§166.I): Elam. *mi-iš-qa-nu-ia-ip* 'the Hyrcanians', Phl. and NPers. *Gurgān*, Gk. *Ἰρκανία* (§30, §99, §107); 'Wolf-Land', deriv. of pIE ²**uḷqo-*, Av. *vahrka-*, Skt. *vfka-*, Lith. *vilkas*, Gt. *wulfs* (§143.III); see also *Varkazana-*. *Varkāna* nsm. DB 2.92f.

Varkazana-adj. 'Varkazana', eighth month, Oct.-Nov.: Elam. *margašanaš*, Akk. *arāḫsamna*. From *varka*- 'wolf' (§143.III) + *zana*- 'man' (§9-IV, §88, §120): 'Month of the Wolf-Men' (§161-IIb). [*Varkazanahya*] gsm. DB 3.88, restored after the Elam. (see Wb. KIA 56-7; the first and the third *a*'s may have been long).

varga-sb., see *haumawarga*-.

vart-vb. 'turn', trans. in active, refl. or intrans. in middle: Av. *varot*-, Skt. *ṛt*-, pres. *vartati* *vārtate*, Lt. *vertit*, Gm. *werden* 'become', pIE **uert*-. [*vaṛtaiyaiy* 1st sg. mid. caus. (§31, §48, §215, §233.II; JAOS 62.275, 63.67-8) DB 4.44 (Cameron's reading; not *upa*- + *ā* + *vart*-, [*upāva*] *ṛtaiy* with dittography in **iṛiyā*-, as proposed by Tm. Vdt. Stud. 1.30-1, Lex. 122; for other restorations, see Gray JAOS 23.60-2, Bthl. WZKM 22.69, Wb. ZDMG 61.728, HK Phil. Nov. 3.103, ApKI 1.61, 2.28).

vard-vb. 'work': Av. *varəz*-, Gk. *ἐργον* 'work', Gm. *Werk*, pIE **uerǵ*-, in *Artavardiya*-.

vardana-sb. 'town': Av. *varəzāna*-, LAv. *varəzāna*- 'community', Skt. *vr̥jana*- 'enclosed space', pIE **vr̥ǵeno*- (§30, §147.I), to root **uerǵ*-, Skt. *vr̥j*-, Gk. *ἐργω* 'I enclose' (discussion of etymology, with variant view, see Hall, Lg. 12.297-9). *vardanam* nsn. DB 1.92; 2.9°, 22, 66, 95f; 3.5, 22, 34, 51f; DSe 45f.

vasiy adv. (§191.III) 'at will, greatly, utterly'; as indecl. sb., 'much': Sas. Phl. *vas*, NPers. *bās*; loc. of root-sb. *vas*- (§9.VI, §87, §142), to pIE root **uek*-, GAv. *vasmā* 'I wish', Gk. (Cretan) *ῥεκών* 'willing'; unless properly *vasaiy* (§97), loc. of thematic stem *vasa*- (**uek-ske*-, acc. to MB Gr. §114), from the present-tense stem of the same root. See also *vašnā*. DB 1.34, 51, 89, 95; 2.26, 36, 41, 46, 55, 61, 69, 98°; 3.7, 18, 39, 46, 63, 68; 4.46, 56, 75; 5.25°; DNb 26f; DSe 31°, 43; XPa 13; XPf 26, 37; XPg 3f; XV 19.

vaśdāsaka, uncertain word in Sc, probably a man's name (§163.VII).

vašna-sb. 'will, favor': Av. *vasna*-, deriv. (§96, §147.I) of root *vas*- 'wish', see under *vasiy* (Mt. MSLP 17.354-6; Hs. Apl 349.52; stem *vašna*- acc. to Bthl. AiW 1893 and MB Gr. §267, and not *vasan*- with Sen 5). *vašnā* ism. AmH 7; AsH 10; DB 1.11, 13f, 18, 22, 26, 59f, 68, 70, 88, 94°; 2.3°, 25, 35, 40, 45, 54, 60, 68, 86, 97; 3.6,

17, 37f, 45, 62, 67, 87; 4.4, 6, 41, 46, 52, 60, 88; 5.16, 32; DPd 4, 9; DPe 6; DNa 16, 35, 49; DNb 6, 47; DSA 4; DSd 3°; DSe 15, 34, 42; DSf 12, 21°; DSfv 55f; DSI 4; DSj 5; DSI 2; DSm 5; DSo 3°; XPa 11, 16; XPb 26; XPc 10; XPd 16; XPf 34, 43; XPg 2f, 7f (*vašnā*[*pe*]y §139, with Bv. BSLP 34.1.33, rather than *vašnā*[*ci*]y Lg. 9.229-30); XPh 14, 33, 36f, 44; XSA 1; XV 18f; A¹Pa 18°; D²Sb 4°; A³SA 4°; A³Sd 3°; A³Ha 5; A³Hc 16.

vazraka-adj. 'great': NPers. *buzurg*; deriv. of **vazra*-, Av. *vazra*- 'club', Skt. *vájra*- 'Indra's thunderbolt', pIE **ueǵro*-, to root **ueǵ*- 'be strong', Skt. *vajati*, Lt. *veget* (§9.III, §88, §120, §128, §143.II, §146.II, §154.I). For *-zra*-, cf. Bv. Origines 15; against *vazarka*- and *vazrka*-, cf. W. Henning, GN 1932.224.An8, and Schaefer, SbPAW 1935.489.n1. *vazraka* nsm. AmH 1, 7; AsH 1, 6; CMb 1°; CMc°, DB 1.1; DBa 1; DPa 2; DPb; DPd 1; DPe 1f; DPh 1; DNa 1, 8f; DNb 1; DSA 1; DSb 3; DSc; DSd 1; DSe 1°, 8°; DSf 1°, 6; DSG 1°; DSI 1°; DSj 1; DSk 1; DSm 1; DSp 1°; DSs 1°; DSt 1; DSy 1; SZb 1; DZc 1, 5; DE 1, 13; DH 1; XPa 1, 6; XPb 1, 13, 23; XPc 1, 6, 10; XPd 1, 9, 15f; XPe 1f; XPf 1, 9; XPg 2; XPh 1, 7; XPj; XSe 1°; XE 1, 13; XV 1, 10; A¹Pa 1°, 10°, 18°; A¹I; D²SA 2; D²Sb 1°; A³SA 1; A³Sb; A³Sc 2; A³Sd 1; A³Ha 1; A³Hb; A³Hc 1, 7f; A³Pa 1, 9; Wa 4f; Wb 2; Wc 3; Wd 3; SXa 2; AVsa. *vazrakam* asn. DSf 11; DSm 4; DZc 4. *vazrakāyā* lsf. DNa 12; DSe 10f; DZb 4; DZc 6; DE 18; XPa 9; XPb 18; XPc 8; XPd 12; XPf 12f; XPh 10; XE 17f; XV 13f; A¹Pa 13f; A²He 17.

vah-vb. 'dwell', see *āvahana*-.

Vahauka-sb. 'Vahauka', father of Ardu-manish: Elam. *ma-u-uk-qa*, Akk. *ú-ma-aḫ-ku*. Hypocoristic of name beginning *va'u*- 'good', with *guna* in second syllable and suffix *-ka*- (§146.II, §153.I, §164.III); cf. Bthl. AiW 1394-5. *Vahau*-[*kah*]y[ā] gsm. DB 4.86.

vāhara-sb. 'spring time', see *θūrawāhara*-.

vahyav'*śdāpaya* (§22), uncertain word in Sd, probably a corrupt writing of a man's name (§163.VII).

Vahyazdāta-sb. 'Vahyazdata', a Persian rebel: Elam. *mi-iš-da-ad-da*, Akk. *ú-mi-iz-da-a-tú*. From *vahyah*- 'better' (§120, §156.III), Av. *vanhah*-, Skt. *vāsyas*-, comp. of OP *va'u*- (§190.II), + *dāta*- 'law': 'Follower of the Better Law' (=

the true faith' (§161.IIa). *Vahyazdāta* nsm. DB 3.22, 35, 41, 54, 60, 70f; 4.26; DBh 1f. *Vahyazdātam* asm. DB 3.27f, 48, 50. *Vahyazdātahya* (§36.-IVc) gsm. DB 3.38f, 46.

vi- prefix 'away, apart': Av. *vī*, Skt. *vi*; with verbal roots *kan-*, *jan-*, *tar-*, *naθ-*, *mard-*, and perhaps in sbb. *Vidarna*, *Vivāna*, *Vištāspa*, and adj. *Viyaxna*.

viθ- sb. 'house, royal house, royal clan, court' (JNES 4.232): Av. *vis-* 'Herrenhaus', Skt. *viś-* 'house, dwelling', Gk. *oikos* 'house', Lt. *vīcus* 'village' (§22, §87, §114, §142). Decl., §188.IV, V. *viθam* asf. ASH 12f; DPe 24; DPh 10; DNa 53; DSe 51; DSt 9°; DH 8; XPh 58; A²He 20. *viθam* asf. DB 1.69, 71. *viθā-patīy* isf. (Foy, KZ 35.37-8, 37.556; Hz. Apl 352-4) DB 2.16°; 3.26. *viθiyā* isf. CMB note: DPc; DPi; DNb 30; DSg 3°; XPi°; XH; A¹I. *viθi[yā]* DB 4.66. *viθbiš-cā* ipf. (§87, §188.V) for apf. (§252.I) 'houses' DB 1.65 (Tm. Lex. 125-6, for various views; Gray, JAOS 33.281-3; Morgenstierne, Acta Or. 1.248-9; wrongly Sen 23, with ablative meaning).

viθa- adj., probably 'royal, of the royal family', to *viθ-* 'royal house' (§143.II: Tm. Lex. 125; MB Gr. §282); but 'possibly 'all', the same as *visa-* 'all', because of the Akk. translation (Wb. KIA 81n.). *viθabiš* ipm. DPd 14, 22, 24.

Vi²dafarnah sb. 'Intaphernes', a Persian, ally of Darius against Gaumata: Elam. *mi-in-da-par-na*, Akk. *+in-+-na-*, Gk. *Ἰνταφέρνης*; from *vindat-* 'finding' (§111, §162, §211, §240; cf. OP *vaina*, §83.I), Skt. *vindāti* 'finds', + *farnah-* 'glory' with Med. *f-* (§9.II, §9.n2, §118.IV; borrowed as Aram. *-farna*), Av. *x²arənah-* 'royal splendor', pIE **syel-nos* (§29.n2, §31, §107, §156.-II), cf. Gk. *σέλας* (**syel-ns*) 'brightness', Skt. *svār* 'sun': 'Finder of the Glory' (Foy, KZ 35.5n; Mt. MSLP 17.107-9; MB Gr. §104; Morgenstierne, Acta Or. 1.249-50; Andreas ap. Lentz, ZII 4.288; Bv. BSLP 31.2.72-6). Otherwise on *farnah-*, Bailey, Zoroastrian Problems 1.77, esp. 1-3, 73-7: originally 'a thing obtained or desired', whence 'good thing(s), welfare, fortune', from pAr. **syar-*, Av. *x²ar-* 'get, take, esp. take food'. *Vidafarnā* nsm. DB 3.84, 86, 88; 4.83.

Vidarna sb. 'Hydarnes', a Persian, ally of Darius against Gaumata: Elam. *mi-lar-na*, Akk. *ú-mi-da-ar-na-*, Gk. *Ἰδάρνης*. Perhaps *vi-* 'apart'

+ *dar-* 'hold', as 'Support, Security' (§31, §147.I, §164.II, IV), cf. Av. *vi-dar-* 'hold apart, support', *-darana-* 'stronghold, place of resort' (Bthl. AiW 692), Skt. *vi-dhṛ-* 'carry, hold apart, support', *vidharana-* 'checking, supporting'; so Justi, INB 491 (hardly to Skt. *vidīrma-* 'torn apart', with Bthl. AiW 1443); possibly hypocoristic to a compound (§164.III). *Vidarna* nsm. DB 2.19, 21; 4.84.

Viyaxna adj. 'Viyakhna', twelfth month, Feb.-March: Elam. *mi(ya)kannaš*, Akk. *addāru*; perhaps *vi-* + unidentified element (§103.III, §126, §147.I, §165), though Cameron, Pers. Treas. Insc. 45, notes that the more common Elam. transcriptions indicate rather *Viyaxana-* (cf. §23.I), perhaps from *vi* + *xan-* = Skt. *khan-* 'dig' (cf. OP *kan-*) as 'Digging-up (month)', appropriate to the agricultural activities of Feb.-March. *Viyaxnahya* (§36.IVa) gsm. DB 1.37; 2.98; 3.68.

Vivāna sb. 'Vivana', a Persian, satrap in Arachosia: Elam. *mi-ma-na*, Akk. *ú-mi-ma-na-*; possibly from *vi-* + root *van-* (§126, §143.I, §164.-II, IV), 'Conqueror, Winner' (hardly **vivahana-*, connected with Av. *vī-vah-vant-* the father of Yima, Skt. *viśvāvant-*, §131; despite Bthl. AiW 1452, Hz. AMI 1.83.n2). *Vivāna* nsm. DB 3.55, 73. *Vivānam* asm. DB 3.58, 60, 65, 71.

visa- adj. 'all': OP (Med.) *vispa-*, Av. *vispa-*, Skt. *viśva-*, pAr. **višya-* (§90) for pIE **uiko-* (OCS *viši* 'all') after *-ya-* in (Skt.) *sārva-* (see OP *haruwa-*; §150). See also *visadahyu-*, and cf. *viθa-*, *vispa-*. *visahyā* gsm. DSA 5; DSj 6. *visam* nsm. DSj 4°; DSI 5. *visam* asm. DNa 49; DSf 21; DSI 4°; XPa 16; XPb 25f; XPf 42; XPh 44.

visadahyu- adj. 'of or for all countries or provinces' (§161.IIa): borrowed in Elam. *mi-iš-ša-da-a-hu-iš* and (with Med. *vispa-*) Akk. *u²-iš-pi-da-a²-i*; *visa-* 'all' + *dahyu-* 'country, province'. *visadahyum* asm. (§53, §183.II) XPa 12.

vispa- adj. 'all': Median (§9.III, §90) for OP *visa-*, q.v. See also *vispazana-*. *vispā* absn. A²Sa 5°; A²Sda 4, A²Sdc 4 (*vīšpā* db, §55.I); A²Ha 6°.

vispazana- adj. 'containing all (kinds of) men' (§161.IIa): borrowed in Elam. *mi-iš-ša-da-na*, from the OP form **visadana-*: Med. *vispa-* 'all' + Med. *zana-* 'man, human being' (§9.III, §88, §90). *vispazanānām* gpf. DNa 10f; DSe 9f; DZc 5.

Vištāspa-sb. 'Hystaspes', father of Darius: Elam. *mi-iš-da-aš-ba*, Akk. *uš-la-as-pa*, Gk. *Ῥυσπασης*. Prior element *višta*- perhaps ptc. of (Av.) *vaš-* 'come in ready for action' (Bhl. AiW 1326), Skt. *viś-* 'enter', second part *aspa-* 'horse': 'Having ready horses' (§9.II, §9.n2, §93, §161.IIa, Lg. 21.55-8; current etymology unlikely: *višta*- ptc. of *vi-* + *had-* 'sit, settle down', Skt. *vi-śad-* 'sink, despond', giving meaning 'Having spiritless horses', which would be an ill-omened name; and this ptc. would be OP **višasta-* or the equivalent of Skt. *viṣaṇṇa-*, not *višta-*; also wrongly Hüsing, OLZ 15.537-41, who takes prior part as a reduced form of *vahišta-* 'best'). *Vištāspa* nsm. DSf 13; XPf 17f, 20. *Vištāspa* (§22) DB 1.4; 2.93, 94, 97; 3.4, 7; DBa 5. *Vištāspam* asm. DSf 57f. *Vištāspam* (§22) DB 3.2, 3. *Vištāspahyā* gsm. DPa 4f; DPb; DPe 4; DPh 2; DNa 12f; DSc; DSd 2; DSf 7; DSG 2; DSi 2; DSj 1°; DSm 2°; DSy 2f; DZb 5; DZc 6; DE 19f; DH 2; XPf 18f; A²Hc 14; Wa 5f; Wb 7f; We 8f; Wd 8f. *Vištāspahyā* (§22) DB 1.2f, 4; DBa 3, 5f; DNa 2; Dsb 9f; DSe 11f; DSk 2; A²Sa 3; A²Sc 0°; A²Ha 4°; A²Pa 18f, 19.

Višpauzāti-sb. 'Vishpauzati', a town in Parthia; Elam. *mi-iš-ba-u-za-ti-iš*. *Viš[pa]uz[ā]-tiš* nsf. DB 2.95.

sā- vb. 'erect, build': probably from pIE **kēu-*, Av. *spā-* 'throw, throw away, set down', Ars. Phl. *pari-sp* 'wall' (§90; Bv. Gr. §113, cf. König, Burghau 49-50; wrongly Bv. BSLP 30.1-66-7).

fra- + *sā-* 'erect, build': *frāsah[ya]* s-aor. pass. (§218.I, §220) DSf 27 (1st sg. act. *frāsaha[m]* is possible, as proposed by Kent, JAOS 53.15, and approved by Schaefer, Ung. Jrb. 15.562.n2).

Saka-adj. 'Seythian' (§116, §143.III); masc. sg. as sb., 'Seythia' as province or district; masc. pl. also as name of the province, often with modifiers (cf. JNES 2.304-5; for other discussion, cf. A. Hermann, AfOF, Beiheft 1, Festschrift Oppenheim 157-64 [1933], and J. Kluge, Klio, Beiheft 41, Saka-Studien [1939]). Elam. *sa-ak-qa*, Akk. *gi-mi(r)-ri*, Gk. *Σκύθης*, *Σκυθία*. See also *Sakā-*. Probably 'dog' in good sense, = 'guardian of the flocks', pIE **kēu-*, Med. *σκάκα* 'dog' (Herod. 1.110), cf. Van Windekens, Beitr. z. Namenforschung 1.98-102.

(1) 'Seythian': *Saka* nsm. DBk 2. *Sakā* npm.

as nsm. (§56.III) DN xv; A?P 14, 15, 24. *Sakā* npm. DB 5.31. *Sakā* apm. DB 5.22°, 25. *Sakaibiš* ipm. for abpm. (§252F) DPh 5; DH 4.

(2) 'Seythians', a province of the Persian Empire: *Sakā* npm. DPe 18; DNa 25, 25f, 28; DSe 24°, 25°; XPh 26 bis.

(3) 'Seythia': *Saka* nsm. DB 1.16f; 2.8.

Sakā-sb. 'Seythia', fem. of preceding, as sb. *Sakām* asf. DB 5.21f.

siⁿkabru-sb. 'carnelian': Elam. *ši-in-qa-ab-ru-iš*, Akk. *ši-in-qa+ru-ú* (§6, §75.V, §116, §153.I; JAOS 54.57-8). For meaning, cf. Bleichsteiner, WZKM 37.101-3; König, Burghau 62-3; Kent, JAOS 53.18, 54.37-8; 'cinnabar', Hz. AMI 3.64-5, ApI 303-5; 'serpentine', Gray, AJP 53.68-9. *siⁿkabruš* nsm. DSf 37f.

Sikayaⁿwati-sb. 'Sikayauvati', a fortress in Media: Elam. *ši-ik-ki-ú-ma-ti-iš*, Akk. *sik-kam-u-ba-at-ti*-. Possibly **sika-yas-vati*-, fem. adj. derived from *šika-* (q.v.; also §9.I, §87, §152.II, §156.III, §157); therefore 'Fort Rubble' from a wall of broken stones and mortar. Cf. Hz. AMI 3.55-6. *Sikalayaⁿwatiš* nsf. DB 1.58.

siyamam adj., asm. for nsm., 'made of silver', A¹I; characters clear, but word dubious (§55.II, §56.V, §116, §149.I). Apparently for NPers. *šim* 'silver', from Phl. *asēm*, borrowed from Gk. *ἀσημον* '(unstamped) silver', NGk. *ἀσημι* 'silver'; but this seems anachronistic. Hz. ApI 296-9 (also AMI 7.2-3, 8.10-7) normalizes *saiymam*: against authenticity of the inscription, cf. Schaefer, SbPAW 1935.489-96.

Sugda-*Suguda*-sb. 'Sogdiana', a province of the Persian Empire: Elam. *šu-ug-da*, Akk. *su-ug-du*, Gk. *Σογδιανή* (§22, §103.IV, §116, §128). *Sugda* nsm. XPh 21. *Suguda* (§128) DB 1.16; DNa 23; DSe 22°; DSm 9°. *Sugⁿda* (§22) DPe 16. *Sugdam* asm. DPh 6; DH 5. *Sugudā* absm. DSf 38.

skauθi-adj. 'poor, weak, lowly': Turfan Phl. *škuθ*; cf. §6, §116, §152.I, §190.IV, JAOS 56.219-20, 58.324; Bv. JAs. 223.244-5; Hz. ApI 305-10. Initial *s* is clear in photographs of DNb. *skauθiš* nsm. DNb 8f. *skauθim* asm. DSe 39f; miswritten *škaurim* DB 4.65. *skauθaiš* gsm. DNb 10.

Skuⁿxa-sb. 'Skunkha', a Seythian rebel: Elam. *iš-ku-in-qa* (§100, §111, §116). *Skuza* nsm. DB 5.27; DBk 1f.

Skudra- adj. 'Skudrian'; mase. as sb., 'Skudra', a province of the Persian Empire, probably Thrace and Macedonia (cf. JNES 2.305): Elam. *iš-ku-ud-ra*, Akk. *is-ku-du-ru* (§116).

(1) 'Skudrian': *Skudra* nsm. A?P 25.

(2) 'Skudra': *Skudra* nsm. DNā 29; DSe 29°; DSm 10°; XPh 27 (written *Skudrā*; see §51, Lg. 13.298).

stā- vb. 'set; (mid.) stand': Av. *stā*-, Skt. *sthā*-, Gk. *σταῖν*, Lt. *sistō stō*, pIE **st(h)ā*- (§76.II, §116, §122, §132.2-3). See also *upastā*-, *stāna*-. *aṛištātā* inf. mid. (§27, §64, §117, §122, §209, §235.II) DB 1.85.

ava- + *stā*- 'set down, place, restore': *avāstāyam* 1st sg. inf. (§214) DB 1.63, 66, 69.

ni- + *stā*-, generalized *ništā*- (§117, §140.VI), 'enjoin, command' (cf. Altheim, ZII 3.37; Hz. ApI 315-8): *niyāštāyam* 1st sg. inf. (§140.III, §214) DB 3.91; DZe 8, 11; XV 23f. *niyāštāya* inf. DSn 1; XPh 50; XV 21; *ništāya* (§23.I, §140.-III) XPh 52f.

stāna- sb. 'place': Av. *-stāna*- in cpds., NPers. *-stān*-, Skt. *sthāna*-; deriv. of root *stā*- (§116, §122, §132.2-3, §147.I). See also *ardastāna*-. *stānam* asn. XV 20f.

sta^{mb}- vb. 'revolt': NPers. *sitāmb*- 'revolt', perhaps also Skt. *sta(m)bh*- 'fasten, hold up, oppose' (Wb. AbkSGW 29.134; Mt. JAs. 1911.637; MB Gr. §202). *stabāva* 2d sg. inj. (§216, §224, §227.II, §237) DNā 60.

stūnā- sb. 'column': Av. *stūna*- masc., *stūnā*- fem., NPers. *sutūn*-, Skt. *sthūnā*- (§147.I). *stūnā* npf. DSf 45 (wrongly nsf. collective, Hz. AMI 3.68-9). [*stūnā*] apf. DSg 3°. *stūnāya* uncertain form, perhaps lsf. (for *-āyā*, §52.III, §176, §255; hardly adj. asm., with Hinz, ZDMG 95.250; wrongly Kent, JAOS 51.227-8) D²Sa 1, A²Hb.

spāda- sb. 'army': GAv. *spāda*-, NPers. *sipāh*-, Anglo-Indian *spahi*; in *Tazmaspāda*-, cf. *spāthmaida*- (76.V, §83.II, §116, §143.III). Possibly from pIE **kyā*- 'swell, be great' (Gray, Lg. 25. 377-8; cf. §90).

spāthmaida- sb. 'camp, war', meaning shown by Akk. version: cf. *spāda*- 'army' (§83.II), Av. *hamaspathmaēdaya*- name of a diety and of his festival (Hz. ApI 310-5). *spāthmaidayā* loc. sg. DNb 30f.

Sparda- sb. 'Sardis', a province of the Persian Empire: Elam. *iš-par-da*, Akk. *sa-par-du*, Gk. *Σάρδεῖς* (§31); with **šy*-, seen in Lydian *šfard*- (MB Gr. §52; Hz. AMI 3.63-4). See also *Spar-diya*-. *Sparda* nsm. DB 1.15; DPe 12; DNā 28; DSe 27°; DSm 7°; XPh 22. *Spardā* absm. DPh 7f; DSf 36; DH 6.

Spardiya- adj. 'Sardian': deriv. (§144.III) to preceding; cf. JAOS 54.40, Hz. AMI 3.37. *Spar-di[ya]* nsm. A?P 22. *Spardiya* npm. DSf 49, 52.

-ša- and *-ši*-, encl. pron. of 3d person: pIE **so*- **st*-, Ar. **sa*- **st*- and **ša*- **št*- acc. to sandhi, pIr. **ha*- **hšt*- and **ša*- **št*- (§117; decl., §195), Av. gen.-dat. sg. *hē šē*, acc. sg. *hīm*, acc. pl. *hīš*, Skt. *sim* etc. Sg. forms may refer to pl. antecedents, and the OP forms make no distinction for gender.

-šim acc. sg. with sg. masc. antecedent, DB 1.50 (as abl., see *hacā*), 59 bis, 83, 96; 2.13°, 75, 76, 90 bis; 3.74; 4.49; 5.13, 27. *-šim* with fem. sg. antecedent, DNā 36; XPh 34. *-šim* with sg. nt. antecedent, DB 1.62. *-šim* with pl. nt. antecedent, DB 4.6.

-šaiy gen.-dat. with sg. masc. antecedent, DB 1.57; 2.30°, 50, 74, 74f, 77, 88, 95°; 3.14, 48, 51, 74, 90°, 91°; DPd 3; DNb 26; DSP 2°. *-šaiy* with sg. nt. antecedent, DSf 23°.

-šām gen. pl. with masc. antecedent, DB 2.13, 20 bis, 27, 37, 42, 47, 56, 62, 83 bis, 98; 3.8, 19, 31, 40, 47, 57 bis, 64, 69, 85 bis; 5.8°, 12°, 15, 27°. *-šām* with fem. antecedent *dahyāva*, DB 1.14, 19, 23; DNā 18, 20, 36f; DSe 17°, 19°; XPh 16, 18.

-šīš acc. pl. with masc. antecedent, DB 3.52.

-ša abl. sg., as suffix to ablatival adverbs *avadaša*, *dūradaša*, perhaps *avabāša-tā* (Bthl. BB 14.247, AiW 170-1, despite Bv. Gr. §325; wrongly Foy, KZ 35.29-30).

šarastibara, see *aṛštibara*-.

-ši-, see *-ša*-.

šiyāta- adj. 'peaceful, happy (on earth)': GAv. *šyāta*- 'joyous', LAv. *šāta*-, Lt. *quiētus* 'quiet' (§104): past ptc. pass. to Av. *šyā*- 'rejoice' (§242.II). See also *šiyāti*-, with further remarks on meaning. *šiyāta* nsm. XPh 47, 55.

šiyāti- sb. 'welfare, peace (on earth), happiness (also after death)' (Hz. AMI 3.40, 8.68-9, RHRel. 113.26-7, ApI 318-22): LAv. *šāti*- 'joy', also in queen's name (Gk.) *Παρθενία*, Lt. *quiēs* *quiēt-is* 'quiet' (§104, §152.III, §179.III); see also

šiyāta-. For 'happiness after death', see JNES 7.108 with notes 10 and 11. *šiyātiš* nsf. DB 5.20°, 36°; DPe 23. *šiyātim* asf. DNā 4; DNb 2f; DSe 4°; DSf 3; DSs 4°; DST 4°; DZc 2; DE 5f; XPa 3; XPb 5f; XPe 3; XPd 4; XPf 4; XPh 3; XE 6; XV 5; A'Pa 4°; A'He 4; miswritten *šiyatām* (§55.I) A'Pa 4.

šiyav- vb. 'set forth, go': GAv *šyav-*, LAv. *šav-*, NPers. *šāwāš*, Skt. *cṛvāti*, Gk. *σεύω* 'I start quickly after, chase, cause to chase', pIE **qieu-* (§104). *ašiyawam* 1st sg. inf. (§213) DB 1.84, 91; 2.3, 65; 5.21. *ašiyawa* inf. DB 1.33 bis, 41, 80; 2.2f, 17, 22, 32, 51f, 72, 85, 95°; 3.4, 16, 28, 32, 33, 42, 59f, 72, 73f, 82, 87; 5.9; XPf 33f. *ašiyawa* 3d pl. inf. (§232.II) DB 1.76.

škaurim, see under *skauṭi*.

štā-, see under *stā-*.

zana- sb. 'human being': Av. *zana-*, Skt. *jāna-*, Gk. *γόνος* 'child, offspring', pIE **ǵono-* (§88, §143.-I); in *paruzana-*, *Varkazana-*, *vispazana-*.

zam- sb. 'earth': Av. nom. *zā*, Gk. *χαμαί* 'on the earth', Lt. *humus* 'earth', Lith. *žemė*, pIE **ǵhem-* (§11, §142, §143.II), cf. **ǵdhem-* in Skt. *kṣam-*, Gk. *χθών*; in *Uvārazmī-*, *uzma-*.

[*za*]rta_nayā with Med. *z-*, alternative restoration for [da]rta_nayā; see *dartana-*.

Zazāna- sb. 'Zazana', a town on the Euphrates above Babylon: Elam. *za-iz-za-an*, Akk. *za-za-an-nu* (§120). *Zazāna* nsm. DB 1.92.

zūrakara- sb. 'evil-doer' (§143.V, §160.Ia): *zūrah-* 'evil' (§105, §119, §120) + *kara-* 'doer' (§99, §122), to vb. *kar-*. *zūrakara* nsm. DB 4.64, 68.

zūrah- sb. 'deceit, wrong': Av. *zūrah-*, NPers. *zūr* 'lie', cf. Skt. *hvāras-* 'crookedness, deceit, trap' (§9.IV, §88, §120, §156.II); see also *zūrakara-*. *zūra* asn. DB 4.65.

Zūzahya- sb. 'Zuzahya', a town in Armenia: Elam. *su-iz-za*, Akk. *zu-ū-zu* (§120). *Zūzahya* (all characters visible acc. to Cameron) DB 2.33.

zbā- vb. 'call' (Lg. 19.226-7; Hz. AMI 8.67, ApI 367): Av. *zav-* and *zbā*, pres. *zbaya-*, Skt. *hū-* and *hūā-*, pres. *hwaya-*, pIE **ǵhyā-* (Med. *zb-*, §9.VI, §91, §120); see also *hazāna-*.

pati- + *zbaya-* 'proclaim' (used of prohibitions

only, Bv. BSLP 42.2.70): *patiyazbayam* 1st sg. inf. (§214) XPh 38.

Zra^aka- adj. 'Drangian'; masc. as sb., 'Drangiana', a province of the Persian Empire: Elam. *sir-ra-an-qa*, Akk. *za-ra-an-qa*, Gk. (Hdt.) *Σαράγγαι*, (Polybius) *Δραγγήνη*, (Strabo) *Δραγγιανή*, (Arrian) *Ζαράγγαι* (§9.I, §33, §88, §120, §128; cf. MB Gr. §119).

(1) 'Drangian': *Zrakā* for nsm. (§56.III) A?P 9.

(2) 'Drangiana': *Zraka* nsm. DB 1.16; DPe 15f; DNā 24; DSe 23°; DSm 8°; XPh 20.

ha- insep. prefix (§204.I), anteconsonantal (§132.I): Av. *ha-*, Skt. *sa-*, Gk. *ἀ-*, Lt. *sem-*, pIE **sm-*, zero-grade of pIE **sem-* 'one', Gk. *εἷς* *ēv* (from **sem-s* **sem*); in *hakara-*, *hadā*. See also *ham-*, *hama-*.

hainā- sb. 'army': Av. *haēnā-*, Phl. *hēn*, Skt. *sēnā-* (§118.I, §147.I). *hainā* nsf. DPd 19. *haināyā* absf. DPd 16f.

haw pron. 'this one', pron. adj. 'this' (§11, §263): pIE nsm. **so*, nsf. **sā*, Av. *hō* (from **so-s*), *hā*, Skt. *sa-s sā*, Gk. *ὁ ἡ* 'the', + particle **u*, Skt. *u* 'also', seen in Gk. *πᾶν* 'altogether', *οὗτος* 'this' from **so-u-tos*, probably also in OP *u-tā* 'and'. OP *hāw* shows the regular contraction of *ā-u* (§118.IV, §196); but **sāu*, with *ā* by analogy of the fem., was generalized as masc.-fem. in Av. *hāu*, Skt. *a-sāu*. See also *hawam*, *hya*.

haw pron. nsm. AsH 8, 14; DB 1.36, 38, 41, 47, 47f, 74, 76, 78, 81; 2.10, 14, 16°, 17, 19, 24, 93f; 3.23f, 26f, 28, 55, 71, 79, 80, 82, 83; 4.8°, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29°, 30; 5.26°; DPd 2; DSf 9, 9f, 30, 31, 38, 39; DSp 1°; XPh 54; XV 18, 21. *haw-maiy* DB 2.79. *haw-maiy* DSf 10. *haw-saiy* DPd 3; DSp 2°. *haw-dim* DSf 32. *haw-diš* DSs 6°.

haw nsf. (§196) DB 5.4f; *haw-maiy* DB 3.11; *haw-taiy* DNā 57; *haw-ciy* DPe 23f.

haw adj. nsm. DB 1.82, 92°; 2.21, 27, 66, 71; 3.3, 35, 41, 54, 59, 70, 91°; 5.9°.

haumavarga- adj. 'hauma-drinking' or 'hauma-preparing' (§160.Ia): Elam. *u-mu-mar-qa*, Akk. *ū-mu-ur-ga-*, Gk. *Ἀμύριον*. From *hauma-* (§1.19.I), Av. *haoma-*, Skt. *sōma-* name of a plant, also a drink prepared from the juice of its crushed stems, to root Av. *hau-*, Skt. *su-* 'press', + *varga-* (§31, §143.I), of unknown connections. *hauma-*

vargā npm. DNa 25; DSe 24f°; XPh 26; as nsm. (§56.III), APp 14.

hawam pron. 'he', nsm. DB 1.29; *haw* (q.v.) + *-am* from *adam*, *tuwam*, etc. (§48, §137, §196). Cf. MB Gr. §158.

hakaram adv. 'once' (§191.III, §204.I): Av. *hakaraē* 'once', Skt. *sakṛt*, cf. Gk. ἅ-παξ, Lt. *sem-el*; *ha-* (q.v.) + **krt* 'time' (cf. Lith. *kaṛtas* 'time'), remade to *-karam* after *kara-* 'maker' (Hz. ApI 181). Cf. also Bv. Gr. §323. *hakaram-ciy* DNB 34f.

ha^mkarta- (§140.V) ptc. adj., nt. as sb., 'co-operation': *ham-* + *karta-* 'done', past. ptc. pass. to *kar-*. [*ha*] *karlahyā* gsm. DNB 16f (Kent, JNES 4.42-3; not *karrpahyā* or [*u*] *karlahyā*, with Hz. ApI 233-5; not [*ha*] *karlahyā*, with dittography of *r*, with Kent, Lg. 15.170).

Hazāmaniš- sb. 'Achaemenes' (§161.Ib), founder of the Achaemenian dynasty: Elam. *ha-ak-qa-man-nu-iš*, Akk. *a-ḫa-ma-ni-iš*°, Gk. Ἀχαμένης. From *hazā-*, LAv. nsm. *haza*, Skt. nsm. *sākhā* 'friend', + *maniš-*, with reduced grade of vowel in ultima (§63.II, §124.4, §156.IV, §185.III, n1), otherwise identical with *manah-* (q.v.). See also *Hazāmanišiya-*. *Hazāmaniš* nsm. DB 1.6; DBa 8. *Hazāmanišahyā* gsm. (§57, §185.III; cf. Hz. AMI 4.133, 8.31-4) AmH 3f.

Hazāmanišiya- adj. as sb. 'Achaemenian': adj. to preceding (§144.III, §159, §185.n1; hardly *-šya-* from *-tya-*, as suggested by MB Gr. §262, cf. Hz. AMI 4.133, 8.31-4). *Hazāmanišiya* nsm. AsH 4; Cma 2; Cmb 2°; CMc°; DB 1.3; DBa 4; DPa 5; DPb; DPe 5; DPh 3; DNa 13; DSb 11; DSd 2; DSe 12; DSf 7f; DSG 2; DSi 2°; DSj 2; DSk 3; DSm 2; DSy 3; DZb 6; DZc 6f; DE 20; DH 2; XPb 20f; XPe 9; XPd 14; XPe 4; XPf 14f; XPh 12; XPj; XPk; XSe 2; XE 20; XV 15f; A¹Pa 16°; A¹T; D¹Sb 2; A²Se 1; A²Sdb 2; A²Ha 5; A²Hb; A²Hc 15; A²Pa 20f; Wa 7f; Wb 8f; Wc 9f; Wd 9f. *Hāzāmanišiya* (§53) XPa 10f. *Hazāmanišiya* (§22) D²Sa 2f; A²Sda, dc 2. *Haza-mān^ošiya* (§22, §51) A²Sa 3. *Hazāmanišiyā* npm. DB 1.7; DBa 10.

Ha^mgmalāna- sb. 'Ecbatana', a royal residence in Media: Elam. *ag-ma-da-na*, Akk. *a-ga-ma-la-nu*, Gk. (Hdt.) Ἀγβάρανα, (Aesch., Aristoph.) Ἐκβάρανα, NPers. *Hāmādān*. Probably deriv. of *ha-gmata-* (q.v., under *gam-*; §103-

IV, §147.II): 'City of Gatherings'. *Ha^mgmalānaiy* lsm. DB 2.76, 77f.

hacā prep. 'from': GAv. *hacā*, LAv. *hacā*, Skt. *sācā* 'with' (on meanings, see Fay, JAOS 31.403-12): instr. sg. of thematic root-noun to *pIe* **seq^h-* 'follow', Av. *haçaite*, Skt. *sācate*, Gk. ἑμεραι, Lt. *sequitur*, Gr. *sathvan* 'see' (§99), Syntax §271.

(1) With abl.: DB 1.36, 40, 61; 2.64; 3.2, 26; 4.37; DPd 11, 16, 17 bis; DPe 20; DNa 18, 46, 52; DSe 17, 38; DSf 31, 34, 35°, 35, 36, 38, 39, 41, 42, 43, 44; DZc 7, 10, 11; XPh 16, 57; A²Sa 5°; A²Sda 4 (*hašā* dc 4, §49b); A²Ha 6°. *hacā-ma* DB 1.19, 23; 2.6, 12, 16, 93°; 3.27, 78, 81; 4.92; DPe 9; DNa 20; DSe 19°; XPh 18.

(2) With loc. form as abl.: DPh 7; DSf 33, 44; DH 5.

(3) With instr. form as abl.: DPh 5; DH 4.

(4) With ablative adverbs: *hacā awadaša* DB 1.37; 3.42, 80; DSe 47f°; DSf 47. *hacā parwiyāla* DB 1.7, 8, 45; DBa 11, 12. [*hacā-ci*] *yā dūradaša* DSf 23.

(5) With preceding encl. pron. in acc.: *-šim hacā* DB 1.50 (Bang, ZDMG 43.534; Bv. BSLP 31.2.64-5).

(6) With anacoluthic naming-phrase in nom.: *hacā Pirāva nāma raula* DZc 9.

ha^mj- vb. 'hang': Skt. *sañj-* 'fasten', pres. *sājati*.

fra- + *ha^mj-* 'hang out' for display (Foy, KZ 35.39), namely the rebel's skin, stuffed with straw (König, RuID 73-4; wrongly 'imprison', Sen 45): *frāhajam* 1st sg. inf. (§213) DB 2.78.

had- vb. 'sit': Av. *had-*, Skt. *sad-*, Lt. *sedet*, NEng. *sit*. See also *hadiš-*, and possibly *Vištāspa-*.

ni- + *šad-* (§117), caus. *ni-šādaya-* (§76.III, §122, §123.2, §132.2-3, §215) 'set down, establish': *niyašādayam* (§226.II) 1st sg. inf. DNa 36. *nīšādayam* (§23.I, §140.III) XPh 34f (cf. Hz. AMI 8.65, ApI 180-1).

hadā prep. with instr. 'with': GAv. *hadā*, LAv. *haša*, Skt. *sahā*, *pIe* **sm^h-dhe* (§11, §67, §76-III); Ar. **sa-* (see OP *ha-*) + adv. suffix *-dhe* as in *idā* etc. Syntax §270.I. DB 1.56, 93; 2.1f, 21f, 23, 67, 71, 85, 85f, 95°, 96; 3.5, 15, 16, 33, 36, 41, 71, 73, 86; 5.9°, 10°, 21, 24; DPd 14, 22, 24°; DPe 8; DSe 50; DSt 8°; XPb 28; XPe 12,

15; XPd 18; XPg 13; XSc 5°; XV 26; A¹Pa 23; D²Ša 3.

hadaxaya, uncertain word (§163.VII), Sb 1.

hadiš-sb. 'seat, abode, palace': Av. *hadiš*-, deriv. of *had*- 'sit'; for suffix cf. *Harā-maniš*- to root *man*-, sb. *manah*-, and Skt. *sādas*-, Gk. nsn. *ῥῶς* (§63.II, §76.III, §117, §122, §132.2-3, §156.IV, §185.III). *hadiš* nsn. DSf 22, 27; A²Sd 3. *hadiš* asn. DSj 5°; XPe 11; XPd 16f; XSa 2; XSc 3°; A¹Pa 19°; D²Sb 3°, 4°; A²Sc 5.

ham²dugā-sb. 'record, statute': *ham*- + *dugā*-, from OP root *daug*-, Skt. *duh*- 'milk, press out', pIE **dheugh*- (§76.III, §140.V, §143.IV, V; Bv. BSLP 30.1.73-4, Gr. §260; otherwise König RuID 67-8, Hz. ApI 188-90); formation like Lt. *fuga*, Gk. *φύγ* 'flight'; for meaning, cf. NEng. *press* (sb.), *express*, *imprint*. *hadugām* DB 4.55, 57; DNb 23f.

had²bānam, see *hazāna*-.

hanatā-sb. 'old age, lapse of time': abstract (§145) formed on **hana*- 'old', Av. *hana*-, Skt. *sāna*-, Gk. *ῥῶς*, Lith. *sėnas*, pIE **seno*- (§143.III), cf. Lt. *senex* 'old man'. *ha[natāyā]* isf. DSe 46 (conj. of Kent, JAOS 54.46, based on the Akk. version).

hapariya-, false interpretation of *apariyāya*; see *pari*- + *ay*-, under *ay*- 'go'.

ham- insep. prefix, 'together, with', like Lt. *com*- and Gk. *σύν* (with neither of which it is cognate): Av. *ham*-, Skt. *sam*-, originally identical with the numeral **sem*- 'one', q.v. under *ha*- (§132.1, §204.1). Found as prefix in *ha-karta*-, *Ha-gmatāna*-, *ha-dugā*-, *ham-arana*-, *ha-miçiya*-, and with verbs *gam*-, *tazš*-, *dar*-, perhaps with *kam*- (see under *amazamatā*). See also *hama*-.

hama-adj. 'one and the same': Av. *hama*-, Skt. *samā*-, Gk. *σμός*, pIE *somo*- (§109, §143.II); deriv. of pIE **sem*- 'one', cf. *ha*- and *ham*-. Decl., §203.III. See also *hamātar*-, *hamapitar*-. *hama* nsm. 'unanimous' or asn. as adv. 'altogether' DB 4.92; asn. as adv. DB 4.90 (§191.III; JAOS 62.268-9). *hamahyāyā* gsf. formed on gsm. **hamahyāš* (cf. *ahyāyā* to *a*-), DB 4.4, 41, 45, 52, 60.

hamātar-adj. 'having the same mother (as another person, specified)' (§161.IIa): *hama*- + *mātar*-, with haplology (§129). *hamātā* (§62, §124.5. §186.II. §186.n1) DB 1.30.

hamapitar-adj. 'having the same father (as another person, specified)' (§161.IIa): *hama*- + *pitar*- 'father'. *hamapitā* nsm. (§124.5, §186.II, §186.n1) DB 1.30.

hamarana-sb. 'battle': Av. *hamarana*-, Skt. *samāraṇa*-, sb. to verbal cpd. *ham*- + *ar*- (§32, §140.V, VI, §147.I; cf. Hz. ApI 182-4). See also *hamaranakara*-. *hamaranam* nsn. DB 2.27, 37, 42, 47, 56, 62, 98; 3.8, 19, 40, 47, 64, 69. *hamaranam* asn. DB 1.90, 93, 94, 96; 2.23, 33, 34, 38, 39, 44, 45, 53, 54, 58, 59, 67, 67f, 70, 85, 96; 3.5, 16, 36, 37, 43, 44, 60, 61, 65, 66; 5.10°. *hamaranā* apn. 4.5f, 32.

hamaranakara-sb. 'battle-maker, warrior': *hamarana*- + *kara*- 'maker', from root *kar*- (§160.-Ia). Cf. also *ušhamaranakara*-. *hamaranakara* nsm. DNb 34.

hamiçiya-adj. 'rebellious', as sb. 'rebel': deriv. of *ham*- (or *ha*-) + *miça*- 'friend' (see *Miðra*-), as (pl.) 'conjurati, σύντροφοι' (§78, §144.IV, §148.III; MB Gr. §261, cf. Justi IFA 18.36; hardly first element neg. *a*-, 'unfriendly', remodeled to *ham*- by association with *ham-arana*- 'battle', as suggested by Pisani, Riv. Stud. Or. 19.96). Less probably the second element is *mið*- of *miðah*- (so taken by Hz. ApI 184-6), with suffixes *-ro*- and *-iya*-. *hamiçiya* nsm. DB 1.40, 80; 2.16, 31, 51, 79, 94; 3.27, 81f. *hamiçiyam* asm. DB 2.26, 35, 41, 46, 55, 61, 84, 87, 97f; 3.7, 18, 63, 68; 4.9f, 12, 15, 17f, 20°, 23, 25f, 28, 30f; asn. DNb 36, 39. *hamiçiyā* npm. DB 1.76; 2.32, 38, 43, 52, 57f, 93 (§189.n1); 3.65, 78. *hamiçiyā* apm. DB 4.34. *hamiçiyaibiš* ipm. DB 3.6. *hamiçiyā* nsf. DB 3.11; 5.5. *hamiçiyā* npf. DB 2.6f; 4.33f.

Haraiva-sb. 'Aria', a province of the Persian Empire: Elam. *ḥa-ri-ia*, *ḥar-ri-ma*, Akk. *a-ri-e-mu*, Gk. *Ἀρείος*; cf. Skt. *sardāyu*- 'air, wind, also a certain river in India', to root in Skt. *sarāti* 'flows'. See also *Harawati*-. *Haraiva* nsm. DB 1.16; DPe 16; DNa 22f; DSe 21°; DSm 9°; XPh 21.

Harawati-adj. as sb, 'Arachosia', a province of the Persian Empire: Elam. *har-ra-u-ma-ti-iš*, Akk. *a-ru-ḥa-at-ti*, Gk. *Ἀραχωσία*; Skt. *sārasvatī* nsf. 'rich in waters', from root *sar*- 'flow', nt. sb. *sāras*- 'pond, lake', + adj. suffix *-vant*-, fem. *-vatī* (§118.IV, §152.II, §156.II, §157). Decl., §179.V. See also *Haraiva*-, *Harawatiya*-. *Harawatiš* nsf. DB 1.17; DPe 17; DNa 24; DSe 23°; DSm 10°;

XPh 20. *Harawatim* asf. DB 3.55. *Harawatiyā* absf. DSf 44f. *Harawatiyā* lsf. DB 3.56, 72, 76.

Harawatiya- adj. 'Arachosian': deriv. of preceding (§144.III). *Harawatiya* nsm. A?P 10.

haruwa- adj. 'all': Av. *haurva-*, Skt. *sārva-*, Gk. Ion. *οἰλος*, Att. *δλος*, pIE **sōlyos* (§26, §35.II, §107, §114, §118.I, §150). Decl., §203.II. See also *fraharavam*, *haruwadā*. *haruwa* nsm. DB 1.40, 80. *haruwa-šim* DB 2.75, 90. *haruwahyāyā* lsf. formed on gsm. **haruwahyā* as stem (cf. *hamahyāyā*, *ahyāyā*), DSf 16, 18. *haruwahyāyā* (§36.IVb) DSb 8.

haruwadā adv. 'everywhere': *haruwa-* + adv. suffix -*dā* as in *awadā* (§191.II). DB 4.92° (conj. of Kent, JAOS 62.269, after the Elam. version).

hard- vb. 'send forth': Av. *hərəzaiti* 'releases, shoots', Skt. *srjāti sārjati*, MHG *selken* 'drizzle', pIE **selǵ-*.

awa- + *hard-* 'abandon', Skt. *ava-srj-* 'let loose, abandon': *awahar[da]* imf. lacking augment (§30, §52.IV, §213, §228.II), DB 2.94 (-*har[ja]* Tm. Vdt. Stud. 1.22, Lex. 70, corrected to -*har[da]* CS 21, Johnson IV 50, which is accepted by Bv. BSLP 31.2.69, Gr. §129; Wb. ZDMG 61.726 proposed *awahar[ta]*, nsm. ptc. pass. of *awa-* + cognate of Skt. *sar-* 'flow', approved by Morgenstierne, Aeta Or. 1.249, but this is less likely, since there is an object acc.).

harbānam, see *hazāna-*.

Haldita- sb. 'Haldita', an Armenian, father of Arkha: Elam. *hal-ti-da* (§6, §107). *Halditahya* (§36.IVb) gsm. DB 3.79.

hašiya- adj. 'true': Av. *haiθya-*, Skt. *satya-* (§80, §118.I): deriv. (§144.IV) of (Skt.) *sat-*, weak grade of pres. ptc. (Skt.) *sant-* (§240) to root pIE **es-* 'be' (Skt. *as-*, OP *ah-*), pIE **snt-ǵo-*. Possibly in *Āθiyābaušna-* (Hz. Apl 191-3). Cf. Lt. *absent-em*, *prae-sent-em*, *in-sent-em*. *hašiyam* asn. DB 4.44.

hazāna- sb. 'tongue', graphic for *hizāna-* (§27), with OP *z* = Med. *zb* from IE *ǵh₂y* (§91, §120): Av. *hizvā-* varying with *hizū-*, Skt. *jihvā-* perhaps to pIE root **ǵh₂yā-* (see OP *zbā-* with Med. *zb*), with *i*-reduplication, and then, in

Iranian, dissimilation of the initial (NPers. *zābān* 'tongue', from a dialect with *zb*, has anaptyctic *ā*). OP stem identical with Av. *hizvā-* (-*zv-* for -*zb-* by influence of collateral *hizū-*) extended by a suffix which perhaps spread from the gen. pl. (§143.IV, §147.II; cf. Lommel, KZ 50.261). *hazānam* (reading established by Cameron) asn. (§124.VI, §187) DB 2.74; previous reading and emendations: *harbānam* with *r* *b* *n* damaged, KT; *hazbānam* Mt. MSLP 19.58-9; *uzbānam* Wb. ZDMG 61.726; *hadzbānam* Lommel KZ 50.260-2 accepted by Bv. Gr. §129, cf. Kent Lg. 19.226-7.

Hidu- sb. 'Sind', a province of the Persian Empire, on the upper Indus River; Elam. *hi-in-du-iš*; Av. *hindu-*, Skt. *śindhu-* 'stream, the Indus, country around the Indus' (§27, §111, §118.V, §153.I). See also *Hiduya-*. *Hiduš* nsm. DPe 17f; DNā 25; DSe 24°; DSm 10°; XPh 25. *Hidaw* lsm. as abl. (§251D), DPh 7; DSf 44 (*h'idaw*°, not *h'idaw*° = *Hidāwa* as taken by Scheil 21.18, König Burgbau 34, Bv. Gr. §318); DH 5f.

Hiduya- adj. '(man) of Sind': deriv. to preceding (§27, §144.III). *Hiduya* nsm. A?P 13.

hya nsm., *hyā* nsf., rel. pron. and def. art.; cf. similar forms in Skt. (Vedic) *syā-s syā* 'this': contamination of demonst. Av. *hō hā*, Skt. *sa-s sā*, Gk. *ὁ ἡ*, pIE **so* **sā*, with relative stem pIE **ǵo-*, see under *hya-*; cf. also *haw*, *hyā*, *hyāparam*. Decl., §198; syntax §261, §262.

(1) rel. 'who, which': *hya* nsm. DB 1.21, 22, 49, 51, 84, 93; 2.13 (*hya-šām*), 18, 21, 23, 31, 51, 66, 84, 95 (*hya-šaiy*); 3.15, 30, 35, 54, 58, 70, 86, 89°; 4.37, 38°, 41, 48°, 65, 66, 68, 68°, 68 (*hya-vā*), 70, 82, 87; 5.18, 34°; DPā 5f; DNā 1, 2, 3, 3f, 5; DNb 1, 2, 3, 16, 17; DSe 1, 2, 3°, 4°, 5°; DSf 1, 2°, 2, 3°, 3, 38, 40, 43, 58°; DSj 5; DSs 1°, 2, 4°, 5°; DSt 1°, 2°, 3°, 4, 5°, 10°; DZc 1 bis, 2 bis, 3 bis; DE 2, 3, 4, 5, 7; XPā 1, 2 bis, 3 bis; XPb 2, 3, 4, 5, 7; XPe 1, 2 bis, 3, 4; XPd 1, 2, 3, 4, 5; XPf 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 23; XPh 1, 2 bis, 3, 4, 46, 51; XE 3, 4, 5, 6, 7; XV 2, 3, 4 bis, 6; A¹Pa 1°, 2°, 3°, 4°, 5°; A¹I (for gsm., §56.V); A²He 2, 3 bis, 4, 5; A³Pa 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *hyā* nsf. DPd 8; *hya* as nsf. (§52.III) AmH 6.

(2) def. art. 'the': *hya* nsm. AsH 6; DB 1.39, 44, 46, 53, 64, 65, 70, 79 bis, 85; 2.16, 25°, 27, 35, 40, 46, 55, 60, 87; 3.17, 25, 26, 32, 38, 45, 62, 67, 81; 4.9°, 14, 27, 30°; DBb 2, 5; DBd 5; DBh

6; DBi 7; DBk 2; DPd 1; DPh 9; DSe 39; DSf 9, 12, 13, 29, 30, 32, 37, 39; DSp 1°; DH 7; XPc 11; XPi 30; XPg 7; XSa 2; XE 2; XV 1, 18; A¹Pa 20°; D²Sb 4°; A²Hb; A²He 1. *hyā* nsf. DB 1.8; DBa 12; DNa 56 (on *hyā* DPe 22, see *hyā*, below).

hyā absn. of preceding as adv., 'from this time on' (§191.III, §198; Bthl. IF 12.127n, AiW 1844); not nsf. making an attributive adj. of the following adv. (Foy, KZ 37.561; Mt. MSLP 19-

55), nor 3d sg. opt of *ah-* 'be' (Thumb ap. Tm. Lex. 70; Hz. ApI 64). DPe 22.

hyāparam phrasal adv. 'later than this, after this': probably abl. *hyā'* + *aparam* (§84, §191.III, §198; Foy, KZ 35.10, 37.500; Kent, Lg. 20.8-9), hardly *param* (Bthl. BB 14.246, AiW 1844), cf. *hyā dwaiṣṭam* DPe 22f; hardly asn. *hya'* + 1844); not nsf. making an attributive adj. of the *aparam*, with crasis (Mt. MSLP 19.55, Bv. Gr. §339). DB 3.43, 64f.

NUMERALS (§43, §251C, §252D, §262.II; Lg. 19.228-9)

I	I	DB 1.36, 74, 77; 2.8°, 14, 75°, 79, 89; 3.8, 12, 22, 57, 78; 4.7, 10°, 12°, 15, 18, 20, 23, 26°, 28; 5.5°, 7°.	XV	DB 2.56.
II	II	DB 1.96; Wa 1.	XVIII	DB 2.41.
V	V	DB 3.47.	XIX	DB 4.5.
VII	VII	DB 3.68.	XX	DSf 26°.
VIII	VIII	DB 1.9, 2.36; DBa 14.	XXII	DB 2.98°; 3.88.
IX	IX	DB 1.10; 42; 2.47; 4.7, 32; DBa 17.	XXIII	DB 1.17; 3.18.
X	X	DB 1.56.	XXV	DB 2.69.
XII	XII	DB 3.39.	XXVI	DB 1.89.
XIII	XIII	DB 3.63.	XXVII	DB 2.26.
XIV	XIV	DB 1.38.	XL	DSf 26.
			LX	Wd 1.
			CXX	Wc 1.

DEFECTIVE PASSAGES

CMb	large parts of lines 3 to end.	DSn 1f	+++... . . .+++na
DNb 58	+++++ verb.	DSo 1f	+++++na ^{sa}
DNb 58f	+++++āṭīy ā nom. 'anyone' + loc. 'in obedience'.		lam :
DNb 60	+++++ ++++++ ++++++ina.	DSq 1-4	parts of all lines.
DSe 45	++++ name of the <i>var-danam</i> .	A ² Sc 6	ta +++++
		A ² Sc 7	first part of line.
		A ² Sc 8	entire line, and continuation.
DSm 11f	end of the line, and continuation.	Sb	line 2 entire; part of line 3.

ADDENDA

The gold tablets bearing the inscriptions AsH (pages 107 and 116) and A²Hc (pages 114 and 155) were exhibited at The Asia Institute in New York City during the winter of 1949-50; they were purchased in January 1950 by the Iranian Government, and after being exhibited at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, are to be returned to Iran and placed in the Archaeological Museum at Teheran.

On the inscription DSf (pages 110 and 142), G. Goossens has an interesting discussion of the foreign artists and artisans, in *La Nouvelle Clio* 1.32-44, esp. 36-8 (1949).

The most recent and best account of the religion of Darius and his successors is given by J.

Duchesne-Guillemin, in his volume entitled *Zoroastre*, pages 105-33 (Paris, 1948).

We await with eager anticipation the publication by Cameron of his reading of DB (see page 108), as yet delayed by his academic work. His publication will doubtless show important changes in the text (given above, pages 116-35), in addition to those which he generously communicated to be used in the present volume (see page 118); new readings in 4.90-92 will be of special interest. Further, many characters which we have indicated by italics as entirely lost, will certainly have proved to be legible to him with his new methods (see page 118) and his extremely careful scrutiny and recording.